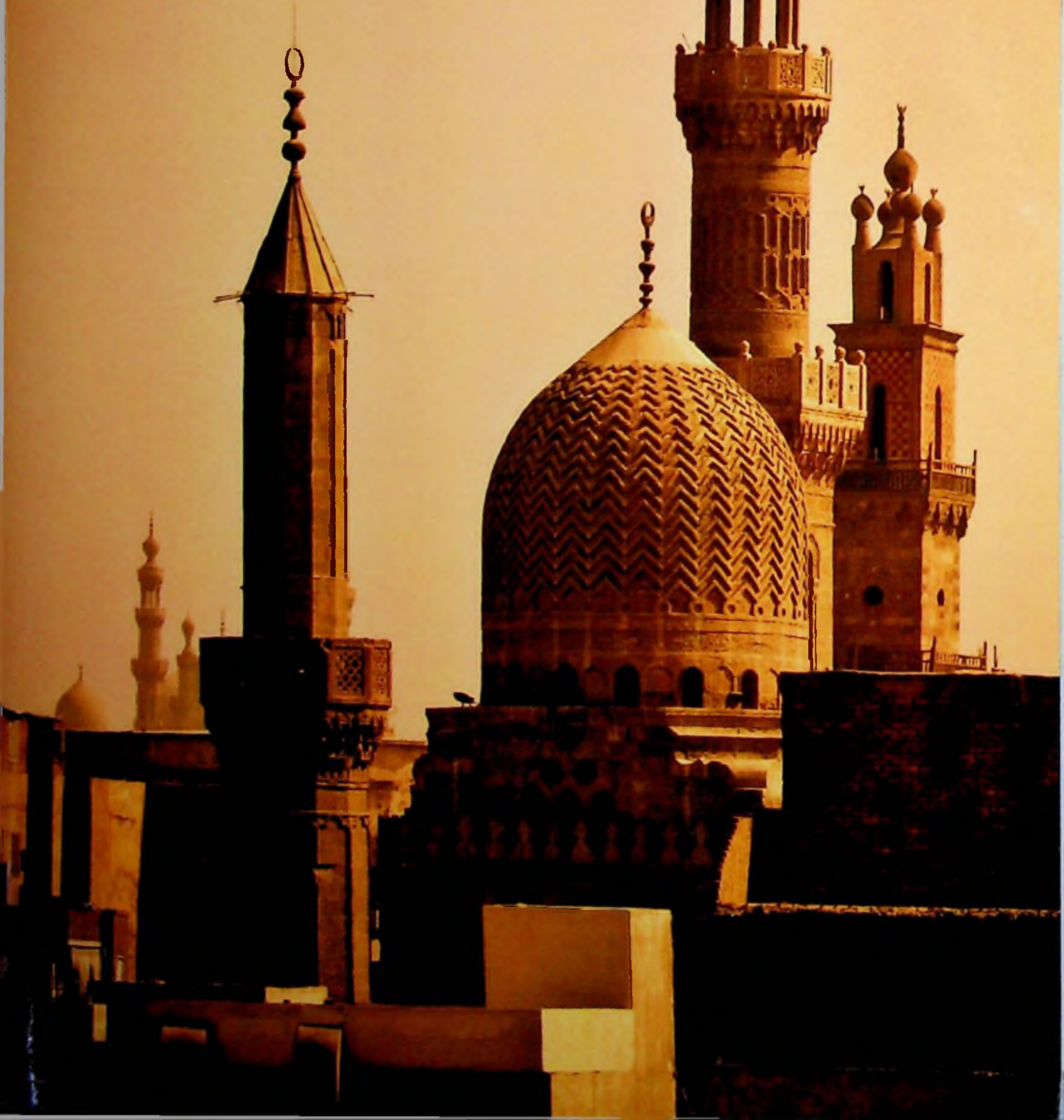
Shī´ah Islām

Proofs from the Qur`ān, Sunnah, and History

Dr. A. Asadi



Despite significant Western media attention to the modern political dimensions of the Shī'ah - Sunnī dichotomy, little attention is paid to its historical context or theological and polemical underpinnings, and there is a paucity of comprehensive, well-referenced academic works on this subject in the English language. Shī'ah Islām: Proofs from the Qur`ān, Sunnah, and History tries to bridge this gap by addressing a wide range of historical events that precipitated this dichotomy as well as numerous theological, philosophical, and jurisprudential controversies that have developed secondarily. The development of this split is addressed in its historical context, and issues of controversy are addressed using in-depth research into traditional Sunnī works of tradition, Qur`ānic commentary, history, and biography.

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In the name of Allāh, most gracious, most merciful

And hold fast, all together, to the rope of Allāh, and do not become divided.

Holy Qur`ān, sūrah 3, verse 103

Introduction
- Methodology
- Sources for this Book
  - Sunnī Collections of Prophetic Tradition
  - Sunnī Works of Qurʾānic Commentary
  - Sunnī Historical Texts
  - Sunnī Biographical Texts
  - Sunnī Works on the Virtues of the Companions
  - Sunnī Works Devoted to ´Alī (ع)
  - Shī´ah Sources Used
- Referencing of Sources
- Translations
- Definition of Sunnī and Shī´ah

Chapter 1
´Alī (ع), From Birth to Becoming the Pioneer in Islām
- The Birth of ´Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib (ع)
- The Raising of ´Alī (ع) by the Messenger of Allāh (ص)
- ´Alī (ع) was the First to Accept Islām
  - Examples of Prophetic Traditions
  - Examples of ´Alī's (ع) Claims
  - The Companions Believed that ´Alī (ع) was the First to Accept Islām
  - Historical Accounts Regarding ´Alī (ع) Being the First to Accept Islām
  - Discussion
- ´Alī (ع) was the True Pioneer in Islām
  - Qurʾānic Verse: "The Pioneers Among the Pioneers"
  - Qurʾānic Verse: ´Alī (ع) is "The Righteous One Among the Believers"
  - Qurʾānic Verse: ´Alī (ع) is the Best of Creatures
  - Qurʾānic Verse: Do Not Compare Those with Fancy Titles to ´Alī (ع)
  - Qurʾānic Verse: "Is the One Who Believes Like the One Who is Wicked?"
  - Eight Hundred Qurʾānic Verses were Revealed Regarding ´Alī (ع)
- Conclusions

Chapter 2
´Alī (ع) was Declared the Imām upon the Invitation of the Prophet's (ص) Kinsmen to Islām
- Sunnī Sources of this Tradition
- Censorship of the Tradition of Kinsmen
- Variations of the Tradition of Kinsmen
- Implications of the Tradition of Kinsmen
- Was Abū Lahab Right for Criticizing ´Alī's (ع) Young Age?

Chapter 3
The Similarity of ´Alī (ع) to Jesus and Other Prophets (ع)
- The Similarity of ´Alī (ع) to Jesus (ع)
- Other Traditions Comparing ´Alī (ع) to Jesus (ع)
- Examples of Sunnī Traditions Citing ´Alī's (ع) Similarity to Other Prophets

Chapter 4
´Alī's (ع) Status as Revealed to the Prophet (ص) During the Mi´rāj (Ascension)
- Traditions 1-10
- Comments

Chapter 5
Abū Ṭālib and the Prophet's (ص) Ancestors were Pious Believers
- The Deaths of Abū Ṭālib and Khadījah
- Proof of Abū Ṭālib's Faith in Islām
  - Abū Ṭālib Knew of the Prophecy of Muḥammad (ص) from the Prophet's (ص) Childhood
  - The Poetry of Abū Ṭālib: Poems 1-5
  - Abū Ṭālib Encouraged His Children to Accept Islām
  - Abū Ṭālib Believed in Islām Until His Death
  - Abū Ṭālib's Marriage to Fāṭimah bint Asad is Evidence of His Being Muslim
  - Abū Ṭālib Maintained His Family Ties to the Prophet (ص) Until His Death
  - Comments
- Weakness of Traditions Claiming that Abū Ṭālib Will Burn in the Shallow Fires of Hell
- Why Abū Ṭālib was Labeled as a Disbeliever
- The Permissibility of Taqīyyah (Dissimulation)
- Taqīyyah According to the Qur`ān
  - Qur`ānic Verses 1-3
  - Comments
  - ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar Performed Taqīyyah
- Conclusions Regarding the Faith of Abū Ṭālib
- The Belief of the Ancestors of the Prophet (ص)
  - Proof that the Prophet's (ص) Mother was a Believer
  - The Ancestors of the Prophet (ص) Performed Taqīyyah
  - The Names of the Prophet's (ص) Ancestors

Chapter 6
The Emigration to Madīnah: ʿAlī (ع) Showed Heroism While Abū Bakr Showed Cowardice
- The Quraysh Decided to Kill the Messenger of Allāh (ص)
- Two Verses were Revealed About ʿAlī (ع)
  - Verse 1: Allāh Foiled the Plot of the Disbelievers Through ʿAlī (ع)
  - Verse 2: Allāh Told the Archangels to be Like ʿAlī (ع), Who Sold His Life to Please Allāh
- ʿAlī's (ع) Lack of Fear was Due to His Faith
- Abū Bakr Joined the Prophet During the Emigration (ص)
- The Verse of the Cave Proves Abū Bakr's Lack of Faith
  - Contradiction of the Verse with ʿĀ`ishah's Account of the Emigration
  - Abū Bakr was Not Blessed with Serenity Because He Lacked Faith
  - Abū Bakr's Fear Calls into Question His Faith
  - The Claim that Allāh was with Abū Bakr According to the Qur`ān
  - The Claim that Abū Bakr was a Companion According to the Qur`ān
- The Setting of Brotherhood Among the Companions
  - Examples of Traditions Regarding the Brotherhood Between the Prophet (ص) and ʿAlī (ع): Traditions 1-10
  - Comments
  - ʿUmar Tried to Deny the Brotherhood Between the Prophet (ص) and ʿAlī (ع)
  - Abū Bakr was the Prophet's (ص) Generic Brother but Not His Friend
  - Proof of the Imāmate Based on ʿAlī's (ع) Brotherhood with the Prophet (ص)
- Conclusions Regarding the Emigration to Madīnah

Chapter 7

Fāṭimah (ع) was Married to ʹAlī (ع) After Abū Bakr and ʹUmar were Rejected
Abū Bakr and ʹUmar were Rejected as Fāṭimah's Suitors
Fāṭimah (ع) was Married to ʹAlī (ع) Because He was the Best of the Companions
Fāṭimah's (ع) Marriage to ʹAlī (ع) was Conducted in the Heavens
The Similarity of Fāṭimah (ع) to Mary (ع)
Proof of Fāṭimah's (ع) Infallibility and Immunity from Sin
The Children of ʹAlī and Fāṭimah (ع)
ʹAlī (ع) Had Three Qualities that the Prophet (ص) Did Not Possess
The Revelation of Sūrah Kawthar in Regards to Fāṭimah (ع)

Chapter 8
ʹAlī's (ع) Heroism in the Battle of Badr
ʹAlī (ع) is the Standard-Bearer of the Prophet (ص) in this World and in the Hereafter
ʹAlī (ع) on the Battlefield of Badr
Abū Bakr Nearly Sabotaged the Battle of Badr
The Claim that Abū Bakr was the Bravest of the Companions
ʹUthmān Stayed Away from the Battle of Badr
The Emigration of Zaynab to Madīnah and Her Miscarriage

Chapter 9
All the Doors to the Prophet's Mosque were Closed Except for the Door of ʹAlī (ع)
Sources for this Event
Implications of Closing All the Doors Except for That of ʹAlī (ع)
Fabrications in Favor of Abū Bakr
Proof of the Imāmate Based on this Event

Chapter 10
The Tradition of Manzilah: ʹAlī (ع) was Declared the Aaron (ع) of the Nation
Attempts to Deny Meaning to this Tradition
ʹAlī (ع) was Always Like Aaron (ع) was to Moses (ع)
The Relationship Between Aaron and Moses (ع)
Eight Deductions from the Verses Regarding Aaron and Moses (ع)
1. The Brotherhood of Moses and Aaron
2. Moses (ع) Pled to Allāh to Have Aaron (ع)
3. Aaron (ع) was the Vizier and Helper of Moses (ع)
4. Moses and Aaron (ع) were Partners, Inseparable in Their Rendering of Guidance
5. Moses and Aaron (ع) are to be Blessed by Future Generations
6. The Houses of Moses, Aaron, and the Offspring of Aaron (ع) are Mosques
7. Aaron (ع) was the Designated Successor (Khalīf) of Moses (ع)
8. Aaron (ع) was Oppressed by the Children of Israel
1. The Brotherhood of the Prophet (ص) and ʹAlī (ع)
2. The Prophet (ص) Pled to Allāh to Have ʹAlī (ع)
3. ʹAlī (ع) was the Vizier and Helper of the Prophet (ص)
Traditions 1-5
4. The Prophet (ص) and ʹAlī (ع) were Partners, Inseparable in Their Rendering of Guidance
5. The Prophet (ص) and ʹAlī (ع) are to be Blessed by All Muslims Through the Ṣalawāt
Qur`ānic Verse 1: Peace be Upon Il Yāsīn
Qur`ānic Verse 2: Believers Must Send Ṣalawāt to the Prophet

    - Proper Form of Ṣalawāt According to Sunnī Traditions
    - The Prophet (ص) Asked for Allāh's Blessings for His Ahl al-Bayt (ع)
    - The Importance of Ṣalawāt According to the Prophet (ص)
    - Ṣalawāts that Leave Out the Family of Muḥammad (ص) are Worthless
    - Proof of the Imāmate Based on the Ṣalawāt
6. The Houses of the Prophet (ص), ʹAlī, and the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) were Designated as Mosques
7. ʹAlī (ع) was the Successor (Khalīf) of the Prophet (ص)
    - Abū Bakr was Not the Prophet's (ص) Khalīf but His Khālif
    - The Qur`ānic Verse, "Your Companion Has Neither Strayed nor is He Misguided," was Revealed Regarding the Appointment of ʹAlī (ع) as the Prophet's (ص) Khalīf
    - Traditions Stating that ʹAlī (ع) was the Prophet's (ص) Khalīf
    - Traditions 1-8
8. ʹAlī and Aaron (ع) were Oppressed by Their Respective Nations
    - Traditions 1-6

Conclusions

Chapter 11
The Battle of Uḥud: Heroism, Cowardice, and Mourning

- The Companions Abandoned the Messenger of Allāh (ص)
- The Shameful Conduct of Abū Bakr, ʹUmar, and ʹUthmān at Uḥud
- Lessons from the Battle of Uḥud
- ʹUmar and Abū Sufyān Met at the End of the Battle
- The Mourning for Ḥamzah
- Mourning in Islām
    1. The Prophet (ص) Cried for Ḥamzah
    2. The Prophet (ص) Cried for the Death of His Son Ibrāhīm
    3. The Prophet (ص) Cried at the Tomb of His Mother
    4. The Prophet (ص) Cried at the Funeral of His Adoptive Daughter
    5. The Prophet (ص) Allowed Mourning for the Death of Jaʹfar ibn Abī Ṭālib
    6. The Prophet (ص) Allowed Mourning for the Death of ʹAbd Allāh ibn ʹAmr
- The Mourning of Jacob (ع) for Joseph (ع) According to the Qur`ān
- ʹUmar Would Punish Mourners
- The Permissibility of Taking Burial Sites as Places of Worship and Visiting Them
- The Permissibility of Visiting the Graves of Holy People
    - Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim Traditions 1-5
    - Discussion
- Fāṭimah (ع) Would Pray at the Grave of Ḥamzah and the Muslims Turned the Gravesite of the Prophet (ص) into a Mosque
- Traditions Cited Regarding Banning Buildings from Being Erected over Gravesites
    - Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim's Tradition from ʹAlī (ع)
    - Traditions from Jābir
- The Claim that Those in the Grave Cannot Hear
- The Claim that Only Allāh Can be Invoked
- Adam (ع) Asked for Allāh's Forgiveness by Invoking the Prophet (ص)
- Seeking the Prophet (ص) and His Belongings as Blessings is Permitted by the Qur`ān and Sunnah
    - Traditions 1-8
- The Kaʹbah and the Ḥajar al-Aswad (Black Stone)
- The Permissibility of Asking the Prophet (ص) to Pray for Us
- The Prophet (ص) will Intercede for the Believers on the Day of Judgment

    - Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī Traditions 1-9
  - The Claim that the Prophet (ص) was an Ordinary Person
  - The Permissibility of Seeking ʿAlī (ع) and His Belongings as Blessings
  - Uways al-Qaranī Demonstrates the Permissibility of Asking Holy Muslims to Pray on One's Behalf
    - Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim Traditions 1-3
  - Allāh Orders the Believers to Pray for the Prophet (ص)
  - The Permissibility of Celebrating the Birth of the Prophet (ص)
  - The Death of Fāṭimah bint Asad

Chapter 12
The Piety of ʿAlī (ع) Proves His Superiority and Imāmate
  - Feeding the Indigent, the Orphan, and the Captive
  - Other Qurʾānic Verses Regarding the Piety (Zuhd) of ʿAlī (ع)
    - Verse 1: ʿAlī (ع) Would Spend in Charity by Day and Night, Privately and Publicly
    - Verse 2: ʿAlī (ع) Gave Charity While Bending in Prayer
  - Traditions Regarding the Piety of ʿAlī (ع)
    - Traditions 1-10
  - Fāṭimah's (ع) Blistered Hands
  - Only ʿAlī (ع) was Willing to Spend in Charity to Speak to the Prophet (ص)
  - Proof of ʿAlī's (ع) Imāmate and Caliphate Based on His Piety

Chapter 13
The Battle of Aḥzāb: Faith Versus Hypocrisy
  - ʿAlī (ع) Saved the Muslim Nation While Other Companions Avoided Battle
  - The Qurʾān Revealed the Hypocrisy of Some Companions During this Battle
  - The Prophet's (ص) Main Battles were Won by ʿAlī (ع), Ḥamzah, and the Angels

Chapter 14
The Verse of Purification (Taṭhīr) of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع)
  - The Wives of the Prophet (ص) were Susceptible to Sin
  - The Reason for the Revelation of the Verse of Choice
  - Three Meanings of the Word Ahl (Family)
  - The Ahl al-Bayt (ع) Does Not Include the Prophet's (ص) Extended Family
  - The Ahl al-Bayt (ع) Does Not Include the Prophet's (ص) Wives
  - The Revelation of the Verse of Purification Regarding Muḥammad (ص), ʿAlī, Fāṭimah, Ḥasan, and Ḥusayn (ع): The Tradition of the Cloak (Ḥadīth al-Kisāʾ)
    - Traditions 1-5
  - The Ahl al-Bayt (ع) are Pure from All Sin
  - The Ahl al-Bayt of a Prophet Cannot Sin According to the Qurʾān
  - The Proof of the Imāmate from the Verse of Purification
  - Prophets and Imāms are Pure from Sin
  - The Status of the Sincere Servants of Allāh in the Qurʾān
    - Quality 1: They are Immune to Satan
    - Quality 2: They are Able to Properly Praise Allāh
    - Quality 3: They Require No Accounting on the Day of Judgment
  - Only the Members of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) Have Access to the Essence of the Qurʾān
  - ʿAlī (ع) is the Inheritor (Wārith) of the Qurʾān
  - Qurʾānic Verse: ʿAlī (ع) is the One with Knowledge of the Book
  - Qurʾānic Verse: ʿAlī (ع) is the Prophet's (ص) Witness
  - Proof of the Imāmate of ʿAlī (ع) Based on His Knowledge of the Qurʾān
  - Summary

Chapter 15
The Tradition of Thaqalayn (Two Weighty Items)
- Variations of the Tradition of Thaqalayn
- Sources of the Tradition of Thaqalayn
- Implications of the Tradition of Thaqalayn
- The Relationship of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) to the Prophet (ص) is a Permanent One
- The Invention of the Tradition of the Book of Allāh and My Sunnah
- The Tradition Ordering Obedience to the Rightly-Guided Caliphs
- Other Traditions Regarding ʹAlī's (ع) Relationship to the Qur`ān
  - Tradition 1: ʹAlī (ع) is with the Qur`ān and the Qur`ān is with ʹAlī (ع)
  - Tradition 2: ʹAlī (ع) Knew the Interpretation of Every Verse
  - Tradition 3: ʹAlī (ع) Told People to Ask Him Anything
  - Tradition 4: Only ʹAlī (ع) Will Fight over the Qur`ān's True Meaning (Ta`wīl): The Tradition of the Mender of Shoes
  - Comments

Chapter 16
ʹAlī's (ع) Knowledge of the Unseen
- Knowledge of the Unseen According to the Qur`ān
- ʹAlī's (ع) Knowledge of the Unseen
  - Traditions 1-4
- ʹAlī's (ع) Prediction of His Own Death and the Identity of His Killer
- The Imām Can Understand the Speech of all Creatures
- The Comments of Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd Regarding ʹAlī's (ع) Knowledge of the Unseen
- Proof of the Imāmate of ʹAlī (ع) Based on His Knowledge of the Unseen

Chapter 17
ʹAlī (ع): The Gate to the Prophetic City of Knowledge
- Sources and Variations of this Tradition
- Forgery in Regards to this Tradition
- Implications of the Tradition
- Traditions Regarding the Knowledge of ʹAlī (ع)
- Qur`ānic Verse: ʹAlī's (ع) Ear is the Retentive One
- The Messenger of Allāh (ص) Taught ʹAlī (ع) All Matters
- ʹAlī (ع) Had the Ṣaḥīfah that Recorded the Prophet's (ص) Knowledge
- Accounts of the Companions Regarding ʹAlī's (ع) Knowledge
- ʹAlī (ع) was the Best Judge of the Nation According to the Prophet (ص)
- ʹAlī (ع) Became the Best Judge Because of the Prophet's (ص) Prayer
- The Judgment of ʹAlī (ع) According to the Companions
- Proof of ʹAlī's (ع) Imāmate Based on His Superiority in Judgment

Chapter 18
The Qur`ān Orders the Believers to be with and to Ask the Ahl al-Bayt (ع)
- The Qur`ānic Order to be with the Truthful (Ṣādiqīn)
- ʹAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib (ع) was the Truthful One (Ṣiddīq)
  - Qur`ānic Verses Referring to ʹAlī (ع) as the Truthful One (Ṣiddīq)
  - Traditions Referring to ʹAlī (ع) as a Truthful One (Ṣiddīq)
- The Qur`ānic Command to Ask the People of Remembrance (Ahl al-Dhikr)
- The Proof of the Imāmate Based on Knowledge

Chapter 19

The Expedition to Ḥudaybīyyah
- ʹUmar's Refusal to Go to Mecca
- The Pledge of Allegiance of Riḍwān
- ʹUmar Rejected Peace and Confronted the Prophet (ص) at Ḥudaybīyyah
- The Prophet (ص) Threatened the Quraysh with ʹAlī (ع)
- ʹAlī (ع) Transcribed the Peace Treaty of Ḥudaybīyyah
- Stipulations of the Peace Treaty
- ʹUmar's Attempt to Undermine the Peace of Ḥudaybīyyah
- ʹUmar Tried to Obstruct the Prophet (ص) at Ibn Salūl's Funeral

Chapter 20
The Battle of Khaybar
- Historical Events
- ʹAlī (ع) Broke Through the Fortress
- Three Lasting Miracles from Khaybar
- Some Companions Revealed Their Hypocrisy at Khaybar
- The Prophet's (ص) Praise of ʹAlī (ع) at Khaybar
- Looking at ʹAlī (ع) and Mentioning His Name are Acts of Worship
- The Love of Allāh and His Messenger (ص) for ʹAlī (ع)
- Proof that Abū Bakr and ʹUmar Lacked Mutual Love with Allāh and His Messenger (ص)
- The Tradition of the Bird (Ḥadīth al-Ṭāʽir) Proclaimed ʹAlī (ع) to be the Most Beloved of Allāh's Creation
- Proof of the Imāmate of ʹAlī (ع) from These Traditions
- Modern Corollaries to the Battle of Khaybar

Chapter 21
Love for ʹAlī (ع) is Mandatory for the Believers
- Allāh Bestowed the Believers with Love for ʹAlī (ع)
- The Prophet (ص) Loved ʹAlī (ع) and His Ahl al-Bayt (ع) the Most
- Love for ʹAlī (ع) is a Sign of Belief and Hatred Towards Him is Proof of Hypocrisy
- Despising ʹAlī (ع) and Breaking Away from Him are Forbidden
- Those Who Despise ʹAlī and the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) are Hypocrites
- Those Who Despise ʹAlī (ع) are from Illegitimate Birth
- Those Who Despise the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) will Enter the Fire
- ʹAlī (ع) is the Divider Between the Garden and the Fire
- ʹAlī (ع) is the Water-Giver at the Fount of Kawthar
- More Sunnī Traditions Regarding ʹAlī's (ع) Position on the Day of Judgment
- Proof of the Imāmate from Traditions Regarding the Love for and Hatred of ʹAlī (ع)

Chapter 22
The Reward of the Prophet (ص) is Love for His Ahl al-Bayt (ع)
- The Verse of Affection for the Close Ones
- Traditions Showing that this Verse Pertains to the Ahl al-Bayt (ع)
  - Traditions 1-6
- Prohibition Against Angering and Harassing the Ahl al-Bayt (ع)
- The Prophet's (ص) Comments Regarding Those Who Curse ʹAlī (ع)
- ʹAlī (ع) was Cursed During the Umayyad Caliphate
  - Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim Tradition 1
  - Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim Tradition 2
- The Prophet (ص) is at War with the Enemies of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع)
- The Claim that Sunnīs Love the Ahl al-Bayt (ع)

    Ḥarīz ibn ʹUthmān
    ʹIkrimah Mawlā ʹAbd Allāh ibn ʹAbbās

Chapter 23
The Khums of Khaybar and the Fay` of Fadak
  The Laws of Khums (One-Fifth Tax)
  The Laws of Fay` (Property Obtained Non-Militarily)
  The Source of Disagreement Among the Shīʹah and Sunnīs
  ʹAlī (ع) Believed that He Had Rights to the Khums During the Prophet's (ص) Lifetime
  ʹUthmān Tried to Claim a Share of the Khums During the Lifetime of the Prophet (ص)
  The Khums of Other Property

Chapter 24
The Battle of Mu`tah
  The Muslim Soldiers were Criticized for Fleeing
  Attempts to Fabricate Honors for Khālid ibn Walīd

Chapter 25
The Conquest of Mecca
  Violation of the Treaty of Ḥudaybīyyah
  Abū Sufyān Tried to Appease Madīnah
  The Interception of the Letter to Mecca
  The Conquest of Mecca
  ʹUthmān Opposed the Prophet's (ص) Explicit Order to Execute His Milk-Brother, ʹAbd Allāh ibn Saʹd ibn Abī Sarḥ
  The Speech of the Prophet (ص)
  The Pledge of Allegiance at the Masjid al-Ḥarām
  The Destruction of Idols by the Hands of ʹAlī (ع)
  The Role of ʹAlī (ع) in Conquering Mecca
  Khālid ibn Walīd's Massacre of the Banū Jadhīmah
    Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī's Account of Khālid's Massacre of the Captives
    Historical Background for Khālid's Bloodshed
    Khālid ibn Walīd was Not Considered a Companion of the Prophet (ص)

Chapter 26
The Battle of Ḥunayn
  The Muslim Fighters Fled the Battlefield
  The Battle was Won by ʹAlī (ع) and the Prophet's (ص) Miracle
  Khālid ibn Walīd Committed Murder Yet Again
  Comments
  The Aftermath of the Battle of Ḥunayn
  The Companions Expressed Their Jealousy Towards ʹAlī (ع) Due to the Prophet's (ص) Lengthy Private Conversation with Him
  The Qur`ān Scolded the Companions at Ḥunayn
  The Companions Fought with the Prophet (ص) over the Division of Booty
  The Qur`ān Discusses the Hypocrisy of Some Companions with Regards to the Spoils of War

Chapter 27
The Verses of Taḥrīm (Prohibition) Addressing ʹĀ`ishah and Ḥafṣah
  First Account: Forbidding Drinking Honey

- Second Account: Forbidding His Wife Mārīyah
- ´Ā`ishah and Ḥafṣah Upset the Messenger of Allāh (ص) to the Point of Forcing Him to Abstain from His Wives for One Month
- An Example of a Cover-Up in Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī
- ´Umar's Criticism of the Prophet's (ص) Wives
- Proof of the Lack of Faith and Virtue of ´Ā`ishah and Ḥafṣah Based on These Verses
- Proof of the Imāmate from the Verses of Taḥrīm

Chapter 28
An Examination of the Personal Qualities of ´Ā`ishah
- ´Ā`ishah's Envy Towards Khadījah
- ´Ā`ishah Insulted Khadījah According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī and Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim
- ´Ā`ishah Insulted the Qur`ān
- ´Ā`ishah was Under the Influence of Her Devil
- ´Ā`ishah's Mistrust of the Prophet (ص)
- ´Ā`ishah's Severe Envy Towards the Prophet's (ص) Other Wives
  - ´Ā`ishah and Ḥafṣah
  - ´Ā`ishah and Ṣafīyyah
  - ´Ā`ishah and Sawdah
  - ´Ā`ishah and Zaynab bint Jaḥsh
  - ´Ā`ishah Broke Up the Prophet's (ص) Marriage to Mulaykah
  - ´Ā`ishah Broke Up the Prophet's (ص) Marriage to Asmā`
  - ´Ā`ishah and Mārīyah
  - ´Ā`ishah and the Foods Prepared by the Prophet's (ص) Other Wives
- The Reasons for ´Ā`ishah's Hatred Towards ´Alī (ع)
- The Reason why the Prophet (ص) Married ´Ā`ishah
- The Claim that the Prophet's (ص) Daughters were Married to ´Uthmān
- The Fictitious Marriage of ´Alī's (ع) Daughter Umm Kulthūm to ´Umar
- The Naming of ´Alī's (ع) Sons

Chapter 29
The Mubāhalah Established the Inseparability and Legal Equivalence of ´Alī (ع) and the Prophet (ص)
- Interpretation of the Verse of Mubāhalah
- ´Alī (ع) was from the Prophet (ص) and the Prophet (ص) was from ´Alī (ع)
- The Prophet (ص) and ´Alī (ع) were Created from One Light and Comprised One Tree
- ´Alī (ع) and the Prophet (ص) are the Two Fathers of the Nation
- Allāh Placed the Prophet's (ص) Progeny in the Loin of ´Alī (ع)
- The Verse of Fighting the Hypocrites Establishes the Legal Equivalence of the Prophet (ص) and ´Alī (ع)

Chapter 30
The Battle of Tabūk: ´Alī (ع) was Explicitly Appointed as the Prophet's (ص) Successor (Khalīf)
- Proof of ´Alī's (ع) Imāmate and Specific Appointment to the Caliphate Based on the Battle of Tabūk
- It is Impossible for ´Alī (ع) Not to be the Prophet's (ص) Khalīf
- Invented Traditions Regarding the Battle of Tabūk
- Conclusions

Chapter 31
The Verse of Wilāyah Established ´Alī (ع) as the Master (Walī) of the Believers

- The Meaning of this Verse
- The Meaning and Implications of the Word Walī
- Rāzī's Excuses for Not Following this Verse
  - Issues 1-9
- Conclusions

Chapter 32
'Alī (ع) Could Deliver the Verses of Renunciation (Barā`ah) While Abū Bakr Could Not
- Sources for this Event
- Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī's Account of this Event
- Discussion of the Events
- The Shī'ah Faith is Proven by this Event
- The Ahl al-Bayt (ع) Share this Virtue with 'Alī (ع)
- Attempts to Diminish this Virtue Fail

Chapter 33
The Conversion of Yemen by 'Alī (ع)
- The Prophet (ص) Dismissed Buraydah's Complaints About 'Alī (ع)
- The Prophet (ص) Publicly Dismissed Mass Complaints About 'Alī (ع)
- Even the Sun Accommodated 'Alī (ع)
- The Companions Criticized the Prophet (ص) over the Khums
- Conclusions

Chapter 34
Ghadīr Khumm: The Prophet (ص) Crowned 'Alī (ع) as the Master (Mawlā) of the Believers
- Sources of the Tradition of Ghadīr Khumm
- The Crowning of 'Alī (ع) on the Day of Ghadīr Khumm
- Congratulating 'Alī (ع) on the Day of Ghadīr Khumm
- The Verse of Proclamation (Balāgh)
  - The Verse of Completion (Ikmāl)
  - The Possibility of the Revelation of the Verse at 'Arafah and its Proclamation at Ghadīr Khumm
  - The Despair of the Disbelievers
  - Abū Bakr and 'Umar Sobbed when Islām was Completed
- The Verse of a Questioner Asking (Sa`ala Sā`il)
- Other Punishments for the Deniers of Ghadīr Khumm
  - Anas ibn Mālik's Leprosy
  - Forgeries to Cover Up the Incident
  - Zayd ibn Arqam's Blindness
  - 'Alī (ع) Cursed Three Companions
- The Meaning of the Word Mawlā
- Other Traditions Regarding the Wilāyah of 'Alī (ع)
- Proof of the Imāmate Based on the Event of Ghadīr Khumm

Chapter 35
The Companions Abandoned Usāmah's Army During the Prophet's (ص) Final Illness
- The Prophet (ص) Dispatched Usāmah's Army and Cursed Those Who Would Desert It
- Sayf's Fabrication in Regards to the Dispatch of Usāmah's Army
- The Subsequent Dispatch of Usāmah's Army by Abū Bakr

    A Summary of the Record of the Companions on the Battlefield

Chapter 36
An Examination of the Companions of the Prophet (ص)
- The Definition of a Companion
- A Look at the Companions During the Lifetime of the Prophet (ص)
- What Happened to the Hypocrites Among the Companions
- The Predictions of the Qur`ān Regarding the Future of the Companions
- The Predictions of the Prophet (ص) Regarding the Future of His Companions
    - Traditions from Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī
    - Traditions from Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim
    - Discussion
- The Comparison of Muslims to the Followers of Previous Religions
- Islām was Altered During the Lifetime of the Companions
- The Lack of Piety of the Companions—They Kept Drinking Despite its Prohibition
- ´Umar Broke His Fast with Sexual Intercourse
- A Qur`ānic Verse was Revealed Ordering ´Umar to Stop Sodomizing His Wife
- The Claim that One Ought Not to Criticize the Companions
- The Prophet (ص) was Ordered to Love Only Four of His Companions

Chapter 37
The Prophet (ص) Barred Abū Bakr from Leading the Final Prayer
- The Accounts of the Companions
    - ´Ā`ishah's Accounts
    - Anas ibn Mālik's Accounts
    - Ṭabarī's Account from Ibn ´Abbās and Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd's Commentary
- The Prophet (ص) Deposed Abū Bakr from Leading Prayers Another Time as Well
- The Prophet's (ص) Farewell Speech

Chapter 38
The Prophet (ص) Died After ´Umar Barred Him from Writing a Last Will
- ´Umar Barred the Prophet from Writing a Will, Calling Him Delirious
- Other Accounts of this Incident
- Discussion
- All of ´Umar's Deeds were Erased on that Day
- Fabrications in Regards to the Pen and Paper Incident
- The Words of the Prophet (ص) to Fāṭimah (ع)
- Some of the Final Interactions of the Prophet (ص) with His Wives
- The Last Person the Prophet (ص) Talked to was ´Alī (ع)
- The Death of the Prophet (ص) was by His Own Will

Chapter 39
´Umar Created Mass Confusion upon Prophet's (ص) Death
- Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī's Account of this Event
- Interpretation of Events
- ´Umar Became the First to Reason by Analogy (Qīyās)
- Occultation (Ghaybah) and Return (Raj´ah)
    - The Raj´ah of Jesus (ع)
    - The Ghaybah of Khaḍir (ع)
- ´Alī (ع) Rejected the Pledge of Allegiance of ´Abbās
- The Candidates for the Caliphate
    - Sa´d ibn ´Ubādah

    - Abū Bakr
    - ʹAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib (ع)

Chapter 40
The Selection of Abū Bakr as Caliph at the Saqīfah
- Summary of the Historical Events at the Saqīfah
    - Others Pledged Allegiance, and ʹUmar Attacked Saʹd ibn ʹUbādah Because He Refused to Pledge Allegiance to Abū Bakr
    - Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī's Account of the Saqīfah
- The Reaction of the People of Madīnah
- The Public Inauguration of Abū Bakr
- A Few of the Disqualifications of Abū Bakr
- The Illegitimacy of the Decision of the Saqīfah
- ʹUmar Said that Abū Bakr's Caliphate was a Thoughtless Act (Faltah)
- The Caliphate of Abū Bakr was an Innovation of ʹUmar

Chapter 41
The Role of Majority Opinion in Islām
- Consensus or Lack Thereof with Respect to the Caliphate of Abū Bakr
- Could the Majority of the Companions Stray?
- The Need to Adhere to the Plurality (Jamāʹah)
- The Majority of the Prophets were Oppressed by Their People

Chapter 42
The Qur`ān Orders Us to Obey the Foremost in Authority
- Qur`ānic Verse: "Obey Allāh and Obey the Messenger and the Foremost in Authority Among You"
- The Foremost in Authority are the Ones with Knowledge
- Traditions in Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim Ordering Obedience to the Imām
- Distorted Traditions Claiming that Muslims Must Obey Unjust and Oppressive Rulers
- Two Traditions Showing that the Distorted Claims were Invented by the Companions and Not Attributable to the Prophet (ص)
- The Foremost in Authority Must be Pure from Sin
- According to the Qur`ān, Imāms Must be Pure from Sin
- The Imām Must be the Most Knowledgeable
- The Qur`ān Warns Us About Abū Bakr and His Supporters

Chapter 43
The Concept of Imāmate in Shīʹism and Sunnīsm
- The Meaning of Imām
- Differences Between the Sunnīs and Shīʹah in Their Concepts of the Imāmate
- The Sunnī View of the Imāmate
- Ashʹarī and Muʹtazilī Views
- The View of the Naẓẓāmīyyah Among the Muʹtazilīs
- Abū Ḥanīfah Died in Manṣūr's Prison Because of His Shīʹah Beliefs
- Conclusions

Chapter 44
The Position of an Imām is Higher than That of a Prophet
- The Superiority of an Imām Over a Prophet According to the Qur`ān
- According to the Qur`ān, the Imāms from the Offspring of Abraham (ع) Must be Pure from Sin

- The Claim that Since Muḥammad (ص) was the Last Prophet (ص), There Could Not be Designated Imāms After Him
- The Sunnīs Believe in the Imāmate as the Shī´ah Do with Respect to Imām Mahdī (ع)
- The Sunnī Belief that Imāms are Higher than Prophets
  - The Attempt to Hide This in the English Translation of Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī
- The Imām Must be Designated by Allāh
- The Qur`ān States that Imāms are Selected by Allāh
- It was Impossible for the Prophet (ص) Not to Specify a Successor
- It is Mandatory to Know the Imām
- According to the Qur`ān, There Must be an Imām at All Times
  - Qur`ānic Verse 1: "You are Only a Warner, and Each Folk Has a Guide"
  - Qur`ānic Verse 2: "The Day We Call Every People by Their Imām"
- An Imām May be Apparent or Hidden
- The Ahl al-Bayt (ع) Provide Security for the Inhabitants of the Earth

Chapter 45
The Prophet (ص) Promised Exactly Twelve Imāms
- Sunnī Traditions Proving that There are Exactly Twelve Imāms
- Sunnī Interpretation of the Traditions Promising Twelve Imāms
- Only One Sect is Saved
- The Ahl al-Bayt (ع) are the Ark of Noah and the Savior of the One Sect that is Saved from the Fire
- The Naming of the Twelve Imāms According to Sunnī Traditions
  - The Conversion of Na´thal by the Prophet (ص) Naming the Twelve Imāms
  - Comments

Chapter 46
´Umar's Explanation why ´Alī (ع) Should Not have been the Caliph
- ´Alī's (ع) Age
- The Claim that the Prophecy and Caliphate Should Not Both be Held in the Same Household
- The Qur`ān Warns Us of Envy Towards the Ahl al-Bayt (ع)
- ´Umar Erred by Not Guiding the Quraysh

Chapter 47
The Burial of the Messenger of Allāh (ص)
- Summary of Events Surrounding the Death of the Prophet (ص)
- Washing the Prophet's (ص) Body
- The Meaning of Traditions Stating that Only ´Alī (ع) Could See the Prophet's (ص) Private Areas
- The Nighttime Burial of the Prophet (ص)

Chapter 48
Abū Bakr and ´Umar Attacked the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) to Solidify Their Caliphate
- Abū Bakr Asked ´Alī (ع) to Pledge Allegiance
- ´Alī (ع) Asked the Companions for Support
- The Refusal of ´Alī (ع) to Pledge Allegiance so that He Could Compile the Qur`ān
- The Refusal of a Number of Companions to Pledge Allegiance
- Abū Bakr and ´Umar Approached ´Abbās ibn ´Abd al-Muṭṭalib
- Abū Sufyān Sought to Pledge Allegiance to ´Alī (ع)
- Abū Bakr's Father Rejected the Justification for His Son's Caliphate
- The Use of Force to Make ´Alī (ع) Pledge Allegiance

- ʹUmar Threatened to Burn Down the House of Fāṭimah (ع) with Those Inside
- Those in the House of Fāṭimah (ع) were Taken by Force
- The Arguments of ʹAlī (ع) and His Shīʹah and the Regret of the Companions
  - ʹAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib (ع)
  - Salmān al-Fārsī
  - Abū Dharr
  - Ḥasan ibn ʹAlī's (ع) Words to Abū Bakr
- Bilāl Refused to Recite the Adhān and Moved to Syria
- ʹAlī's (ع) Purported Reconciliation with Abū Bakr
- The Miscarriage of Fāṭimah (ع)

Chapter 49
The Confiscation of Fāṭimah's (ع) Property and Inheritance Rights

- Fāṭimah (ع) Requested Fadak Back from Abū Bakr
  - Traditions 1-4
- Reasons for Fāṭimah (ع) to Seek Fadak
- Abū Bakr Initially Accepted Fāṭimah's (ع) Claim to Fadak
- Abū Bakr and ʹUmar Rejected the Testimony of Fāṭimah's (ع) Witnesses
- Fāṭimah's (ع) Speech in the Mosque and Abū Bakr's Response
- The Taking Away of Fadak from Fāṭimah (ع) According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī and Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim
- Proof of the Falsehood of Abū Bakr's Invented Tradition Regarding Prophets Not Leaving Inheritance
- The Hypocrisy of Abū Bakr in Regards to the Prophet's Inheritance
- The Destiny of Fadak
- The Taking Away of the Khums
- The Usurpation of the Khums and Fayʹ was Necessary to Establish Abū Bakr's Caliphate

Chapter 50
The Death and Nighttime Burial of Fāṭimah (ع) and the Plot to Kill ʹAlī (ع)

- Fāṭimah (ع) Shunned Abū Bakr and ʹUmar During Her Final Illness
- Abū Bakr and ʹUmar Angered the Messenger of Allāh (ص) by Their Treatment of Fāṭimah
- The Timing of Fāṭimah's (ع) Death
- Fāṭimah (ع) Barred Abū Bakr and ʹUmar from Her Funeral
- Some of the Prophet's (ص) Comments About Fāṭimah (ع)
- Sunnī Traditions Claiming that ʹAlī (ع) Angered Fāṭimah (ع)
- The Scrolls (Muṣḥaf) of Fāṭimah (ع)
- Other Items Carried by the Imāms
- The Plot to Kill ʹAlī (ع)

Chapter 51
The Riddah Wars and the Assassination of Saʹd ibn ʹUbādah

- Battles Against the Tribes Refusing to Submit to Abū Bakr
- Khālid ibn Walīd Killed Mālik ibn Nuwayrah, Slaughtered His Tribe, and Raped His Wife
- The Destiny of Saʹd ibn ʹUbādah

Chapter 52
The Qualities and Knowledge of Abū Bakr

- Abū Bakr's Belief According to the Qurʹān

- The Personality of Abū Bakr
- The Knowledge of the Caliph
- Abū Bakr's Knowledge of the Qur`ān: The Word "Abb"
- Abū Bakr's Knowledge of the Qur`ān: The Word "Kalālah"
- Abū Bakr's Knowledge of Prophetic Traditions
- Abū Bakr's Method for Judging
- Abū Bakr's Knowledge of the Laws of Inheritance
- Abū Bakr Did Not Know How to Punish a Thief
- Abū Bakr Ordered Fujā`ah al-Sulamī to be Burned to Death
- Abū Bakr Admitted that He was Not the Best
- The Qur`ān Chastised Abū Bakr and ´Umar for Disrespecting the Prophet (ص)
- Abū Bakr's Virtues are Inventions
- The Order of Virtue of the First Four Caliphs and the Preference of the Less Preferable (Tafḍīl al-Mafḍūl)
- The Zaydīyyah and the Preference of the Preferred
- The Origins of the Word Rāfiḍite

Chapter 53
A Summary of Abū Bakr's Faults and Errors Culminating in His Selection of ´Umar as Caliph
- Abū Bakr's Nine Regrets
- The Story of Ash´ath ibn Qays
- Abū Bakr's Final Error: The Selection of ´Umar as the Next Caliph
- Abū Bakr's Mistakes in Selecting ´Umar
- ´Ā`ishah's Mourning for Abū Bakr
- A Summary of Abū Bakr's Errors, Innovations, and Undesirable Qualities #1-50

Chapter 54
Ijtihād in Islām
- The Evidence Used to Support the Sunnī Concept of Ijtihād
- The Reward for a Mujtahid
- The Sunnī Position on the Ijtihād of the Companions
- Problems with the Ijtihād of the Companions
- Abū Ḥanīfah's Personal Opinions

Chapter 55
The Compilation of the Qur`ān
- The Claim that Abū Bakr was the First to Compile the Qur`ān
- The Claim that ´Umar was the First to Compile the Qur`ān
- The Claim that ´Uthmān was the First to Compile the Qur`ān
- The Claim that Sālim Mawlā Abī Ḥudhayfah was the First to Compile the Qur`ān
- The Claim that the Qur`ān was Compiled Based on the Testimony of Witnesses
  - What was Taken from Two Witnesses
  - What was Taken from One Witness
- Problems with These Traditions
  - When was the Qur`ān Compiled?
  - Why was It Compiled?
  - How was It Compiled?
- The Recording of the Qur`ān During the Lifetime of the Messenger of Allāh (ص)
  - Sūrah Barā`ah Proves that the Qur`ān was Compiled During the Prophet's Lifetime

    - Traditions Naming the Compilers of the Qur`ān
- The Qur`ān of ´Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib and Imām Mahdī (ع)
- Conclusions Regarding the Compilation of the Qur`ān
- The Shī´ah Believe that the Qur`ān Has Not been Changed
- Sunnī Traditions Regarding Alterations to the Qur`ān
    - ´Umar Claimed that the Verse of Stoning was Lost from the Qur`ān
    - ´Umar Claimed that a Verse Prohibiting False Claims of Paternity was Lost
    - Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī's Claim that Seventy Verses of Sūrah Aḥzāb were Lost
    - Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim's Claim that Entire Sūrahs are Missing
    - Other Sunnī Traditions Claiming that Parts of the Qur`ān were Lost
    - The Qur`ān of ´Abd Allāh ibn Mas´ūd
    - The Qur`ān of Ubayy ibn Ka´b
    - The Qur`ān of ´Abd Allāh ibn ´Abbās
    - ´Umar and the Qur`ān
    - ´Uthmān and the Qur`ān
    - ´Ā`ishah and the Qur`ān
- The Response of the Shī´ah to These Traditions
- Nāsikh and Mansūkh
- "Bismillāh al-Raḥmān al-Raḥīm" is Part of the Qur`ān
- The Claim that the Qur`ān was Revealed upon Seven Letters
- Conclusions

Chapter 56
Abū Bakr and ´Umar Banned the Recording and Transmission of Prophetic Traditions
- The Necessity of Prophetic Traditions According to the Qur`ān
    - Verses Necessitating Obedience to the Prophet (ص)
    - Verses Forbidding Disagreement with the Prophet (ص)
    - The Prophet's (ص) Duty was to Explain the Qur`ān
    - The Words and Actions of Prophets and Imāms Stem from Divine Revelation
    - We Must Refer all Matters to the Messenger (ص) and the Foremost in Authority
    - Comments
- The Necessity of Prophetic Traditions According to Prophetic Traditions
- The Prophet (ص) Ordered the Companions to Relate His Words to Others
- Sources of Innovations in Traditions
- Abū Bakr and ´Umar Forbade the Recording of Prophetic Traditions
- ´Alī (ع) was the First to Record Prophetic Traditions
- The Prophet (ص) Ordered the Recording of His Words
- ´Umar Forbade Qur`ānic Interpretation
- Reasons for the Forbidding of Prophetic Traditions
- Ka´b al-Aḥbār
    - Ka´b al-Aḥbār and the Caliphate
- Tamīm al-Dārī

Chapter 57
The Qualities and Knowledge of ´Umar
- ´Umar's Personality
- ´Umar's Title of al-Fārūq
- The Knowledge of ´Umar
- ´Umar's Knowledge of Sūrah Baqarah
- ´Umar Asked Salmān if He was a King or a Caliph
- ´Umar's Position as Caliph

Patrolling at Nighttime
The Exile of Naṣr ibn Ḥajjāj
ʹUmar Sought Out People's Sins
ʹUmar's Ruling on the Dower of Women
ʹUmar Asserted that a Claim to Belief Amounts to Disbelief
ʹUmar Banned the Name Muḥammad
ʹUmar Banned the Kunyah Abū ʹĪsā (Father of Jesus)
ʹUmar was Unsure About Whether to Count Divorces Before Islām
ʹUmar was Unsure About the Laws of Bathing (Ghusl) After Intercourse
ʹUmar was Unsure How to Treat Religious Minorities
ʹUmar Banned Tayammum
ʹUmar's Inattention to Prayer
ʹUmar Admitted that He was the Least Knowledgeable of All Muslims
ʹUmar Alluded to His Hypocrisy

Chapter 58
The Innovations of ʹUmar
ʹUmar was the First to Call Himself the Commander of the Faithful
ʹUmar was the First to Carry a Whip
ʹUmar was the First to Alter the Call to Prayer (Adhān)
ʹUmar was the First to Have Tarāwīḥ Prayers Offered in Congregation
ʹUmar Fixed the Number of Takbīrs for the Prayer for the Dead to Four
ʹUmar Chopped Down the Tree of Riḍwān
ʹUmar Buried Abū Bakr's Body in the Prophet's Mosque and Asked for His Own Body to be Buried There as Well
ʹUmar Illegitimately Expanded the Prophet's Mosque and Altered the Masjid al-Ḥarām
ʹUmar Forbade Crying for the Dead
ʹUmar Forbade Eating Meat
ʹUmar Initially Forbade and then Allowed the Ḥajj of the Prophet's (ص) Wives
ʹUmar Changed the Laws Pertaining to Three Divorces
ʹUmar Changed the Method of Distribution of Public Wealth
ʹUmar Instituted Discriminatory Policies Against the Persians
ʹUmar Confined the Prophet's (ص) Companions to Madīnah
ʹUmar Prohibited the Mutʹah of Ḥajj

Chapter 59
ʹUmar's Prohibition of Temporary (Mutʹah) Marriage
The Prophet (ص) Permitted His Companions to Perform Mutʹah Marriage
The Verse of Mutʹah Marriage in the Qurʾān
The Prohibition of Mutʹah Marriage by ʹUmar
The Story of ʹAmr ibn Ḥurayth
The Argument About Mutʹah Marriage Among the Companions
When was Mutʹah Repealed?
1. It was Permitted Only in the Early Days of Islām
2. It was Permitted Only at Times of Need
3. It was Allowed for Only Three Days and then Repealed
4. It was Forbidden at Khaybar
5. It was Forbidden During the Conquest of Mecca
6. It was Forbidden in the Year of the Battle of Awṭās
7. It was Forbidden at Tabūk
8. It was Forbidden at the Farewell Pilgrimage
9. It was Forbidden when the Laws of Marriage were Enumerated

    - Comments
- Moral Arguments Regarding Mut´ah Marriage

Chapter 60
The Judgments of ´Umar
- ´Umar's Punishments for Drinking
- ´Umar Ordered the Stoning of Pregnant Women
- ´Umar Ordered the Stoning of an Insane Woman
- ´Umar and ´Uthmān Ordered the Stoning of Virtuous Women
- ´Umar was Unsure What to Do with a Coerced Woman
- ´Umar Dismissed the Stoning of His Friend, Mughīrah ibn Shu´bah
- Why Discuss the Innovations and Wrong-Doings of the Caliphs and Companions?
- Blind Trust in the Companions Mirrors the Mentality of the Days of Ignorance

Chapter 61
The Consultative Council (Shūrā) to Select ´Uthmān
- The Assassination of ´Umar
- ´Umar Appointed a Consultative Council (Shūrā) to Choose His Successor
- ´Umar Explained the Rules of the Shūrā
- ´Umar's Criticisms of the Members of the Shūrā
    - ´Umar's Comments About ´Alī (ع)
    - ´Umar's Comments About Ṭalḥah
- The Actual Events of the Shūrā
- ´Abd al-Raḥmān ibn ´Awf was Advised by the Quraysh
- The Selection of ´Uthmān by ´Abd al-Raḥmān ibn ´Awf
- Forcing ´Alī (ع) to Pledge Allegiance
- ´Umar's Errors in Regards to the Shūrā
- ´Umar's Reference to Those Who Promised to Keep the Caliphate Away from ´Alī (ع)
- The Impossibility of the Selection of ´Alī (ع) as Caliph by the Shūrā
- Why ´Alī (ع) Agreed to be Part of the Shūrā

Chapter 62
A Summary of ´Umar's Errors, Innovations, and Undesirable Qualities
- #1-90

Chapter 63
´Uthmān's Errors at the Onset of His Caliphate
- ´Uthmān Overlooked Abū Sufyān's Apostasy
- ´Uthmān Forgave the Murder of Hurmuzān Committed by ´Ubayd Allāh ibn ´Umar
- ´Uthmān Returned Ḥakam ibn Abī al-´Āṣ ibn Umayyah and Marwān ibn Ḥakam to Madīnah
    - The Exile of Ḥakam to Ṭā`if by the Prophet (ص)
    - The Prophet (ص) Cursed Ḥakam and His Offspring
    - ´Uthmān Returned Ḥakam and Marwān to Madīnah
- A Brief Biography of Marwān ibn Ḥakam
- The Prophet's (ص) Warnings Regarding the Banū Umayyah
- ´Uthmān's Alteration of the Masjid al-Ḥarām and the Masjid al-Nabī
- ´Uthmān's Alteration of Prayers Offered at Minā

Chapter 64
The Appointment of Walīd ibn ´Uqbah as the Governor of Kūfah
- Walīd's Biographic Background

The Qur`ān Declared Walīd to be Wicked (Fāsiq) in Two Separate Verses
´Uthmān's Appointment of Walīd as the Governor of Kūfah
Walīd Had Abū Zubayd, a Christian Drunkard, Live by the Mosque
Walīd Introduced Sorcery to the Mosque
Walīd's Drinking and Performing Prayers While Drunk
Walīd's Removal from Power
Walīd's Destiny

Chapter 65
The Beatings of ´Abd Allāh ibn Mas´ūd and ´Ammār ibn Yāsir at the Behest of ´Uthmān
´Abd Allāh ibn Mas´ūd's Biographic Background
Walīd Would Not Repay His Public Debt
Ibn Mas´ūd was Recalled to Madīnah, Where He was Beaten
Ibn Mas´ūd Refused to Submit to the Recitation of Zayd ibn Thābit
The Martyrdom of Ibn Mas´ūd
´Uthmān Beat ´Ammār Because Ibn Mas´ūd Had Banned ´Uthmān from Attending His Funeral
´Uthmān Beat ´Ammār a Second Time
´Ammār was Beaten by ´Uthmān Five Times
The Prophet (ص) Told ´Ammār that He Would be Fought and Killed by an Army of Transgressors

Chapter 66
´Uthmān Spread Power and Wealth Among His Kinsmen
´Uthmān Appointed His Relatives as Governors
´Uthmān Installed Ibn Abī Sarḥ, His Milk-Brother with a History of Apostasy, as the Governor of Egypt
´Uthmān Replaced Abū Mūsā al-Ash´arī with His Cousin ´Abd Allāh ibn ´Āmir in Baṣrah
´Uthmān Granted Massive Amounts of Wealth to His Family and Friends
Summary of ´Uthmān's Gifts
Estimates of the Wealth of the Companions
Zubayr's Wealth According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī
Ibn Arqam Quit as ´Uthmān's Treasurer
´Uthmān Rejected ´Alī's (ع) Advice that He Follow the Sunnah with Respect to the Distribution of Charitable Properties
´Abd al-Raḥmān ibn ´Awf's Relationship with ´Uthmān Soured
Jabalah Became the First to Threaten ´Uthmān

Chapter 67
The Torture and Exile of Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī
Abū Dharr's Exile to Syria
Abū Dharr was Sent Back to Madīnah and then Exiled to Rabadhah
Abū Dharr's Martyrdom and Burial in Rabadhah
´Uthmān Had ´Ammār Beaten for His Comments Regarding Abū Dharr's Death in Exile
Comments
Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim's Accounts of Abū Dharr's Words
Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī's Accounts of Abū Dharr's Exile

Chapter 68

The Exile of Mālik al-Ashtar and His Companions to Syria and Ḥimṣ
- The Exile of Mālik al-Ashtar and His Companions to Syria
- Mālik al-Ashtar and His Companions were Sent Back to Kufāh and then Exiled to Ḥimṣ
- The Kūfans Revolted and Deposed Sa´īd ibn ´Āṣ

Chapter 69
The Spread of Mass Discontent with ´Uthmān Throughout the Provinces
- The Shift in Public Opinion against ´Uthmān
- Muḥammad ibn Abī Ḥudhayfah and Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr Caused an Upheaval in Egypt
- ´Ā`ishah Turned Against ´Uthmān
- People Openly Complained to ´Uthmān
- ´Uthmān Recalled His Governors to Madīnah, Seeking Their Advice
- The Kūfans Refused to Allow Their Governor to Return
- ´Alī's (ع) Advice to ´Uthmān
- ´Uthmān's Non-Conciliatory Public Speech
- The Meeting of the Revolutionaries in Mecca

Chapter 70
´Uthmān's Empty Promises to Deflect the Besieging Egyptians
- ´Uthmān's Public Repentance
- ´Uthmān's Public Repentance was Undone by Marwān ibn Ḥakam
- ´Alī (ع) was Frustrated by ´Uthmān's Intransigence
- ´Uthmān was Stoned at the Pulpit

Chapter 71
The Final Siege of ´Uthmān
- ´Uthmān's Slave was Caught Carrying a Letter to ´Abd Allāh ibn Abī Sarḥ
- The Egyptians Demanded Immediate Justice
- ´Alī (ع) Arranged Another Agreement
- ´Uthmān Made Preparations for War
- ´Abd Allāh ibn Sa´d Lost Power in Egypt While Other Rebels Arrived in Madīnah
- ´Uthmān Met with Mālik al-Ashtar
- Ṭalḥah Led the Siege of ´Uthmān
- ´Ā`ishah Became Further Involved in the Insurrection
- The Status of the Siege

Chapter 72
The Execution of ´Uthmān and His Disgraceful Burial in Ḥashsh Kawkab
- The Execution of ´Uthmān
- ´Uthmān's Age when He Died
- The Burial of ´Uthmān in Ḥashsh Kawkab
- The Opinions of Some of the Companions Regarding ´Uthmān's Execution
  - ´Ammār ibn Yāsir
  - ´Ā`ishah
  - Ṭalḥah
  - ´Amr ibn ´Āṣ
- ´Uthmān was Killed in Accordance with the Near Consensus of the Muhājirīn and Anṣār
- ´Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib's (ع) Role in and Attitude Towards the Execution of ´Uthmān
- Conclusions

Chapter 73
A Summary of ʹUthmān's Errors, Innovations, and Undesirable Qualities
- #1-45
- Ibn ʹUmar's Claim that ʹUthmān was Forgiven
- Sunnīs Defend ʹUthmān from Allāh's Criticism of His Dismal Personality, Claiming that the One with a Dismal Personality was the Prophet (ص) Instead

Chapter 74
The Historical Accounts of Sayf ibn ʹUmar
- Sayf is Universally Recognized as an Inventor of Traditions
- Sayf's Lies About Walīd
  - The Reasons for the Removal of Walīd from Power
  - The Sorcerer
  - Comments
- Sayf's Lies About Abū Dharr
  - Other Accounts of Sayf Regarding Abū Dharr
  - Ṭabarī's Crime with Respect to Abū Dharr's Exile
- Sayf Denied the Role of the Companions in the Execution of ʹUthmān
- ʹAbd Allāh ibn Sabaʾ
- Conclusions

Chapter 75
The Invention of Traditions Defaming the Holy Prophet (ص)
- Those Appending Lies to the Prophet (ص) will Burn in Hell
- The Claim that the Prophet (ص) Lacked Knowledge of Worldly Matters
- The Claim that the Prophet (ص) was Incapable of or Negligent in Proclaiming the Divine Message
- The Claim that the Prophet (ص) Proclaimed Satanic Verses
- Claims Regarding the Worldliness of the Prophet (ص)
  - The Prophet (ص) and Music
  - The Prophet (ص) and the Entertainment of Young Women
  - The Prophet (ص) and Human Figures
  - Comments
- The Claim that the Prophet (ص) was Bewitched
- The Claim that the Prophet (ص) Sinned Before Islām
- The Claim that the Prophet (ص) Would Hand Out Fire with His Judgments
- The Claim that the Curse of the Prophet (ص) was a Blessing
  - Cursing in Islām
  - Verses Proving that the Prophet (ص) Would Never Curse Someone Undeservedly
- Traditions that Weaken Our View of the Prophet's (ص) Personality
  - The Claim that the Prophet (ص) Would Forget Parts of His Prayers
  - The Claim that the Prophet (ص) Forgot that He was Sexually Impure (Junub)
- The Claim that the Prophet (ص) was Illiterate
- Traditions Regarding the Impurity of the Forefathers of the Messenger of Allāh (ص)
- The Claim that Other Prophets Committed Sins
  - The Prophet Adam (ع)
  - The Prophet Moses (ع)
  - The Prophet Jonah (ع)
  - The Prophet Muḥammad (ص)
  - The Reason for the Attribution of Sins to the Prophets

Chapter 76

The Invention of Traditions Denigrating the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) and Glorifying Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, ʿUthmān, and Other Companions

- Muʿāwīyah's Plan for Traditions Regarding ʿAlī (ع) and the Other Companions
- The Glorification of the Prophet's (ص) Companions
- The Invention of Traditions Counteracting the Traditions About ʿAlī (ع)
  - The Umayyads Claimed that ʿUthmān was the Scribe at Ḥudaybīyyah
  - The Claim that Abū Bakr was the First Man to Accept Islām
  - The Claim that Abū Bakr's Door to the Mosque was Left Open
  - Absurd Claims About the Prophet's City of Knowledge
  - The Claim that ʿUmar Possessed More Knowledge than the Rest of Mankind
  - The Claim that Abū Bakr and ʿUmar were to the Prophet (ص) as Aaron (ع) was to Moses (ع)
  - The Claim that Abū Bakr was the Prophet's (ص) Friend (Khalīl)
  - The Claim that Abū Bakr and ʿUmar are the Chiefs of the Old Men of Paradise
  - The Claim that the Companions are Like the Stars
  - The Claim that Love for Abū Bakr and ʿUmar is a Necessity of Faith
- The Chains of Transmission of Sunnī Traditions are Plagued with Inaccuracies (Tadlīs)
- Traditions Glorifying Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, and ʿUthmān but Not ʿAlī (ع)
- Dating of Invented Traditions in Regards to the Early Caliphs
- The Invention of Traditions Counteracting the Traditions About Fāṭimah (ع)
- The Cursing of ʿAlī (ع) by the Umayyads
  - Mughīrah ibn Shuʿbah Would Insult and Curse ʿAlī (ع)
  - The Pious Companions and Successors Did Not Believe in Cursing ʿAlī (ع)
  - The Cursing of ʿAlī (ع) was Necessary to Maintain the Umayyad Caliphate
  - The Cursing of ʿAlī (ع) Ended with the Caliphate of ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz
  - The Cursing of ʿAlī (ع) by the Umayyads According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, and Sunan Tirmidhī
- Those Assigned the Task of Inventing Traditions Defaming ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib (ع)
  - The Tradition of ʿAmr ibn ʿĀṣ in Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī and Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim
  - The Traditions ʿUrwah ibn Zubayr Related from ʿĀʾishah
  - The Traditions of Abū Hurayrah

Chapter 77

Abū Hurayrah al-Dawsī: The Leading Narrator of Sunnī Traditions Among the Companions

- A Brief Biography of Abū Hurayrah
- The Companions Rejected Abū Hurayrah
- Ibrāhīm ibn Yazīd Denounced Abū Hurayrah
- Abū Ḥanīfah Denounced Abū Hurayrah
- Abū Hurayrah was Denounced in the Presence of the ʿAbbāsīd Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd
- Abū Hurayrah was Accosted During His Lifetime Regarding His Lies
- Abū Hurayrah's Weak Memory
- Abū Hurayrah Cozied up to the Umayyads
- Abū Hurayrah During the Caliphate of ʿAlī (ع)
- Abū Hurayrah was the Disciple and Protégé of Kaʿb al-Aḥbār
- Defenses for Abū Hurayrah

Chapter 78

The Pledge of Allegiance to ʿAlī (ع)

- Accounts of the Pledge of Allegiance to ʿAlī (ع)
- Those Who Refused to Pledge Allegiance to ʿAlī (ع)

- ʹAlī (ع) Replaced ʹUthmān's Governors
- Ṭalḥah and Zubayr Became Cool-Hearted
- ʹĀʾishah Revealed Her Treachery

Chapter 79
The Battle of Jamal
- ʹĀʾishah, Ṭalḥah, and Zubayr Raised a Rebel Army
- The Rebel Army Splintered, Encountered Bad Omens, and Fell into Disputes
- The Massacre of Innocent Baṣrans
- ʹĀʾishah Tried to Rally Kūfan Support
- ʹAlī (ع) Deposed Abū Mūsā al-Ashʹarī from Kūfah
- Many Baṣrans Joined ʹAlī (ع)
- ʹAlī (ع) Advised Ṭalḥah and Zubayr
- ʹAlī (ع) Quickly Won the Battle

Chapter 80
The Companions in Light of the Battle of Jamal
- Issue 1: The Refusal of Certain Companions to Pledge Allegiance to ʹAlī (ع)
- Issue 2: The Breaking of the Pledge of Allegiance by Certain Companions
- Issue 3: The Massacre of Innocent Muslims
- Issue 4: Ignoring the Prophet's (ص) Prophecies
    - The Prophecy of Ḥawʾab
    - The Prophecy Regarding ʹAmmār
    - The Prophecy that Zubayr Would Fight ʹAlī (ع)
- Issue 5: What Kinds of Imāms Were the Leaders of the Rebellion?
- Issue 6: The Dishonesty of the Rebels with Respect to Their Purported Cause
- Issue 7: The Killing of Ṭalḥah by Marwān, a Future Umayyad Caliph
- Sunnī Responses to the Battle of Jamal
    - The Claim that It is Impermissible to Criticize the Companions
    - The Claim that the Companions Erred in Their Ijtihād
    - The Claim that Some Historical Accounts are Unreliable
    - The Claim that Repentance Would Erase the Sins Committed During this Battle
    - The Claim that the Companions are Unassailable According to the Qurʾān and Sunnah

Chapter 81
Traditions Claiming Special Privileges for the Companions
- Traditions Claiming that the Companions were the Best of all Generations
- Traditions Claiming Immunity for the Companions Present at Badr and Ḥudaybīyyah
- Traditions Claiming that Ten Companions were Promised Paradise
- Traditions Banning the Cursing of the Companions
- The Tradition Ordering Khālid ibn Walīd Not to Revile the Companions
- Comments

Chapter 82
The Verdict of the Qurʾān Regarding the Companions
- Verses Cited in Praise of the Companions
    - Verse 1: The Pledge of Riḍwān
    - Verse 2: The Pious Muhājirīn and Anṣār are the Successful Ones
    - Verse 3: The First Pioneers Among the Muhājirīn and Anṣār
    - Verse 4: The Emigrants who Perform Jihād are Higher in Rank
    - Verse 5: A Witness on the People

    - Verse 6: A Nation in the Middle
    - Verse 7: Those Who Converted Before the Conquest of Mecca are More Exalted in Rank
    - Verse 8: Praying for Forgiveness for the Believers Before Us
    - Verse 9: The Verse of the Cave
    - Verse 10: Being Compassionate yet Firm Against the Disbelievers
    - Verse 11: The Believers are Rightly Guided
    - Verse 12: The Best Nation
- Verses Criticizing the Companions
    - Verse 1: Will You Turn Back on Your Heels?
    - Verse 2: Avoiding Jihād
    - Verse 3: Rejecting Faith After Believing
    - Verse 4: Refusing to Submit Despite the Lapse of Time
    - Verse 5: Being Closer to Disbelief than to Faith
    - Verse 6: Abandoning the Prophet (ص) During Friday Prayers
    - Verse 7: There are Hypocrites even Among the Muhājirīn and Anṣār in Madīnah
    - Verse 8: The Slander Against ´Ā`ishah
    - Verse 9: Uttering the Word of Disbelief and Plotting to Kill the Prophet (ص)
    - Verse 10: A New Nation will be Brought Forth
    - Verse 11: The Prophet (ص) Could Marry True Believers if He were to Divorce His Wives
    - Verse 12: Do Not to Trust the Wicked Companions
- Comments Regarding the Hypocrites
- The True Status of the Companions According to the Qur`ān
- The Claim that Cursing the Companions is Disbelief and Therefore Punishable by Death

Chapter 83
Mu´āwīyah and the Battle of Ṣiffīn
- Mu´āwīyah's History
- Mu´āwīyah's So-Called Virtues
- Nasā`ī was Killed Because Mu´āwīyah Had No Virtues
- The Battle of Ṣiffīn
- The Martyrdom of ´Ammār ibn Yāsir
- Mu´āwīyah Led the Army of Transgressors According to the Prophet (ص)
- The Appointment of Arbitrators
- The Meeting of the Arbitrators

Chapter 84
Blind Obedience to Mu´āwīyah
- Incidents Demonstrating Blind Obedience to Mu´āwīyah
    - Account 1: The He-Camel and the She-Camel
    - Account 2: Offering Friday Prayers on a Wednesday
    - Account 3: Blaming ´Ammār's Martyrdom on ´Alī (ع)
    - Account 4: Spreading the Rumor that ´Alī (ع) Had Abandoned Prayer
    - Account 5: Complete Submission to Mu´āwīyah
    - Account 6: Going to Every Extreme to Avoid Cursing Mu´āwīyah
- Discussion
- The Spreading of Lies About the Shī´ah
- Modern Parallel: The Location of Najd from Which the Horn of Satan will Emerge
- Modern Parallel: The Sighting of the New Lunar Crescent and the Direction of the Qiblah from North America

Chapter 85
Shī´ah-Sunnī Differences in Regards to the Ablution (Wuḍū`)
- The Verse of Wuḍū`
- The Qur`ān Must be Followed in Regards to the Wuḍū`
- Sunnī Traditions Calling for Wiping the Feet Instead of Washing Them During Wuḍū`
- Parallels with Tayammum
- Washing the Feet was Ordained by Ḥajjāj
- Comments on Ḥajjāj

Chapter 86
Shī´ah-Sunnī Differences in Regards to the Call to Prayers (Adhān)
- "Hurry to the Best Deed" is Part of the Adhān
- The Tradition Claiming that "Hurry to the Best Deed" was Abrogated by the Prophet (ص)
- ´Umar Replaced "Hurry to the Best Deed" with "Prayer is Better than Sleep"
- Examining the Traditions of Tathwīb
- The Traditions of the Ṣiḥāḥ Sittah
- Comments on Innovations in the Adhān
- Testimony to ´Alī's (ع) Wilāyah in the Adhān

Chapter 87
Shī´ah-Sunnī Differences in Regards to Prayer (Ṣalāt)
- Combining Ẓuhr and ´Aṣr as well as Maghrib and ´Ishā` Prayers
- The Recitation of Bismillāh as Part of Each Sūrah
- Prostration on Earth
- Qunūt During Prayers
  - Prayers in which Performing the Qunūt is Recommended
  - The Proper Placement of the Qunūt During Prayers
  - Conclusions Regarding the Qunūt
- The Time of Maghrib (Evening)
- Crossing the Arms During Prayers
- Saying Āmīn (Amen) During Prayers
- Pointing with the Finger During Tashahhud
- Shortening of Prayers and Delaying Fasts While on a Trip
- Islāmic Rituals were Changed During the Lifetime of the Companions

Chapter 88
The Martyrdom of ´Alī (ع)
- The Historical Context for the Rise of the Khārijītes
- Khārijīte Mentality
- The Battle of Nahrawān
- The Prophet (ص) Predicted the Rise of the Khārijītes
- Most of ´Alī's (ع) Troops Abandoned Him and Returned to Kūfah After the Battle of Nahrawān
- The Loss of Egypt
- Mu´āwīyah Dispatched Saboteurs to Baṣrah
- The Assassination of ´Alī (ع)
- Ibn Muljam was the Worst of People
- Miracle at ´Alī's (ع) Martyrdom
- The Speech of Ḥasan ibn ´Alī (ع)
- ´Alī's (ع) Burial

Chapter 89
Shahrastānī's List of the Ten Causes of Discord in the Muslim Nation
1. [´Umar's Banning the Prophet (ص) from Having a Will Written]
2. [Abandoning the Army of Usāmah]
3. [´Umar's Claim that the Prophet (ص) Had Not Died]
4. [Selecting a Burial Site for the Prophet (ص)]
5. [The Selection of Abū Bakr at the Saqīfah]
6. [The Dispute over Fadak and the Prophet's (ص) Inheritance]
7. [Abū Bakr's Wars Against the Believers]
8. [Abū Bakr's Appointment of ´Umar to the Caliphate]
9. [The Shūrā's Choice of ´Uthmān as Caliph and His Eventual Execution]
10. [The Battles of Jamal, Ṣiffīn, and Nahrawān]

Comments
    #1-10

Chapter 90
The Qur`ānic Ban on Sectarianism
- The Qur`ān's View on Sectarianism
- Twelver Shī´ism is the Saved Sect
- The Use of the Word Shī´ah in Verses Ordering Muslims Not to Break into Sects
- Conclusions

Chapter 91
Islāmic Sectarianism Arose from the Improper Selection of Imāms
- The Earliest Sectarian Divisions Created Sunnīsm as well as the Khārijītes and the Ghālīyah
- Shī´ah Sects
  - Sects Selecting the Wrong Imām
    - The Kaysānīyyah
    - The Zaydīyyah (Zaydīs)
    - The Ismā´īlīyyah (Ismā´īlīs)
    - The Afṭaḥīyyah and Shumayṭīyyah
    - The Followers of Ja´far al-Kadhdhāb
  - Sects Failing to Recognize a Rightful Imām
  - Sects Deifying the Imāms
- Comments
- Twelver Shī´ism is the Only Rightful Sect

Chapter 92
Qaḍā` and Qadar (Divine Decree and Measures)
- Problems with the Mu´tazilī View
- Problems with the Ash´arī View
- The Ash´arī Position on Cause and Effect
- The Ash´arī Position on Divine Punishment
- The Ash´arī Position on Religious Commands
- The Ash´arī Position on Reason
- The Shī´ah Position
- The Qur`ānic Position
- Political Implications

Chapter 93

Badā` (Change)
Badā` and Change
The Relationship Between Badā` and Qaḍā`
The Relationship Between Badā` and Creation
Qadar and Badā` with Respect to Death in the Qur`ān
Badā` as a Change in Allāh's Commands
Roots of Incorrect Views of Badā` Being Attributed to the Shī´ah
Badā` with Respect to Ismā´īl
Conclusions

Chapter 94
The Peace of Imām Ḥasan (ع)
Ḥasan (ع) Raised a Powerful Army to Fight Mu´āwīyah
Mu´āwīyah Used Treachery to Defeat Ḥasan's (ع) Forces
Ḥasan (ع) was Forced to Accept Peace
The Pledge of Allegiance of Qays ibn Sa´d
"The End of the Caliphate and the Start of the Monarchy"
Ḥasan (ع) Returned to Kūfah and then to Madīnah
Comments Regarding the Peace Treaty
Mu´āwīyah's Persecution of the Shī´ah of ´Alī (ع), Including Ḥujr ibn ´Adī
The Martyrdom of Ḥasan (ع)
The Change in Zīyād ibn ´Ubayd's Ascribed Paternity
The Burial of Ḥasan (ع)
The Myth of Ḥasan's (ع) Numerous Divorces
Mu´āwīyah Appointed Yazīd as His Heir

Chapter 95
Imām Ḥusayn (ع) and the Battle of Karbalā`
Ḥusayn ibn ´Alī (ع) and ´Abd Allāh ibn Zubayr Left Madīnah for Mecca
The Dispatch of Muslim ibn ´Aqīl to Kūfah
The Battle of Karbalā`
Comments on the Implications of the Battle of Karbalā`
The Conduct of Yazīd
The Significance of Karbalā`

Chapter 96
The Day of ´Āshūrā`: To Fast or to Mourn
The Resurrection of the Abandoned Fast of ´Āshūrā`
Crying for Imām Ḥusayn (ع) is the Sunnah of the Prophet (ص)

Chapter 97
The Uprisings of ´Abd Allāh ibn Zubayr and Mukhtār ibn Abī ´Ubayd al-Thaqafī
´Abd Allāh ibn Zubayr's Claim to the Caliphate
´Abd Allāh ibn Zubayr's Uprising
The Battle of Ḥarrah
Confused Views About Ibn Zubayr and ´Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān
A Brief Account of the Uprising of Mukhtār ibn Abī ´Ubayd al-Thaqafī

Chapter 98
A Brief Account of the Imāmate Culminating in Imām Mahdī (ع) Based on Shī´ah Accounts
The Lives of the Twelve Imāms of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع)

Comments on the Occultation of the Twelfth Imām

Chapter 99
The Everlasting Legacy of ´Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib (ع)
The Comments of Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd Regarding ´Alī's (ع) Legacy
Concluding Remarks

Appendix A
Glossary of Select Terms and Locales

Appendix B
Brief Description of Commonly Cited Individuals

Appendix C
List of the Fourteen Infallible Members of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع)

Appendix D
List of the Months of the Islāmic Calendar

Appendix E
Traditions Commonly Referred to in this Work by Their Titles

Appendix F
Qur`ānic Verses Commonly Referred to in this Work by Their Titles

Appendix G
Partial Lineage of the Banū ´Abd Manāf

Appendix H
Transliteration Guide

Introduction

The purpose of this book is to prove fundamental Shī'ah beliefs based on sources accepted by the Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamā'ah, commonly referred to as the Sunnīs. The fundamental facts established are that the imāmate and caliphate are the sole right of 'Alī (ع) and designated individuals from his descendants, that 'Alī (ع) was specifically designated as the rightful imām of the nation by the Prophet (ص), and that a designated imām is necessary to guide us away from the innovations that the companions and later generations of Muslims introduced to Islām.

Some may wonder why it is necessary to raise issues pertaining to what occurred fourteen centuries ago when these are the exact same issues that have created disunity among Muslims for centuries. The reason for this is rather simple—the truth must be established before there is any call for unity, as the nation cannot be called to unify in following erroneous beliefs, as occurred with previous nations. As such, academic research into the original teachings of Islām must never be abandoned. Of note, the only fundamental difference between the Shī'ah and the Sunnīs is that the Shī'ah believe that the imāmate is the prerogative of twelve specific imāms from the household (Ahl al-Bayt) of the Prophet (ع), while the Sunnīs believe that the imāmate can be held by anyone who comes to power, as long as he professes Islām.[1] If Sunnīs and other Muslim sects were to agree with the Shī'ah on the nature of the imāmate and the identity of the imāms, all significant differences would abate and the nation would be unified. Thus, establishing the nature of the imāmate based on the Book of Allāh and the Sunnah of the Prophet (ص) is a necessary step towards the unification of the nation. At the very least, those who read this book should develop a better understanding of the basis for Shī'ah beliefs, so that an end is put to sectarian strife based on unfounded accusations, and they should become further aware of the unfounded nature of the attacks leveled against Shī'ism, much of which today comes from Wahhābī propagandists and their ideologues.

Delving into the issues that separates us into sects is mandatory for each and every Muslim. The Prophet (ص) promised that his nation would divide into seventy-three sects, all of which will be in the fire except for one.[2] Similarly, the Qur'ān states rather explicitly that everyone follows Satan except for one single sect among the believers.[3] There is no doubt that this sect is the one that follows the two weighty items left by the Prophet (ص)—the Qur'ān and his Ahl al-Bayt (ع), which do not separate from one another until the Day of Judgment.[4] This would also be the same sect that avoids drowning by embarking on the Ark of Noah, which, in the Muslim nation, is the Prophet's Ahl al-Bayt (ع).[5] It is critical for each and every individual to ensure that he or she is following the one sect that will be saved from the fire, as blindly adopting the beliefs of

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1. Refer to chapter 43.
2. Refer to chapter 45.
3. Qur'ān 34:20.
4. Refer to chapter 15.
5. Refer to chapter 45.

one's parents and forefathers is a recipe for a disaster the scope of which will not become apparent until it is too late.

Methodology

This work proves fundamental Shī'ah beliefs based on the Qur`ān, Sunnī works of Qur`ānic interpretation, the traditions (Sunnah) of the Prophet (ص) as related by Sunnī scholars, Sunnī works on Islāmic history, Sunnī biographical sources, and common sense. A key source for the proofs is the Qur`ān, a book that is accepted by Muslims, both Sunnī and Shī'ah, in its entirety. Any in-depth discussion of a Qur`ānic verse, however, typically requires analysis of the meaning of the verse and the circumstances under which it was revealed. For this, a large number of prominent Sunnī books of Qur`ānic interpretation (tafsīr) are utilized.

The other key source is the words and actions (Sunnah) of the Prophet (ص) as related by a large number of Sunnī sources, including their most prominent works. Traditions are used to prove an assertion in a number of ways: (1) Traditions may be cited from books such as Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī or Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim which are considered the most authentic of sources by all Sunnīs. Such traditions are generally so well-established among Sunnī scholars that citing other sources including these traditions becomes redundant. Despite this fact, for some of the most critical concepts we discuss, a large number of Sunnī sources are listed to show that an event or saying is widely narrated and accepted by Sunnī scholars. (2) Traditions may be cited from other prominent Sunnī compendiums of prophetic tradition, including the rest of the six "authentic" collections (ṣiḥāḥ sittah), as well as works such as Musnad Ḥanbal, Mustadrak Ḥākim, and a large number of other key works. Also in this category are a number of works of Sunnī scholars on the virtues of the companions, such as Faḍā`il al-Ṣaḥābah of Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal and Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah of Muḥibb Ṭabarī, among others. (3) Traditions may be cited from Sunnī works devoted solely to the virtues of 'Alī or the Ahl al-Bayt (ع). These works provide a wealth of traditions regarding 'Alī and the Ahl al-Bayt (ع), some of which are difficult to find in other Sunnī sources. Some, such as Khaṣā`iṣ 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib of Nasā`ī, are widely recognized among Sunnīs, as its author compiled one of their six key compilations of tradition. However, since many Sunnīs are not particularly familiar with some of the other works in this category, the number of traditions that appear only in these works has been kept to a minimum. In general, when traditions that appear only in these sources are cited, they do not form the basic evidence for our assertions, but rather further illustrate a concept or provide further detail on a subject.

This book follows a quasi-historical order for two reasons. First is to show that the designation of 'Alī (ع) as the rightful imām, both directly and specifically as well as indirectly, occurred on numerous occasions and in many different contexts. Specific designation refers to circumstances in which 'Alī (ع) was specifically cited as the successor of the Prophet (ص). This occurred through the Prophet (ص) naming him his successor (khalīfah), the master (walī and mawlā) of the believers after him, and as having a relationship to the Prophet (ص) that was identical to that which Aaron (ع) had to Moses (ع), except for the fact that there are no prophets after Muḥammad (ص). Indirect designation refers to traditions that show that 'Alī (ع) was the most knowledgeable of the nation or that prove his superiority over the other companions in such a way that it would obligate them to obey and follow him as opposed to obligating him to obey and follow them. Indeed, indirect designations are critical in this context, as they establish the criteria for the recognition of the rightful imām at any time.

The second reason for the quasi-historical order is that many of the events we discuss cannot be fully appreciated outside their historical contexts. Indeed, the proofs can be divided into two subsets—those proofs that date before the death of the Prophet (ص) and those that follow his death. The proofs that predate the death of the Prophet (ص) primarily address the position of ʿAlī (ع) during the Prophet's (ص) lifetime and the specific designation of ʿAlī (ع) as the designated imām upon the Prophet's (ص) death. The proofs from the period following the death of the Prophet (ص) primarily address the conduct of the companions and caliphs after his death, contrasting their conduct to what is allowed by the Qur`ān and Sunnah. In particular, the conducts of the first three caliphs receive much attention. If they are proved to be unfit to serve as the caliph, imām, and the one who is foremost in authority, their caliphate would be Islāmically void.

The conduct of the companions receives much attention throughout this book. For obvious reasons, the focus is primarily on their misdeeds and errors in order to prove that they were not sinless saints, but rather human beings who were prone to serious lapses in judgment. The purpose of these discussions is not to slander those who died centuries ago, but to establish that the companions were a feuding group with contrasting motives, some of whom committed enough great sins to make them unreliable sources of Islāmic knowledge. Indeed, every significant disagreement in the Muslim nation today arises from disagreements among the companions and their successors (tābiʿīn), who are collectively called al-salaf (the early generations). If we are to find the truth about the message brought by the Prophet (ص), we cannot rely on unreliable sources of transmission for his Sunnah. Rather, we must sort out the companions who remained loyal to Islām from those who innovated, deviated, and strayed. Indeed, according to undisputed traditions, the Prophet (ص) warned that some of his companions would innovate and therefore be sent away from him when he is standing at the Fount of Kawthar on the Day of Judgment.[6]

In many cases, the conduct of the companions is best illustrated by historical narratives. This is the style used in the discussion of Abū Bakr's selection as caliph at the Saqīfah, of events in ʿUthmān's caliphate leading up to his execution, and of the Battles of Jamal, Ṣiffīn, and Nahrawān as well as the peace treaty of Ḥasan (ع) and the uprisings of Ḥusayn (ع), ʿAbd Allāh ibn Zubayr, and Mukhtār. Even though the exact details of the Sunnī historical narratives are not as relevant as the basic events that are undisputed, they provide the best means of illustrating the nature of the early caliphate and the political conduct of the companions as well as the political crises that plagued the nascent Muslim nation.

Sources for this Book

A wide array of prominent Sunnī works is used in support of Shīʿah assertions and to establish various events. Different sections of this work utilize varying styles to establish pertinent facts. In some sections, a single tradition is quoted and numerous sources containing the tradition or its key portion are cited. This is commonly done with traditions that are widely accepted and mutawātir (i.e. proven by the multiplicity of their chains of transmission). For traditions such as manzilah, Ghadīr, and the city of knowledge there are so many traditions with numerous distinct chains of transmission that listing the wording of each tradition would add significant length to the overall discussion. In these sections, a single account, a few traditions, or a composite account based on a number of Sunnī traditions appears followed by the numerous Sunnī works that cite the key portion of each tradition. In other sections, a number of traditions supporting a concept are quoted. The lists are in no way comprehensive, but rather provide a sampling of what appears in Sunnī texts on a particular subject. In some cases, readers are referred to the works of Shī'ah scholars who have presented a more detailed discussion of a particular subject or who have presented a longer list of Sunnī traditions and sources pertaining to a topic of interest.

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[6] Refer to chapter 36.

Although many key Sunnī texts are readily available both in print form and online, a problem arises in regards to citation of pages, as many of these books have gone through numerous publications by different publishers. As such, the page numbers are only helpful to the reader who has the same edition of the book. When possible, references are given in a form that is free of page numbers. For example, when works of Qur'ānic interpretation are cited, the information can readily be found under a particular verse, and for that reason the works of Qur'ānic interpretation are cited by reference to verses as opposed to pages in a book, a method that should become standard. For books of biography and rijāl, various combinations of numbers, names, and/or page numbers are cited to simplify the process of finding the exact source. For historical accounts, page numbers are typically provided, although the information in these works can be readily found under the account of a particular event. When page numbers are cited, the number immediately follows the name of the work, whereas when a tradition number is utilized, the pound sign (#) precedes the number. When page numbers are utilized, if multiple similar traditions appear on one page, this is typically noted parenthetically, whereas if such traditions appear on consecutive pages, each page is listed separated by commas, as opposed to being listed consecutively with a dash, in order to denote that a similar though distinct tradition appears on the next page, as opposed to the same single tradition continuing onto the next page. When possible, I have utilized numbering systems that comply with editions of each work that are readily available online so that readers can easily access the same works. It should be noted that tradition numbers don't always match in different publications of the same work. However, readers interested in locating the original traditions can easily find full-text compendiums in print and online forms that follow the standard numbering that I have utilized. Of note, the MSA-USC numbering convention is used for Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, and Muwaṭṭa' of Mālik.

Below is a brief review of the key works that appear throughout the footnotes in order to familiarize the reader with the nature of these works. The abbreviated titles used in the text and in the footnote references to refer to a work appear parenthetically for works whose full names are not utilized.

Sunnī Collections of Prophetic Tradition

A number of Sunnī works of tradition are utilized in this book. The Sunnīs have close to fifty key works of prophetic tradition. The best regarded ones are the ṣiḥāḥ sittah, or six authentic works, which include the following:

1. Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, generally considered the best of the Sunnī books of tradition.

2. Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, considered the best of the Sunnī books of tradition following Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī.

3. Sunan Abū Dāwūd.

4. Sunan Tirmidhī, also known as Jāmi' al-Ṣaḥīḥ of Tirmidhī.

5. Sunan Ibn Mājah.

6. Sunan Nasā'ī, also known as Sunan al-Ṣughrā Nasā'ī.

In addition to these six compendiums of "authentic" Sunnī traditions, there are a number of other compilations of tradition that are highly regarded and widely utilized by Sunnī scholars. Some of these works that have been used are the following:

7. Musnad Imām Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal (Musnad Ḥanbal) is a compilation of nearly 30,000 Sunnī traditions by the scholar who founded the Ḥanbalī school of Sunnī jurisprudence. In his work, traditions are organized based on the companion to whom they are attributed.

8. Muwaṭṭa' of Mālik ibn Anas (Muwaṭṭa' Mālik) is a collection of traditions by the founder of the Mālikī school of Sunnī jurisprudence.

9. Al-Mustadrak 'alā al-Ṣaḥīḥayn (Mustadrak Ḥākim) is a collection of traditions compiled by Ḥākim al-Nīsābūrī. In this work, he compiled 9,045 traditions that appear in neither Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī nor Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, although the author felt that these traditions were worthy of inclusion.

10. Sunan al-Dāramī is considered a major primary collection of Sunnī traditions.

11. Sunan al-Kubrā of Nasā'ī is a collection of nearly 12,000 traditions by the author of Sunan al-Ṣughrā Nasā'ī.

12. Sunan al-Kubrā of Bayhaqī by Abū Bakr al-Bayhaqī al-Shāfi'ī al-Ash'arī, is a collection of over 21,000 Sunnī traditions.

13. Al-Muṣannaf of 'Abd al-Razzāq was one of the earliest compilations of Sunnī traditions, containing over 21,000 traditions.

14. Mu'jam al-Ṣaghīr, Mu'jam al-Awsaṭ, and Mu'jam al-Kabīr of Ṭabarānī are three compilations of tradition by the third century Sunnī scholar Abū al-Qāsim Sulaymān ibn Aḥmad ibn Ayyūb al-Ṭabarānī.

15. Musnad Ṭayālisī was compiled by Abū Dāwūd al-Ṭayālisī, a second century Sunnī scholar.

16. Jāmi' al-Ṣaghīr of Suyūṭī, compiled by the preeminent Sunnī scholar of the ninth century A.H., is a secondary collection of over 10,000 traditions organized in alphabetic order.

17. Jāmi' al-Kabīr of Suyūṭī is a very large secondary source of traditions in which traditions are organized in alphabetic order. This work is also referred to as Jam' al-Jawāmi'.

18. Kanz al-'Ummāl fī Sunan al-Aqwāl wa al-Af'āl (Kanz al-'Ummāl) is a large and well-known secondary compilation of Sunnī traditions containing 46,624

traditions that was compiled by the tenth century A.H. Sunnī scholar al-Muttaqī al-Hindī.

19. Majma´ al-Zawā`id wa Manba´ al-Fawā`id (Majma´ al-Zawā`id) by ´Alī ibn Abī Bakr al-Haythamī (d. 807 A.H.) is a well-known secondary collection of traditions containing approximately 19,000 traditions.

In addition, a wealth of Sunnī traditions and other accounts can be found in works of commentary on their compilations of traditions, including:

20. Fatḥ al-Bārī by Ibn Ḥajar al-´Asqalānī, which is the most valued Sunnī commentary on Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī.
21. ´Umdah al-Qārī by Badr al-Dīn al-´Aynī, another widely utilized Sunnī commentary on Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī.
22. Al-Minhāj Bi-Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim of Yaḥyā ibn Sharaf al-Nawawī (Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim of Nawawī), a widely utilized Sunnī commentary on Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim.
23. Fayḍ al-Qadīr Sharḥ Jāmi´ al-Ṣaghīr (Fayḍ al-Qadīr), a work of ´Abd al-Ra`ūf al-Munāwī, a tenth century Sunnī scholar who wrote this commentary on Suyūṭī's Jāmi´ al-Ṣaghīr.

Sunnī Works of Qur`ānic Commentary

There are a large number of works of Qur`ānic commentary that are widely esteemed by the Sunnīs and that have been quoted throughout this book. The main ones used include:

1. Tafsīr Jāmi´ al-Bayān fī Tafsīr al-Qur`ān of Ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī (Tafsīr Ṭabarī).
2. Tafsīr al-Kashshāf of Zamakhsharī (Tafsīr Zamakhsharī).
3. Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr of Suyūṭī (Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr), which is a compilations of traditions pertaining to the verses of the Qur`ān that Suyūṭī found appearing with a complete chain of transmission in valid works.[7]
4. Tafsīr al-Kashf wa al-Bayān of Tha´labī (Tafsīr Tha´labī).
5. Tafsīr al-Kabīr of Fakhr al-Dīn Rāzī (Tafsīr Rāzī).
6. Tafsīr al-Jāmi´ li-Aḥkām al-Qur`ān of Qurṭubī (Tafsīr Qurṭubī).
7. Tafsīr Anwār al-Tanzīl wa Asrār al-Ta`wīl of Bayḍāwī (Tafsīr Bayḍāwī).
8. Tafsīr Fatḥ al-Qadīr of Muḥammad al-Shawkānī (Tafsīr Shawkānī).
9. Tafsīr al-Qur`ān al-Karīm of Ibn Kathīr (Tafsīr Ibn Kathīr).
10. Tafsīr Gharā`ib al-Qur`ān wa Raghā`ib al-Furqān of Nīsābūrī (Tafsīr Nīsābūrī).

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[7] Tafsīr Durr al-Manthūr 1:2 (introduction to the work).

A number of other Sunnī works of Qur`ānic commentary are also referenced. These include:

11. Tafsīr Rūḥ al-Ma´ānī of Ālūsī (Tafsīr Ālūsī).
12. Tafsīr al-Baḥr al-Muḥīṭ of Abū Ḥayyān (Tafsīr Abū Ḥayyān).
13. Irshād al-´Aql al-Salīm ilā Mazāyā al-Kitāb al-Karīm of Abū al-Sa´ūd (Tafsīr Abū al-Sa´ūd).
14. Tafsīr al-Bāb fī ´Ulūm al-Kitāb of Ibn ´Ādil (Tafsīr Ibn ´Ādil).
15. Ma´ālim al-Tanzīl of al-Baghawī (Tafsīr Baghawī).
16. Tafsīr al-Qur`ān of Fīrūzābādī (Tafsīr Fīrūzābādī).
17. Zād al-Masīr fī ´Ilm al-Tafsīr of Ibn al-Jawzī (Tafsīr Ibn al-Jawzī).
18. Al-Bāb al-Ta`wīl fī Ma´ānī al-Tanzīl of Khāzin (Tafsīr Khāzin).
19. Tafsīr al-Jalālayn of Maḥallī and Suyūṭī (Tafsīr Jalālayn).
20. Tafsīr Baḥr al-´Ulūm of Samarqandī (Tafsīr Samarqandī).
21. Al-Muḥarrar al-Wajīz fī Tafsīr al-Kitāb al-´Azīz of Ibn al-´Aṭīyyah (Tafsīr Ibn ´Aṭīyyah).
22. Tafsīr Naẓm al-Durar fī Tanāsub al-Āyāt wa al-Suwar of al-Baqā´ī (Tafsīr Baqā´ī).

The following three additional Sunnī works on Qur`ānic sciences are also utilized:

23. Al-Itqān fī ´Ulūm al-Qur`ān of Suyūṭī (Itqān), which is a book devoted to the Qur`ānic sciences.
24. Al-Maṣāḥif of Ibn Abī Dāwūd (Maṣāḥif Ibn Abī Dāwūd), which is a compilation of accounts regarding the different manuscripts of the Qur`ān possessed by the companions and the successors (tābi´īn).
25. Al-Mufradāt fī Gharīb al-Qur`ān by al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī (Mufradāt al-Qur`ān) which provides a discussion of Qur`ānic terms.

Sunnī Historical Texts

A large number of historical works from prominent Sunnī scholars have been utilized in this book. These include:

1. Tārīkh al-Rusul wa al-Mulūk, or History of the Prophets and Kings, of Abū Ja´far Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī (Tārīkh Ṭabarī), which is a major Sunnī historical source. Quotations from Ṭabarī are taken from its English translation, which appears as a 40 volume text under the title, History of al-Ṭabarī. Given its greater detail than other historical texts on many subjects and the fame and

prominence of its author among the Sunnīs, this source has been used extensively.

2. Al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah (The Beginning and the End), which is also referred to as Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr (Tārīkh ibn Kathīr).
3. Al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh of Ibn Athīr (Tārīkh Ibn Athīr).
4. Tārīkh Ibn Khaldūn.
5. Tārīkh Ya´qūbī by Aḥmad ibn Abī Ya´qūb ibn Ja´far, commonly known as al-Ya´qūbī, a third century scholar and expert on history and geography.
6. Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīyyah of Ibn Isḥāq (Sīrah Ibn Isḥāq). The translation of this work into English under the title, The Life of Muḥammad, has been utilized in this book.
7. Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīyyah of Ibn Hishām (Sīrah Ibn Hishām), who primarily based his work on Ibn Isḥāq's accounts.
8. Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīyyah of Ibn Kathīr (Sīrah Ibn Kathīr).
9. Al-Sīrah al-Ḥalabīyyah of Nūr al-Dīn ´Alī al-Ḥalabī (Sīrah Ḥalabīyyah).
10. Ḥayāt Muḥammad of Muḥammad Ḥusayn Haykal (Haykal), a twentieth century Egyptian Sunnī scholar. This work has been translated into English under the title, The Life of Muḥammad.
11. Tārīkh al-Khulafā` of Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī.
12. Al-Imāmah wa al-Sīyāsah of Ibn Qutaybah al-Dīnawarī (Imāmah wa Sīyāsah), who was a prominent Sunnī polemist and scholar.
13. Murūj al-Dhahab of Mas´ūdī, a prominent historian and geographer.
14. Tārīkh al-Khamīs by Ḥusayn ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥasan al-Dīyārbakrī.
15. Tārīkh Abū al-Fidā` also known as al-Mukhtaṣar fī Akhbār al-Bashar by ´Imād al-Dīn Abū al-Fidā`.
16. Futūḥ al-Buldān of al-Balādhurī, which is devoted to the history of Islāmic conquests.
17. Mu´jam al-Buldān by Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, a compilation of geographic locales, providing geographic, historical, and other information about each place.
18. Al-Milal wa al-Niḥal of Shahrastānī (Milal wa Niḥal), which is a source devoted to religious sects. The portion pertaining to Muslim sects has been translated into English under the title, Muslim Sects and Divisions, which is referenced in this work.

19. Kitāb al-Aghānī of Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī (Aghānī), technically a compilation of poetry, but it also contains an immense number of biographical and historical accounts.

20. Al-ʿIqd al-Farīd by Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, technically a book of adab (fine customs), but it offers a compilation of numerous poems, letters, speeches, proverbs, exchanges, historical narratives, and other accounts that provide a wealth of information about a variety of topics.

Sunnī Biographical Texts

There are a number of prominent Sunnī works on ʿilm al-rijāl, literally "science of people," that are cited in this book. These works contain a compilation of information on each individual listed as well as a wealth of historical accounts. These works can be categorized as general texts, those pertaining to the narrators of tradition (rijāl al-ḥadīth), those pertaining specifically to the companions, and those pertaining to specific companions. Some of the general Sunnī biographical texts include:

1. Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā, a compendium of biographical information about prominent early Muslims compiled by the third-century Sunnī scholar Ibn Saʿd.

2. Ansāb al-Ashrāf of al-Balādhurī, which is technically a work of genealogy, but it also provides detailed historical accounts about many individuals.

3. Wafayāt al-Aʿyān of Ibn Khallikān, a work dedicated to the obituaries of prominent companions, successors (tābiʿīn), and later scholars. This work contains some valuable biographical information and other accounts.

4. Tārīkh Damishq of Ibn ʿAsākir (d. 571 A.H.), which covers the lives of important men and women who either visited or were of importance to Damascus. Volume 42 is devoted in its entirety to ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib (ع).

A number of works cited deal specifically with the transmitters of traditions (rijāl al-ḥadīth), including:

5. Tārīkh Baghdād by Khaṭīb Baghdādī, who was a preeminent Ḥanbalī-Ashʿarī Sunnī scholar. This book, though ostensibly referred to as the history of Baghdād, is a reference work in narrator authentication (ʿilm al-rijāl) and a valuable compendium of thousands of traditions narrated with their full chains of transmission.

6. Tārīkh al-Kabīr of Bukhārī (Tārīkh Bukhārī) is a work by the author of Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī in which biographic information regarding narrators of traditions and a rating of each is presented. Tārīkh al-Ṣaghīr of Bukhārī is another biographical work of Bukhārī in which individuals are organized not by alphabetical listing, but rather by their dates of death.

7. Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb by Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī is a work of narrator authentication devoted to the transmitters of the traditions that appear in the ṣiḥāḥ sittah. This work also contains numerous other traditions as part of its discussions.

8. Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb is another work of Ibn Ḥajar in which the reliability of the narrators of tradition is discussed in an abridged form.

9. Tadhkirah al-Ḥuffāẓ of al-Dhahabī is a work devoted to the narrators of tradition, specifically those he held to be of high esteem.

10. Sīyar A´lām al-Nubalā` of Dhahabī is a detailed work on ´ilm al-rijāl.

11. Mīzān al-I´tidāl of Dhahabī contains a large number of transmitters and their traditions, particularly citing the weakness of the transmitters.

12. Lisān al-Mīzān of Ibn Ḥajar also contains a large number of transmitters and their traditions, particularly citing the weakness of the transmitters

13. Al-Ḍu´afā` wa al-Matrūkīn of Nasā`ī is a listing of the transmitters of tradition whom Nasā`ī considered as weak or abandoned.

There are three major Sunnī works that are considered key references specifically devoted to the lives of the companions. These include:

14. Al-Iṣābah fī Tamyīz al-Ṣaḥābah by Ibn Ḥajar al-´Asqalānī (Iṣābah).

15. Al-Istī´āb fī Ma´rifah al-Aṣḥāb by Ibn ´Abd al-Barr (Istī´āb), a prominent Sunnī Mālikī scholar.

16. Usd al-Ghābah fī Ma´rifah al-Ṣaḥābah by Ibn Athīr (Usd al-Ghābah).

Sunnī Works on the Virtues of the Companions

There are a number of Sunnī works pertaining to the virtues of the companions. The following are three examples:

1. Faḍā`il al-Ṣaḥābah of Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal (Faḍā`il Ḥanbal), in which the founder of the Ḥanbalī school of jurisprudence compiled numerous traditions regarding the virtues of many of the Prophet's (ص) companions.

2. Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah fī Manāqib al-´Asharah by Muḥibb al-Ṭabarī (Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah) details the merits of the ten companions Sunnīs claim to have been promised paradise. The section on ´Alī (ع) provides a wealth of Sunnī traditions regarding his virtues.

3. Dhakhā`ir al-´Uqbā is another work by Muḥibb al-Ṭabarī devoted to the merits of those related to the Prophet (ص).

Sunnī Works Devoted to ´Alī (ع)

Sunnī works devoted specifically to ´Alī (ع) serve as an important resource because their authors went to great lengths to collect Sunnī traditions and historical accounts on subjects that are addressed in this book. These texts include:

1. Khaṣā`iṣ Amīr al-Mu`minīn ´Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib of Nasā`ī (Khaṣā`iṣ Nasā`ī), the same scholar who compiled Sunan Nasā`ī. In regards to this work, Ibn Ḥajar

said, "Nasā'ī compiled the qualities that [ʿAlī] possessed exclusively, in lieu of the [other] companions. He gathered a lot of these with [their] chains of transmission, most of which are excellent."[8]

2. Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah of Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd al-Muʿtazilī al-Shāfiʿī (Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd). This is a voluminous work that provides a commentary on the Nahj al-Balāghah, which is a compilation of ʿAlī's (ع) speeches, letters, and sayings. Because the Nahj al-Balāghah has many references to various events during ʿAlī's (ع) life, Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd was often compelled to provide background information that he quoted from a large number of Sunnī sources, some of which no longer exist today. His traditions and historical accounts often allow accounts that appear in other Sunnī sources only in a summarized form to be further fleshed out and better understood. For example, the conflict between the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) and Abū Bakr and ʿUmar over ownership of the lands of Fadak is cited in Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī and Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, allowing us to draw all the critical conclusions that need to be drawn. However, Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd's work provides further details of their encounters that are of historical interest. In line with other Sunnī scholars, he duly defended the Sunnī position throughout his work, and spared no effort to absolve Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, ʿUthmān, and the other companions of their wrong-doings.

3. Manāqib ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib by Ibn Mughāzilī al-Shāfiʿī (Manāqib Ibn Mughāzilī), which provides a compilation of traditions pertaining to the virtues of ʿAlī and the Ahl al-Bayt (ع).

4. Kifāyah al-Ṭālib fī Manāqib ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib by Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf al-Ganjī (Kanjī) al-Shāfiʿī (Kifāyah) is a compilation of traditions pertaining to the virtues of ʿAlī (ع).

5. Al-Manāqib of Khwārazmī (Manāqib Khwārazmī) is a compilation of traditions pertaining to the virtues of ʿAlī (ع).

6. Yanābīʿ al-Mawaddah li-Dhawī al-Qurbā (Yanābīʿ al-Mawaddah) by al-Qundūzī al-Ḥanafī, a Sunnī scholar who collected traditions pertaining to the Prophet's Ahl al-Bayt (ع).

7. Shawāhid al-Tanzīl of Ḥasakānī, a compilation of traditions pertaining to verses of the Qur'ān revealed regarding ʿAlī and the Ahl al-Bayt (ع).

Shīʿah Sources Used

Virtually everything presented in this work is taken from Sunnī sources. Shīʿah traditions are used a few times for the matter of clarification. For example, in the discussion of the Shīʿah view of the book of Fāṭimah (ع), Shīʿah traditions are quoted to establish the Shīʿah position on the topic. This type of use is rather obvious and there is no attempt to pass Shīʿah traditions as belonging to Sunnī works.

There are numerous Shīʿah sources that were reviewed in preparation of this work because they provide many detailed discussions as well as references to Sunnī texts that contain relevant traditions and historical accounts. In select cases, the readers are referred to the appropriate sections in these Shī'ah works. In a number of cases, arguments provided in these works are so concise and eloquent that they are either quoted verbatim or used as the basis of our arguments, and are referenced as such. Key examples of such works include:

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[8] Iṣābah 2:1294 #5690 (ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib)

1. Al-Ghadīr fī al-Kitāb wa al-Sunnah wa al-Adab of 'Allāmah Amīnī (al-Ghadīr), which is perhaps the most comprehensive work on issues of Shī'ah-Sunnī controversy. His work is particularly helpful in that it contains numerous references to Sunnī sources, which helped immensely in the preparation of this work.

2. Imām Shenāsī by 'Allāmah Tehrānī, which discusses a number of traditions, verses, and historical accounts pertaining to the imāmate in great detail.

3. Ma'ālim al-Madrasatayn by 'Allāmah 'Askarī, which delves into a number of topics of Shī'ah-Sunnī controversy. His other works, including 'Abd Allāh ibn Saba`, Umm al-Mu`minīn 'Ā`ishah, and Naqsh-i A`immah dar Iḥyā`i Dīn (The Roles of the Imāms in the Revival of Religion), have also been very useful in the preparation of specific sections.

4. Ḥaqq al-Yaqīn of 'Allāmah Majlisī, which provides a great wealth of arguments proving Shī'ah beliefs. Although he commonly refers to Sunnī sources, his book is unfortunately devoid of detailed references.

Referencing of Sources

The above list of nearly one hundred Sunnī sources is by no means complete, as many other works appear in the references. However, this list helps familiarize readers with the key texts that were used in the preparation of this book. Any single tradition that is quoted typically appears in a number of Sunnī sources. For key traditions that form the basis of our arguments, a large number of sources are often listed to prove the widespread narration of these traditions. In some instances, there is a discussion of the tawātur (proof by multiplicity) of a tradition. For other traditions, the purpose of referencing each tradition is to show that the tradition appears in a number of authoritative Sunnī sources. As this work is not a bibliographical compendium, it is unnecessary to cite each and every Sunnī source that includes each tradition or historical account. Instead, one or a handful of the most prominent and widely utilized Sunnī sources that contain each tradition are listed in the footnotes to reduce the sheer bulk of the references.

It should also be noted that there are often numerous similar traditions with different wordings conveying the same message. These are often clumped together for the sake of referencing so that the exact wording of every single variation of a tradition does not have to be listed. For example, if one tradition states, "'Alī is from me and I am from him," and another one states, "You are from me and I am from you," while referring to 'Alī (ع), these would typically be considered identical for the sake of referencing, even though they are not technically the same tradition. For historical accounts, this method is often used as well, otherwise numerous minor variations of the exact same event would have to be quoted, making the book unnecessarily long. This co-referencing is also performed with accounts of various detail regarding the same exact event, as long as the sources address the same key concept. In such cases, similar but non-identical accounts are typically designated as such in the footnotes. It should be noted that the author has personally accessed every single reference; in the rare exceptions in which a passage is quoted indirectly, the intermediary source has been listed as well.

Translations

Most of the quotations are directly translated from Arabic to English by the author. For lengthy and detailed historical-type accounts, attention is paid primarily to readability in English, whereas for shorter traditions and many Qur`ānic verses, accurate word-for-word translations are often presented. Words needed to be added for the sentence to make sense in English are added in brackets, whereas words explaining a concept or specifying a pronoun are added parenthetically. Names and places that appear commonly in English are typically presented in their English form. Examples include Gabriel (ع), Abraham (ع), Moses (ع), Jesus (ع), Egypt, Syria, Mecca, etc. Other personal names and places are transliterated. Unfortunately, for some proper names a number of different pronunciations and therefore transliterations have been adopted. In these cases, an attempt has been made to choose the more accurate or more widely adopted transliteration.

In general, anything that appears as indented text, within quotation marks, or between a colon (:) and a reference are exact quotations, with two significant exceptions. First, phrases pertaining to the chain of transmission may be simplified. For example, "ʿIkrimah said that he was informed by Ibn ʿAbbās that the he was walking with the Prophet (ص) when he heard him say," may be changed to, "Ibn ʿAbbās said that the Prophet (ص) said," or "According to Ibn ʿAbbās, the Prophet (ص) said," or "The Prophet (ص) said," or other similar phrases that are not exact translations or quotations. Second, phrases of personal reverence such as, "may Allāh be pleased with him," or "may Allāh bless him," are generally deleted and/or replaced with ص (Ṣall Allāh-u ʿalayhi wa ʿalā ʿālihi wa sallam [May the peace and blessings of Allāh be upon him and his family]) or ع (ʿalayh-(ī/ā/himā/him) al-salām [peace be upon him/her/the two of them/them]). In general, for works already translated into English, phrases of reverence are often omitted in the translated works, and are thus excluded, and this serves as a sign to the reader that the text has been quoted from an English translation of a work. For Sunnī works translated directly from Arabic in this book, third person references to the Prophet (ص) are typically followed by an (ص), although this depends on context and the person quoted to have made the reference. It should also be noted that when Arabic words appear parenthetically, they are not necessarily reflective of the original word, but may represent a more commonly recognized co-derivative. For example, "Lā yuftīyanna aḥadun," is translated as, "No one may give a legal ruling (fatwā)," because the word "fatwā" provides a better explanation of the original intention to the English reader than "yuftīyanna".

Published English translations are used for a handful of Arabic works already translated into English, including Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, Tārīkh Ṭabarī, Sīrah Ibn Isḥāq, Haykal, and Milal wa Niḥal. These translations are generally taken verbatim, except for reformatting of transliterations and usage to conform to the format used throughout the rest of this book. For example, "God" is changed to "Allāh" and "Ḥanafiyah" is changed to "Ḥanafīyyah". For Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī and Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, grammatical and usage corrections are often made, as the translations appearing in the USC-MSA collection suffer from gross grammatical errors, have punctuation that makes sentences incomprehensible, and are often so poorly done as to be difficult to read. Of note, parenthetical comments are often added or deleted from these quotations, depending on whether or not they are necessary or redundant in the contexts in which they are presented. As for Sunan Abū Dāwūd and

Tafsīr Ibn Kathīr, partial English translations are available, which have occasionally been utilized, although all referencing is attributed to the Arabic originals, which contain the full text of these works. As for the verses of the Qur`ān, the translations of Yusuf Ali, Pickthal, Shakir, and others have been consulted and often used verbatim, although many verses have been translated directly from the original Arabic text, particularly when a more literal translation is more critical.

Definition of Sunnī and Shī´ah

It should be noted that the words "Sunnī" and "Shī´ah" have many different meanings and connotations. Although anyone who believes in ´Alī's (ع) right to the imāmate can be called Shī´ah, for the purposes of this work, Shī´ah refers specifically to Twelver (Ithnā ´Asharī) Shī´ism. Sunnī, on the other hand, refers to the sect formed by majority of Muslims who deny ´Alī's (ع) inherent right to the imāmate. This term applies only very loosely to the early generations, many of whom lived before the beliefs of Sunnīsm were codified during the early ´Abbāsīd caliphate. Sunnīs typically refer to themselves as the Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamā´ah. Although both Sunnīs and Shī´ah allow some leeway in specific theological and legal rulings, there are certainly beliefs that are commonly, if not universally, held by the scholars of each sect that distinguish the two sects from one another. Since Sunnīs today are overwhelmingly Ash´arī, in many cases Ash´arī and Sunnī beliefs are cited interchangeably in this work, even tough historically such specific beliefs may not have been held by all Sunnī sects. In some cases, beliefs particular to more specific sects (e.g. Wahhābī, Ash´arī, Ḥanafī, etc.) are discussed and those beliefs are typically labeled as such, even though the exact definition of each subsect suffers from the same shortcomings that apply to the definition of any sect at large.

Unfortunately, the terms "Shī´ah" and "Sunnī" are not great for theological discussions, because the Shī´ah follow the Sunnah of the Prophet (ص), while the Sunnīs claim to be among the Shī´ah of ´Alī (ع) when they encounter prophetic traditions promising paradise to ´Alī (ع) and his Shī´ah and praising them. Perhaps better terms are ´āmmah (common) and khāṣṣah (specific), which refer to the common belief that any common caliph is legitimate versus the belief held by a specific group that only specifically designated individuals have a right to the imāmate and caliphate. It also refers to following the general opinion of common companions and successors (tābi´īn) versus following the words of only specific individuals in the Prophet's Ahl al-Bayt (ع). The terms ´āmmah and khāṣṣah are used commonly by both Sunnī and Shī´ah scholars, but lack the widespread public usage that the labels Sunnī and Shī´ah enjoy, and are therefore not used in this work. It should also be noted that the word "companion" is used in accordance with the Sunnī definition of anyone who met the Prophet (ص) claiming to be Muslim and who died professing Islām.[9]

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[9] Refer to chapter 36 for a discussion of the definition of a companion.

Chapter 1

´Alī (ع), From Birth to Becoming the Pioneer in Islām

The Birth of ´Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib (ع)

´Alī (ع) was born in Mecca ten years prior to the onset of the prophetic mission (bi´thah) and twenty-three years prior to the Prophet's (ص) emigration to Madīnah.[10] At this time, the Messenger of Allāh (ص) was thirty years old and five years had passed since his marriage to Khadījah bint Khuwaylid. ´Alī's (ع) father was the Prophet's (ص) paternal uncle, Abū Ṭālib ibn ´Abd al-Muṭṭalib ibn Hāshim.[11] His mother was Fāṭimah bint Asad ibn Hāshim.[12] The Banū Hāshim (descendants of Hāshim) was considered one of the leading tribes of the Quraysh. Note that all of the later generations of the Banū Hāshim are descendants of ´Abd al-Muṭṭalib, the paternal grandfather of both the Prophet (ص) and ´Alī (ع). Fāṭimah bint Asad was the first female member of the Banū Hāshim to bear Hāshimīte children.[13] She had four sons—Ṭālib, ´Aqīl, Ja´far, and ´Alī (ع)—who were each separated by 10 years, as well as a daughter named Umm Hāni`.[14]

´Alī (ع), according to Sunnī traditions, was born inside the Ka´bah.[15] Indeed, Ḥākim, the eminent Sunnī scholar of Islāmic traditions said, "The traditions in regards to Fāṭimah bint Asad giving birth to ´Alī inside the Ka´bah have reached the level of tawātur (proof by virtue of multiplicity)."[16] In the science of Islāmic traditions (ḥadīth), tawātur refers to traditions related from so many independent sources and in such multiplicity that they leave no doubt in regards to the authenticity of the basic content of the traditions thus related. This is in contrast to traditions that are singular (āḥād), which are those that have been related through one or a few chains of transmission which are insufficient to create certainty in regards to the accuracy of the content of such traditions. Singular traditions can be used in matters of Islāmic jurisprudence in the absence of stronger evidence but cannot be used to establish key issues of fundamental beliefs. Only a small minority of Islāmic traditions reaches the level of tawātur; these traditions are referred to as mutawātir. Throughout this book, a number of such traditions will be presented, as they provide the greatest weight in any Islāmic discussion.

The Raising of ´Alī (ع) by the Messenger of Allāh (ص)

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[10] Iṣābah 2:1294 #5690 (´Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib).

[11] Istī´āb 3:197 #1875 (´Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib).

[12] Faḍā`il Ḥanbal #933; Istī´āb 3:197 #1875 (´Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib); Usd al-Ghābah 3:282 #3789 (´Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib).

[13] Istī´āb 3:197 #1875 (´Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib); Usd al-Ghābah 3:282 #3789 (´Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib); Faḍā`il Ḥanbal #933; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 1:13; Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:104; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:369.

[14] Istī´āb 3:197 #1875 (´Ali ibn Abi Ṭālib); Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:104; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 1:13.

[15] Mustadrak Ḥākim #6044; Manāqib Ibn Mughāzilī #3; Sīrah Ḥalabīyyah 1:227.

[16] Mustadrak Ḥākim #6044.

Ibn Isḥāq, the famous historian, said, "Allāh favored [´Alī] in that he was brought up in the care of the Apostle before Islām began."[17] As is widely related by Sunnī sources,

> When [the] Quraysh were afflicted by a severe drought, the Messenger of Allāh, seeing that Abū Ṭālib had many dependants, said to his uncle ´Abbās, who was one of the richest of the Banū Hāshim, "´Abbās, your brother Abū Ṭālib has many dependants, and you see how the people are suffering from this drought. Come with me and let us lighten the burden of his dependants. I will take one of his sons and you take another one, and we will look after them for him." ´Abbās agreed, and they went to Abū Ṭālib and said, "We wish to lighten the burden of your dependants until the hardship from which the people are suffering lifts." Abū Ṭālib said to them, "As long as you leave me ´Aqīl, do as you wish." The Messenger of Allāh took ´Alī and made him a member of his household, and ´Abbās did likewise with Ja´far. ´Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib continued to live with the Messenger of Allāh until the latter became a prophet, and then followed him, believed in him, and accepted the truth of his message. Ja´far remained with ´Abbās until he (i.e. Ja´far) professed Islām and became financially independent of him.[18]

This story is likely an invention intended to diminish the significance of ´Alī's (ع) adoption by the Prophet (ص) and is highly doubtful for a number of reasons. First, it is unlikely that Abū Ṭālib, as a leader of the Quraysh and a wealthy man, was so poverty-stricken that he could not feed his own children. Second, if ´Abbās and the Prophet (ص) intended to help Abū Ṭālib, they would have provided him with financial support as opposed to taking away his sons from him in what would be considered a humiliating act in any culture, particularly the Arab culture of the time in which glory was measured by the number of sons in one's possession. Moreover, since the Prophet (ص) was married to Khadījah at the time, he had the financial resources to provide financial support to Abū Ṭālib so that he would be able to maintain ´Alī (ع) in his own household, particularly because a two or three year old child consumes very little. Third, the duration of the drought and Abū Ṭālib's resultant poverty would have lasted no longer than a year or two. If ´Alī (ع) was provided food and shelter by his cousin to abate Abū Ṭālib's hardship, he should have been returned to Abū Ṭālib's care soon thereafter. Instead, he remained with the Prophet (ص) for the entirety of the Prophet's (ص) remaining lifetime. Fourth, the tradition specifically states that Abū Ṭālib preferred ´Aqīl to his other children, including ´Alī (ع). References to individuals being preferable to ´Alī (ع) are typical of forgeries. Fifth, there would be no reason to adopt ´Aqīl, as he was already in his twenties at the time ´Alī (ع) was born and was old enough to be independent; he was most certainly not of an age when a child would be adopted. Sixth, the tradition is mursal, meaning it is missing a companion from its chain of transmission, as it ends with Mujāhid, who was among the successors (tābi´īn) and who was born in the year 21 A.H. during the caliphate of ´Umar.[19]

In reality, ´Alī's (ع) adoption by the Prophet (ص) at the young age of two or three was for spiritual, not financial, support. The purpose was to train ´Alī (ع) in the Prophet's (ص) ways from childhood in order to groom him for his future role as imām. The fact that this occurred prior to the public onset of the prophetic mission should not be a surprise, as the Shī´ah believe that Muḥammad (ص) was a prophet from birth, as was Jesus (ع), but that he received his orders to begin his public role as a messenger and imām at the age of forty. Thus, the Prophet (ص) was aware of his impending divinely-inspired mission and was properly laying its groundwork. As such, the Prophet (ص) treated ʿAlī (ع) more dearly than any father treats his son. Faḍl ibn ʿAbbās said,

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[17] Sīrah Ibn Isḥāq 114; Tārīkh Ṭabarī 6:83.

[18] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 6:83; Sīrah Ibn Isḥāq 114; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 13:198-199; Dhakhā`ir al-´Uqbā 58; Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:109.

[19] Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb vol 10 #68 (Mujāhid ibn Jabr al-Makkī Abū al-Ḥajjāj al-Makhzūmī).

> I asked my father (ʿAbbās ibn ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib) about the sons of the Messenger of Allāh (ص) and which one of them the Messenger of Allāh loved the most. He said, "ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib." I told him, "I asked you about his sons." He said, "[ʿAlī] went beyond being the most beloved of all his sons. We did not see him separated from him for any length of time since he was a child except when [the Prophet (ص)] would go on a trip with Khadījah. And we have seen neither any father kinder to his son than [the Prophet (ص)] was to ʿAlī, nor any son more obedient to his father than ʿAlī was to him."[20]

In fact, a quality of ʿAlī (ع) that guaranteed his superiority over the rest of the Prophet's (ص) early companions was that he, like the Prophet (ص), never prostrated in worship of the pagan idols. This fact has been stated explicitly by Suyūṭī,[21] Ibn ʿAsākir,[22] and Ibn Saʿd.[23] The historian Masʿūdī described this as follows:

> Many people believe that ʿAlī never attributed any partners to Allāh. He began his religious worship and rituals with the advent of Islām. He was a follower of the Prophet (ص) in all his deeds, and grew up on this path. Allāh gave him protection from misdeeds, blocked him [from sinning], and harmonized him with the obeisance of His Prophet (ص). The two were neither forced nor coerced to perform acts of obeisance. Rather, they were free and able [to choose], so they chose obeisance to the Lord, compliance with His commands, and avoidance of His forbiddances.[24]

Indeed, Suyūṭī, in his commentary on the Qurʾān, quoted the Prophet (ص) as saying, "There were three who never disbelieved in Allāh at all—the believer of the family of Yāsīn, ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib, and Āsīyah the wife of Pharaoh."[25] This tradition is explicit that ʿAlī (ع) was always a believer in Allāh and never a pagan.

ʿAlī (ع) was the First to Accept Islām

At the onset of revelation, the Messenger of Allāh (ص) was not obliged to publicly proclaim his revealed message. He only informed those who lived with him and some of his closest associates about the revelation he had received. The people first invited to Islām were ʿAlī (ع), Khadījah, and Zayd ibn Ḥārithah. It is accepted by consensus that the first woman to accept Islām was the Prophet's (ص) wife, Khadījah.

ʿAlī (ع), who was ten years old at the time he accepted Islām,[26] was the first to follow the Prophet (ص) in the servitude of Allāh. According to Ibn Athīr, a prominent Sunnī biographer and historian, "He was the first of the people to accept Islām according to the word of many of the scholars."27 He added, "Abū Dharr, Miqdād, Khabbāb, Jābir, Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī, and others said, ''Alī was the first to accept Islām after Khadījah.' This gave him superiority over the others."28 Ibn Isḥāq said, "'Alī was the first male to believe in the Messenger of Allāh, to pray with him, and to believe in His divine message."29 Ibn Ḥajar said, "['Alī was] the first person to accept Islām according to the word of many of the people of knowledge."30 According to Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, "It is related from numerous different distinct traditions from Zayd ibn Arqam, Salmān al-Fārsī, Jābir ibn 'Abd Allāh, and Anas ibn Mālik that 'Alī was the first to accept Islām."31 Indeed, the traditions proving that 'Alī (ع) was the first to accept Islām are truly mutawātir. Just a few of these will be mentioned here.

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[20] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 13:200.

[21] Tārīkh al-Khulafāʾ 149.

[22] Tārīkh Damishq 42:26.

[23] Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 3:21.

[24] Murūj al-Dhahab 2:283.

[25] Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, verse 36:28.

[26] Sīrah Ibn Isḥāq 114; Tārīkh al-Khulafāʾ 149. Istīʿāb (3:199-200 #1875, ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib) cites traditions stating he was 8, 10, 12, 13, 15, 17, or 18 years old. Majmaʿ al-Zawāʾid (#14604) states a tradition that he was 8 years old. Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā (3:21) states that he was 9 years old. Ibn Ḥajar (Iṣābah 2:1294 #5690, ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib) states, "He was born ten years prior to the onset (biʿthah) [of the prophetic mission] according to

Examples of Prophetic Traditions

1. The Prophet (ص) said, "The first person to come to me at the Fount [of Kawthar] will be the first who became Muslim, 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib."32

2. The Prophet (ص) said, "'Alī was the first to believe in me and to affirm me."33 He similarly said, "This ('Alī) was the first to believe in me and to affirm me (ṣadaqanī) and to pray with me."34

3. The Prophet (ص) said, "The angels sent prayers upon (ṣalla 'alā) me and 'Alī for seven years. This was because at that time no other man prayed with me."35

4. When the Prophet (ص) married Fāṭimah to 'Alī and she was ridiculed for marrying a man with no worldly possessions, the Prophet asked her, "Are you not content that I married you to the first of my nation (ummah) to accept Islām, to the most knowledgeable of them, and to the most patient of them?" She replied, "Yes, I am content, O Messenger of Allāh."36

5. 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb was with a group discussing the foremost of the believers. He said: I heard the Messenger of Allāh mentioning qualities for 'Alī, possessing any one of which would be better for me than everything that the sun shines upon. Abū 'Ubaydah, Abū Bakr, and I were present among a group of the companions when the Prophet patted 'Alī on the back and said, "O 'Alī! You

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the sound [accounts]." Ibn Athīr also cites the tradition that he was 10 years old when he accepted Islām (Usd al-Ghābah 3:283 #3789, 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib).

27. Usd al-Ghābah 3:282 #3789 ('Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib).
28. Usd al-Ghābah 3:284 #3789 ('Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib).
29. Sīrah Ibn Isḥāq 114; Tārīkh Ṭabarī 6:83.
30. Iṣābah 2:1294 #5690 ('Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib).
31. Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 13:229.
32. Mustadrak Ḥākim #4662; Tārīkh Baghdād #459 (Muḥammad ibn Abān); Kanz al-'Ummāl #32991; Istī'āb 3:198 #1875 ('Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib) (three traditions); Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:110 (three traditions); Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 13:229; Tārīkh Damishq 42:40; Usd al-Ghābah 3:284 #3789 ('Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib).
33. Tārīkh Damishq 42:36.
34. Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 13:225.
35. Usd al-Ghābah 3:284 #3789 ('Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib); Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 13:230; Manāqib Khwārazmī #17; Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:121.
36. Usd al-Ghābah 5:364 #7184 (Fāṭimah bint Rasūl Allāh); Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 13:227-8; Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:160; Sīrah Ḥalabīyyah 1:432; Kanz al-'Ummāl #36370, #32925-7. Slight differences in phrasing exist in these traditions.

were the first of the believers to adopt belief [in Islām] and the first of them [to accept] Islām, and you are to me as Aaron was to Moses."[37]

Examples of ʿAlī's (ع) Claims

There are numerous Sunnī traditions in which ʿAlī (ع) claimed to be the first to accept Islām. The following are just a few examples:

1. ʿAlī (ع) said, "I was the first to accept Islām."[38]

2. ʿAlī (ع) said, "I was the first to pray with the Messenger of Allāh (ص)."[39]

3. ʿAlī (ع) said, "I served Allāh along with the Messenger of Allāh (ص) for seven years before anyone else in this nation served Allāh."[40] Seven years here may refer to the fact that he served Allāh along with the Prophet (ص) for seven years before the open prophetic mission began and the Prophet (ص) started inviting others to Islām, but in other accounts it appears to refer to seven years passing before prayers were mandated for all Muslims.

4. ʿAlī (ع) said, "I do not know anyone in this nation who served Allāh before me. I served Him before any of [the rest of] them by five years" or "seven years."[41]

5. ʿAlī (ع) said: I prayed for seven years before the [rest of the] people [prayed]. We used to perform prostrations (sajdah) but not bendings (rukūʿ). The first prayer in which we performed rukūʿ was an afternoon (ʿaṣr) prayer. I said, "O Messenger of Allāh, what is this?" He replied, "I have been ordered [to perform] it."[42]

6. ʿAlī (ع) said, "I am al-Ṣiddīq al-Akbar (the more truthful one). I believed before Abū Bakr believed and I accepted Islām before Abū Bakr accepted Islām."[43]

7. According to Ibn Mājah, Nasāʾī, Ḥanbal, Ḥākim, Ibn Kathīr, Ṭabarī, Ibn Kathīr, and others, ʿAlī (ع) said, "I am the servant of Allāh and the brother of His Messenger (ص), and I al-Ṣiddīq al-Akbar (the more truthful one). No one other than I can claim this but a liar. I prayed with the Messenger of Allāh (ص) for seven years before any other man."[44]

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[37] Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #36392; Tārīkh Damishq 42:167; Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:109-110, 118. Slight differences of phrasing exist in these accounts. Kanz al-ʿUmmāl (#36378) cites another similar tradition in which ʿUmar listed numerous other qualities for ʿAlī (ع) in this context, and Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd (13:229-230) has an account, according to which ʿUmar listed seven of ʿAlī's (ع) qualities in this context.

[38] Tārīkh Baghdād #1947 (Ahmad ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn Sulaymān); Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:250; Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 3:21.

[39] Faḍāʾil Ḥanbal #999, #1003; Musnad Ḥanbal #1191; Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #36396; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 4:118; Usd al-Ghābah 3:283 #3789 (ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib); Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 3:21. In two of the traditions (Musnad Ḥanbal #1191, Faḍāʾil Ḥanbal #1003), the phrase used is, "the first *man* to pray."

[40] Mustadrak Ḥākim #4585.

[41] Usd al-Ghābah 3:283 #3789. Similarly, Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:111; Istīʿāb 3:200 #1875 (ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib); Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 4:118.

[42] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 13:229. The first and key sentence also appears in Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:111.

[43] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:370; Tārīkh Damishq 42:33; Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:110; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 13:228; Dhakhāʾir al-ʿUqbā 58.

[44] Sunan Ibn Mājah #120; Sunan al-Kubrā Nasāʾī #8395; Faḍāʾil Ḥanbal #993; Mustadrak Ḥākim #4584; Tārīkh Ṭabarī 6:81; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 3:36; Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #36389; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 13:200, 13:228; Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:124.

The last two traditions share an interesting point—It is clear not only that ʿAlī (ع) was the first to accept Islām and to stand behind the Messenger of Allāh (ص) in prayer, but also that he was the true, greater ṣiddīq. Ṣiddīq is a title commonly ascribed to Abū Bakr by the Sunnīs, but according to this tradition, ʿAlī (ع) was far more deserving of it than any other individual. Indeed, Muḥibb Ṭabarī admitted that, "The Messenger of Allāh named [ʿAlī] al-Ṣiddīq."[45] He also said, "[ʿAlī was] given the titles Yaʿsūb al-Ummah (leader of the nation), and al-Ṣiddīq al-Akbar (the greater ṣiddīq, the more truthful one)."[46] Moreover, Suyūṭī and others have related that the Prophet (ص) said, "The truthful (ṣiddīqūn) are three—Ḥizqīl, the believer of the family of Pharaoh; Ḥabīb al-Najjār, the companion of the family of Yāsīn; and ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib."[47] According to numerous Sunnī sources, the Prophet (ص) also said,

> The truthful (ṣiddīqūn) are three—Ḥabīb al-Najjār [who was] the believer of the family of Yāsīn who said, "O tribe, follow the messengers"[48]; Ḥizqīl [who was] the believer of the family of Pharaoh who said, "Do you kill a man for saying, My Lord is Allāh'?"[49] and ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib, who is the best (afḍal) of them.[50]

The fact that there is no mention of Abū Bakr in this tradition suggests that the title al-Ṣiddīq which is commonly used to refer to Abū Bakr did not originate from the Prophet (ص). Even more questionable is the title al-Fārūq commonly ascribed to ʿUmar, as, according to Sunnī traditions, this was a title given to him by the People of the Book.[51] Later, it was assumed that this title had been given to him by the Prophet (ص). In fact, both al-Ṣiddīq and al-Fārūq were among ʿAlī's (ع) virtuous titles that were later attributed to Abū Bakr and ʿUmar, in what became a rather common phenomenon of ascribing the merits of the Ahl al-Bayt to other companions, in particular the first three caliphs.[52] The fact that these were ʿAlī's (ع) titles is demonstrated by the following tradition:

> Salmān, Abū Dharr, and Ibn ʿAbbās said: The Prophet held ʿAlī's hand and said, "This is the first who believed in me and this is the first who will meet me on the Day of Judgment. This is al-Ṣiddīq al-Akbar (the more truthful one) and this is al-Fārūq (the separator) of this nation who will separate between truth and falsehood. This is Yaʿsūb al-Muʾminīn (the leader of the believers), while [worldly] wealth is the leader of the oppressors."[53]

The Companions Believed that ʿAlī (ع) was the First to Accept Islām

1. Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī (ع) said, "[ʿAlī] was the first to accept Islām."[54]

2. ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās said, "The first to accept Islām was ʿAlī."[55]

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[45] Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:104.
[46] Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:106.
[47] Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, verse 36:29; Jāmiʿ al-Ṣaghīr Suyūṭī #5148; Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #32897. Similarly, Faḍāʾil Ḥanbal #1072; Tārīkh Damishq 42:313.
[48] Qurʾān 36:20.
[49] Qurʾān 40:28.
[50] Faḍāʾil Ḥanbal #1117; Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:104; Tārīkh Damishq 42:43; Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #32898; Jāmiʿ al-Ṣaghīr Suyūṭī #5149; Dhakhāʾir al-ʿUqbā 56; Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, verse 36:29.
[51] Refer to chapter 57.
[52] Refer to chapter 76.
[53] Tārīkh Damishq 42:41-3 (multiple chains of transmission with minor differences; some of the traditions state additional qualities for ʿAlī [ع]). The middle sentence also appears in Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:106. The last sentence also appears in Jāmiʿ al-Ṣaghīr Suyūṭī #5600 as follows: "ʿAlī is the leader (yaʿsūb) of the believers, while [worldly] wealth is the leader of the hypocrites."
[54] Istīʿāb 3:199 #1875 (ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib).

3. As cited by Tirmidhī and others, ´Abd Allāh ibn ´Abbās said, "The first who prayed [with the Messenger of Allāh (ص)] was ´Alī."[56]

4. As related by Tirmidhī, Ḥākim, Ḥanbal, Nasā`ī, Ibn Kathīr, Ṭabarī, many others, Zayd ibn Arqam said, "The first to accept Islām with the Messenger of Allāh (ص) was ´Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib."[57] Tirmidhī certified this tradition as "good [and] authentic (ḥasan-ṣaḥīḥ),"[58] and Ḥākim certified this tradition as authentic (ṣaḥīḥ).[59]

5. Zayd ibn Arqam said, "The first to pray with the Messenger of Allāh (ص) was ´Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib."[60]

6. ´Abd Allāh ibn ´Abbās said, "Allāh made it obligatory for every Muslim to ask for the forgiveness of ´Alī when He recites, 'Our Lord, forgive us and our brethren who have preceded us in faith.'[61]"[62] Of note, asking forgiveness (istighfār) does not imply that one must have sinned. The Prophet (ص) begged for forgiveness when he had not sinned even once in his lifetime. Surely it is better to ask for forgiveness without having committing a sin than after doing so. Moreover, the Prophet's (ص) begging for forgiveness was because he felt responsible for the sins of his nation and asked Allāh for forgiveness of those sins.

7. Buraydah al-Aslamī said, "The Prophet (ص) was made a prophet on Monday and ´Alī accepted Islām on Tuesday."[63] A similar tradition states, "The Prophet (ص) was made a prophet on Monday and ´Alī prayed [with him] on Tuesday."[64] Ḥākim certified the latter tradition as authentic.[65]

8. Ibn ´Abbās said in regards to the phrase, "and bend in prayer," in the verse, "Stand in prayer, pay charity (zakāt), and bend in prayer (rukū´) along with those who bend in prayer,"[66] "It is among what has been revealed specifically in regards to the Prophet (ص), ´Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, and his Ahl al-Bayt in Sūrah Baqarah. 'Bend in prayer along with those who bend in prayer,' was revealed in

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[55] Faḍā`il Ḥanbal #997; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 4:118; Istī´āb 3:199 #1875 (´Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib); Usd al-Ghābah 3:283 #3789 (´Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib). Similarly, Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā (3:21) states that Ibn ´Abbās said that ´Alī (ع) was the first to accept Islām after Khadījah.

[56] Sunan Tirmidhī #3734; Tārīkh Ṭabarī 6:80; Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:111. Similarly, Istī´āb 3:197 #1875 (´Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib).

[57] Sunan Tirmidhī #3735; Mustadrak Ḥākim #4663 (certifies the tradition as authentic); Musnad Ḥanbal #19300; Faḍā`il Ḥanbal #1000; Sunan al-Kubrā Nasā`ī #8137; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 3:38, 7:250, 7:370; Tārīkh Ṭabarī 6:80-81; Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 3:21; Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:110; Usd al-Ghābah 3:283 #3789 (´Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib).

[58] Sunan Tirmidhī #3735.

[59] Mustadrak Ḥākim #4663.

[60] Musnad Ḥanbal #19303, #19322; Sunan al-Kubrā Nasā`ī #8137, #8391, #8393; Sunan al-Kubrā Bayhaqī #11938; Mu´jam al-Kabīr Ṭabarānī 5:177; Majma´ al-Zawā`id #14608; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:250; Istī´āb 3:199-200 #1875 (´Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib); Faḍā`il Ḥanbal #1040, #1004; Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 3:21; Tārīkh Damishq 42:37-38 (five traditions).

[61] Qur`ān 59:10.

[62] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 13:224-225.

[63] Mustadrak Ḥākim #4587; Usd al-Ghābah 3:283 #3789 (´Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib); Tārīkh al-Khulafā` 149.

[64] Sunan Tirmidhī #3728; Mustadrak Ḥākim #4586, #4841 (certifies both traditions as authentic); Majma´ al-Zawā`id #14606; Istī´āb 3:200 #1875 (´Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib); Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 13:229; Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:111; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:369.

[65] Mustadrak Ḥākim #4586, #4841.

[66] Qur`ān 2:43.

> regards to the Messenger of Allāh and ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib, as the two of them were the first to pray and to bend in prayer (rukūʿ)."[67]

This is a brief sampling of such traditions. Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr said, "It has been related from Salmān, Abū Dharr, Miqdād, Khabbāb, Jābir, Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī, and Zayd ibn Arqam that ʿAlī was the first to accept Islām and that this fact gave him a virtue that others did not possess."[68] Suyūṭī said, "Ibn ʿAbbās, Anas, Zayd ibn Arqam, Salmān al-Fārsī, and a group [of others] said that he was the first to accept Islām; consensus in this regards has been related by some."[69] ʿAllāmah Amīnī compiled sixty-six Sunnī traditions in which a large number of companions and successors (tābiʿīn) stated that ʿAlī (ع) was the first to accept Islām.[70]

Historical Accounts Regarding ʿAlī (ع) Being the First to Accept Islām

As related by a number of Sunnī sources, ʿAfīf said,

> During the Jāhilīyyah (Days of Ignorance), I came to Mecca and stayed with ʿAbbās ibn ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib. When the sun came up and rose into the sky, while I was looking at the Kaʿbah, a young man came up and gazed at the sky. Then he turned to face the Kaʿbah and stood facing it. Soon afterwards, a youth came and stood on his right, and soon after that a woman came and stood behind them. The young man bowed and the youth and the woman bowed; then the young man stood erect, followed by the youth and the woman, and then the young man prostrated himself, and they did so with him.
>
> I said, "ʿAbbās, this is a weighty matter." "It is a weighty matter indeed," he said. "Do you know who this is?" "No," I said. "This is Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, my brother's son," he said. "Do you know who this is with him?" "No," I said. "This is ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib ibn ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, my brother's son," he said. "Do you know who this woman is who is behind them?" "No," I said. "This is Khadījah bint Khuwaylid, my nephew's wife," he said. "My nephew has told me that his Lord, the Lord of heaven, has commanded them to do what you see them doing. [By] Allāh's oath, I do not know anyone on the face of the earth but these three who follow this religion."[71]

ʿAfīf al-Kindī further discussed the matter with Abū Ṭālib. Abū Ṭālib asked ʿAfīf, "Do you know who these are?" He said, "No." He said, "This is the son of my brother, Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib; this is my son ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib; and this woman behind them is Khadījah bint Khuwaylid, the wife of Muḥammad, my brother's son. I swear by Allāh that I do not know of anyone who follows this religion on the

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67. Shawāhid al-Tanzīl #124, verse 2:43.
68. Istīʿāb 3:197 #1875 (ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib).
69. Tārīkh al-Khulafāʾ 149.
70. Refer to al-Ghadīr 3:224-236.
71. Tārīkh Ṭabarī 6:81-2. The same and similar accounts also appear in Tārīkh Ṭabarī 6:82; Musnad Ḥanbal #1787; Sunan al-Kubrā Nasāʾī #8394; Muʿjam al-Kabīr Ṭabarānī 18:100-102 (two traditions), 22:452-3; Sīrah Ibn Isḥāq 113-114; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 13:226-227; Khaṣāʾiṣ Nasāʾī 45; Istīʿāb 3:201 #1875 (ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib); Majmaʿ al-Zawāʾid #14605 (certifies those in the chain of transmission of Ḥanbal as trustworthy); Sīrah Ḥalabīyyah 1:436; Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:111-2; Manāqib Khwārazmī #21; Shawāhid al-Tanzīl #125, verse 2:43.

entirety of earth but these three."[72] ʻAfīf said, "Had Allāh made me Muslim on that day, I would have been the second [man to follow the Prophet] along with ʻAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib."[73]

Indeed, Abū Ṭālib was well aware of the fact that his son was praying with the Prophet (ص) and, as related by Sunnī sources, Abū Ṭālib approved of ʻAlī's (ع) devotion to Islām. According to Ibn Isḥāq, the Messenger of Allāh (ص) and ʻAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib (ع) conducted prayed together regularly. Abū Ṭālib once found them performing prayers and asked ʻAlī (ع), "My boy, what is this religion of yours?" He answered, "I believe in Allāh and in the Apostle of Allāh, and I declare that what he has brought is true, and I pray to Allāh with him and follow him." Abū Ṭālib replied, "He would not call you to anything but what is good, so stick to him."[74] A more detailed discussion of Abū Ṭālib's beliefs will appear in chapter 5.

Discussion

There are numerous other traditions indicating that ʻAlī (ع) was the first man to accept Islām. After ʻAlī (ع), Zayd ibn Ḥārithah, then Abū Dharr followed by Abū Bakr, and according to some accounts, Abū Bakr followed by Abū Dharr, accepted Islām.[75] Of note, Ṭabarī has cited a tradition that says, "More than fifty people accepted Islām before Abū Bakr."[76] Despite these clear traditions, some still claim that Abū Bakr or possibly Zayd ibn Ḥārithah were the first men to accept Islām.

Sunnī books of biography (rijāl), history, and tradition try to create a muddled picture of who the first person to accept Islām was. This is rather typical, as their traditions tend to ascribe any merits of the Ahl al-Bayt of the Prophet (ص) to other companions.[77] Indeed, ʻAlī (ع) said explicitly during a speech given in Baṣrah, "I am the more truthful one (al-ṣiddīq al-akbar). I believed before Abū Bakr believed and I accepted Islām before Abū Bakr accepted Islām."[78] He clearly negated two main claims regarding Abū Bakr—that he was the first man to accept the Prophet's (ص) call to Islām and that he was entitled al-Ṣiddīq, or the truthful one. Furthermore, Zayd ibn Ḥārithah, the Prophet's (ص) freed slave, accepted Islām before Abū Bakr did. The Messenger of Allāh (ص) said in regards to that point in time, "Only a free man (ʻAlī) and a slave (Zayd ibn Ḥārithah) followed me."[79] Furthermore, when Ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah was asked, "Was Abū Bakr the first of them to accept Islām?" he replied, "No!"[80]

Some Sunnī scholars have claimed that the difference in traditions is due to the fact that Khadījah was the first woman to accept Islām, ʻAlī (ع) was the first boy to accept Islām, Zayd ibn Ḥārithah was the first slave to accept Islām, and Abū Bakr was the first free adult man to accept Islām.[81] They appear to use this technicality to justify the continuation of the false claim that Abū Bakr was the first to accept Islām. By negating the value of Islām in ʻAlī (ع) at a young age, of a woman, and of a slave, they try to create a virtue for Abū Bakr. Their explanations for these conflicting traditions only attempt to cover up the processes by which their false traditions grant virtues to Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, ʿUthmān, and others, instead of exposing these processes in order to reveal the truth.

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[72] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 13:209.

[73] Musnad Ḥanbal #1787; Istīʻāb 3:201 #1875 (ʻAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib); Majmaʻ al-Zawāʼid #14605 (certifies those in the chain of transmission of Ḥanbal as trustworthy); Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:112.

[74] Sīrah Ibn Isḥāq 114; Tārīkh Ṭabarī 6:84; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 13:199-200.

[75] Tārīkh Yaʻqūbī 2:23.

[76] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 6:85.

[77] Refer to chapter 76.

[78] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:370; Tārīkh Damishq 42:33; Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:110; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 13:228; Dhakhāʼir al-ʻUqbā 58.

[79] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 13:230.

[80] Istīʻāb 3:200 #1875 (ʻAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib).

[81] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:250.

The value of ʿAlī's (ع) faith at his young age will be addressed in more detail in the next chapter. However, as suggested by a number of traditions, some of which have been presented, it is clear that the Prophet (ص) and ʿAlī (ع) believed in Islām well before the public proclamation of prophecy. Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd said,

> ʿAlī saw with the Messenger of Allāh the light and heard the sound before the prophetic mission. The Messenger of Allāh told him, "Had I not been the seal of prophets, you would have been my partner in prophecy. Since you are not a prophet, you are the executor (waṣī) of a prophet and his inheritor (wārith). In fact you are the chief of the executors (sayyid al-awṣīyā`) and leader of the pious (imām al-atqīyā`)."[82]

Another significance of the fact that ʿAlī (ع) was the first to believe in the Prophet (ص) is that he would have naturally been the imām from the moment of the biʿthah (the onset of the prophetic mission) because if the Prophet (ص) were to be martyred at that time, ʿAlī (ع) would have been the only person to assume the imāmate.

ʿAlī (ع) was the True Pioneer in Islām

Although establishing simple facts of chronology is important to refute those who claim that Abū Bakr was the first to accept Islām when he wasn't, it only indirectly addresses the main issue, which is fact that ʿAlī (ع) was the best and most noble of the companions. More importantly, ʿAlī (ع) was not just a pioneer in terms of being chronologically the first man to accept Islām, but also a pioneer in terms of always being ahead of the other companions in every single virtue imaginable. These facts are clearly demonstrated in the Qur`ān.

Qur`ānic Verse: "The Pioneers Among the Pioneers"

The phrase, "the pioneers among the pioneers,"[83] in the Qur`ān refers to ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib (ع) who was the first to accept Islām as well as the pioneer among the companions in every virtue. Ibn ʿAbbās, as quoted in many Sunnī sources and books of Qur`ānic interpretation, said that the Prophet (ص) said in regards to this verse, "The pioneers were three. Yūshaʿ (Joshua) ibn Nūn was the pioneer in accepting Moses, Ṣāḥib-i Yāsīn was the pioneer in accepting Jesus, and ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib was the pioneer in accepting Muḥammad."[84] Similarly, the Prophet (ص) said,

> The pioneers of the nations are three who did not attribute partners to Allāh for even the blinking of an eye—ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib, Ṣāḥib-i Yāsīn, and the believer of the family of Pharaoh. They are the truthful ones (ṣiddīqūn). Ḥabīb the

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[82] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 13:210.

[83] Qur`ān 56:10.

[84] Jāmiʿ al-Ṣaghīr Suyūṭī #4795; Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #32896; Majmaʿ al-Zawā`id #14598; Muʿjam al-Kabīr Ṭabarānī 11:77; Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:110; Tafsīr Ibn Kathīr, verse 36:26.

> carpenter was the pioneer of the family of Yāsīn, Ḥizqīl was the believer of the family of Pharaoh, and ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib. ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib is the best of them.[85]

The reference to ʿAlī (ع) being a ṣiddīq (truthful one) is noteworthy again, as is the Prophet's (ص) statement that ʿAlī (ع) was the best of the ṣiddīqs.

It is also important to note that the fact that the Qurʾān establishes ʿAlī (ع) as being the pioneer in Islām refers to more than his being the first to accept Islām. Indeed, placing ʿAlī (ع) in the same category as Yūshaʿ ibn Nūn and Ṣāḥib-i Yāsīn proves that ʿAlī (ع) had a divinely-mandated role in Islām that no other companion could lay a claim to. As such, the Prophet (ص) said, "If the seven heavens and the seven earths were placed on one side of a scale and ʿAlī's belief (īmān) on the other, ʿAlī's faith would predominate."[86] Moreover, ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās said,

> There is no verse in the Qurʾān that contains, "O you who believe," except that ʿAlī is the head, leader, and most noble example of those addressed. Allāh has criticized the companions of Muḥammad (ص) in the Qurʾān but does not mention ʿAlī except by his virtues.[87]

Qurʾānic Verse: ʿAlī (ع) is "The Righteous One Among the Believers"

It is narrated in several Sunnī sources that, "the righteous one among the believers (ṣāliḥ al-muʾminīn)," in the following verse was ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib (ع): "But if you (ʿĀʾishah and Ḥafṣah[88]) back up each other against him (the holy Prophet), indeed Allāh is his protector (mawlā) and Gabriel and the righteous one among the believers. Furthermore, the angels will back him up."[89,90]

This verse is clear in proving ʿAlī's (ع) superiority over all the other companions. It shows that the Prophet (ص) could not count on the support of his wives, whom the Sunnīs consider among the foremost of his loyal companions, as they might turn their backs on him at any time. Yet, he could always count on the support of Allāh, Gabriel (ع), ʿAlī (ع), and the angels. Indeed, the ability of the Prophet (ص) to count on ʿAlī (ع) as a source of consistent support from the beginning of his prophetic mission is proof of ʿAlī's (ع) infallibility, otherwise the Prophet (ص) could only count on his support when ʿAlī (ع) was not sinning and not when he was. The listing of ʿAlī (ع) alongside Allāh, Gabriel (ع), and the angels is proof of his consistent service to Islām and his immunity from being led astray, something that not only cannot be attributed to other companions, but in fact is proved not to apply to other companions by this verse, as the verse offers direct rebuke of two of the Prophet's (ص) wives. Indeed, citing the "righteous one among the believers" in this context is a reference to the position of the sinless (maʿṣūm) imām. This verse creates a category of one single intractably righteous Muslim other than the Prophet (ص) that he could always rely upon, and that is the sinless imām. The fact that he could not rely on all of his companions will become evident as we examine their conduct both during his lifetime and after his death. Many of them were quick to abandon him in battle, to oppose him, to betray him, and to innovate in his religion.

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[85] Kifāyah al-Ṭālib 123-124, chapter 24. Similarly, Tafsīr Thaʿlabī, verse 36:26. Similar traditions about ʿAlī (ع) being among the three truthful ones were presented earliers in this chapter.

[86] Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:206; Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #32993; Manāqib Ibn Mughāzilī #330; Kifāyah al-Ṭālib 258, chapter 62; Manāqib Khwārazmī #145.

[87] Faḍāʾil Ḥanbal #1114. Similarly, Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #32920; Tārīkh al-Khulafāʾ 153; Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:180.

[88] The actions of ʿĀʾishah and Ḥafṣah and the revelation of Sūrah Taḥrīm in regards to them are discussed in chapter 27.

[89] Qurʾān 66:4.

[90] Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr (three traditions), Tafsīr Ibn Kathīr (two traditions), and Tafsīr Thaʿlabī (two traditions), verse 66:4; Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #4675; Tārīkh Damishq 42:361, 42:362.

Certainly the detractors of ʿAlī (ع) may try to claim that this title of "the righteous one among the believers" refers to all righteous companions when it evidently does not. The fact that other companions are excluded from this verse is clear because the word "ṣāliḥ" is singular. If Allāh promised the Prophet (ص) support from a group of righteous companions, he would have used the word ṣāliḥīn (the righteous ones) instead of ṣāliḥ (the righteous one). Furthermore, the context of the phrase makes it clear that at least the two wives of the Prophet (ص) being addressed by the verse would not be "the righteous one among the believers." Indeed, if ʿAlī (ع) was the one and only absolute "righteous one among the believers," there is no question that he would be the rightful imām of the believers. If the Prophet (ص) could only rely on ʿAlī (ع) among the companions, it is clear that the Muslim nation ought not shun him and choose others over him. Rather, they ought to embrace him as the only person who could consistently uphold Islām against those who could, would, or did turn their backs on Allāh's religion.

Qurʾānic Verse: ʿAlī (ع) is the Best of Creatures

According to Ṭabarī and Suyūṭī, both famous Sunnī scholars and interpreters of the Qurʾān, the Prophet (ص) said in regards to the verse, "Those who believe and do righteous deeds—they are the best of creatures,"[91] "These are you, O ʿAlī, and your Shīʿah."[92] Furthermore, the Prophet (ص) said, "By He in Whose hand is my soul, this man (ʿAlī) and his followers (Shīʿah) are the blissful on the Day of Judgment. He was the first of you to believe, the most devoted of you to the covenant of Allāh, the best of you in upholding the decisions of Allāh, the most just of you in regards to the public, the strictest of you in maintaining fairness, and the most superior of you in the eyes of Allāh." At this time the verse, "Those who believe and do righteous deeds—they are the best of creatures,"[93] was revealed, referring to ʿAlī (ع), and whenever ʿAlī (ع) would arrive, the companions of the Prophet (ص) would say, "The best of creatures has arrived."[94]

In another tradition, the Prophet (ص) said,

> O ʿAlī, have you heard the saying of Allāh, the oft-high, "Those who believe and do righteous deeds—they are the best of creatures"? This is you and your Shīʿah. My meeting with all of you will be at the Fount [of Kawthar] when you and your Shīʿah will be called to rise from among the nations when they appear for their accounting [on the Day of Judgment].[95]

Similarly, Ibn ʿAbbās said that when this verse was revealed, the Prophet (ص) told ʿAlī (ع), "You and your Shīʿah will appear on the Day of Judgment content and approved of, while your enemies will appear angry and humiliated."[96]

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[91] Qurʾān 98:7.

[92] Tafsīr Ṭabarī and Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, verse 98:7. A series of traditions showing that this verse refers to ʿAlī (ع) can be found in Shawāhid al-Tanzīl (#1125-1148, verse 98:7).

[93] Qurʾān 98:7.

[94] Kifāyah al-Ṭālib 245, chapter 62; Manāqib Khwārazmī #120; Tārīkh Damishq 42:371; Shawāhid al-Tanzīl #1139, verse 98:7; Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, verse 98:7.

[95] Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, verse 98:7; Kifāyah al-Ṭālib 246, chapter 62; Shawāhid al-Tanzīl #1125, verse 98:7.

[96] Shawāhid al-Tanzīl #1126-30, verses 98:7. Similarly, Shawāhid al-Tanzīl #1131-48 states that this verse was revealed in regards to ʿAlī (ع) and his Shīʿah. In Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, under verse 98:7, this tradition appears truncated as, "You and your Shīʿah will appear on the Day of Judgment content and approved of."

Qur`ānic Verse: Do Not Compare Those with Fancy Titles to ʹAlī (ع)

Allāh says, "Do you make the giving of drink to pilgrims or the maintenance of the Masjid al-Ḥarām equal to he who believes in Allāh and the Last Day and who strives (jāhada) in the path of Allāh? They are not comparable in the sight of Allāh. And Allāh does not guide those who do wrong."[97] This verse was revealed when Ṭalḥah ibn Shaybah claimed to be the most deserving of the Kaʹbah because its key was in his hands and ʹAbbās claimed to be more deserving as he was the one who gave drinks to the pilgrims, while ʹAlī (ع) claimed to be more deserving as he was the first to pray and the foremost of them in jihād.[98]

The basic fact was that the companions were bragging about their titles of "water boy of the Kaʹbah" and "key bearer of the Kaʹbah," yet Allāh clearly answered them, stating that these titles and positions were meaningless when compared to ʹAlī's (ع) belief in Allāh and the Last Day and his struggle (jihād) in the path of Allāh. Indeed, throughout Islāmic history, meaningless titles were handed out more freely than water at the Kaʹbah. The title, "khalīfah of the Messenger of Allāh," was borne for centuries by undeserving corrupt monarchs. The ʹAbbāsīds gave their caliphs various lofty titles, hoping to deceive the masses, but the Qur`ān clearly states that these titles are absolutely meaningless when compared to ʹAlī's (ع) stature in Islām. Moreover, this verse warns us not to be fooled by fanciful titles adopted by and ascribed to the various companions other than ʹAlī (ع).

Qur`ānic Verse: "Is the One Who Believes Like the One Who is Wicked?"

Indeed, the last verse discussed is not the only verse in which Qur`ān orders the companions not to brag about their qualities to ʹAlī (ع). Once Walīd ibn ʹUqbah told ʹAlī (ع) about his own qualities and ʹAlī (ع) replied, "Be quiet, for you are wicked!" The following verse was then revealed: "Is the one who believes like the one who is wicked? They are not equal."[99,100] It appears that the simple act of claiming a virtue in the presence of ʹAlī (ع) sufficed for wickedness in this verse. One can only imagine the wickedness in the eyes of Allāh of those who manufactured virtues for the companions to the point of making them equal to or even superior to ʹAlī (ع) in the minds of the masses. As for Walīd, the wicked one referred to in this verse, he rose to the lofty position of governor of Kūfah during the caliphate of ʹUthmān, and an entire chapter is devoted to the wicked acts he performed as governor.[101]

Eight Hundred Qur`ānic Verses were Revealed Regarding ʹAlī (ع)

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[97] Qur`ān 9:19.

[98] Numerous Sunnī books of Qur`ānic interpretation mention this event through slightly different traditions under verse 9:19. These include Tafsīr Ṭabarī, Tafsīr Rāzī, Tafsīr Zamakhsharī, Tafsīr Baghawī, Tafsīr Ibn Kathīr, and Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, among others. Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, lists a number of traditions in this regards from numerous chains of transmission ending in Ibn ʹAbbās, Anas, al-Shaʹbī, Ḥasan (ع), ʹAbd Allāh ibn ʹUbaydah, Ibn Sīrīn, and Muḥammad ibn Kaʹb.

[99] Qur`ān 32:18.

[100] Tafsīr Ṭabarī, Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, Tafsīr Thaʹlabī, Tafsīr Shawkānī, Tafsīr Baghawī, Tafsīr Ibn al-Jawzī, Tafsīr Ibn ʹĀdil, Tafsīr Khāzin, Tafsīr Samarqandī, Tafsīr Abū Ḥayyān, and Tafsīr Muqātil ibn Sulaymān, verse 32:18; Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:178-9. This is mentioned summarily in Tafsīr Fīrūzābādī. Of note, Tafsīr Ibn Kathīr claims that this verse pertains to ʹAlī (ع) and ʹUqbah ibn Abī Muʹayṭ, which is likely an error, as it should be Walīd ibn ʹUqbah ibn Abī Muʹāyṭ.

[101] Refer to chapter 64.

Some may find it odd that the Shī'ah claim that so many verses were specifically revealed regarding 'Alī (ع). Yet according to Suyūṭī and Ibn Kathīr, Ibn 'Abbās said, "What has been revealed in regards to 'Alī in the Book of Allāh has not been revealed in regards to anyone else."[102] In fact, Ibn 'Abbās said, "Eight hundred verses were revealed in regards to 'Alī."[103] According to another tradition, Ibn 'Abbās said, "Three hundred verses were revealed regarding 'Alī."[104] Similarly, Mujāhid said, "Seventy verses were revealed [specifically] in regards to 'Alī. He does not share [the merits cited in these verses] with anyone else."[105]

It should therefore come as no surprise that the Shī'ah claim that numerous verses were revealed specifically in regards to 'Alī (ع). It appears that the most comprehensive Sunnī source of traditions regarding the verses revealed about 'Alī and the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) is Shawāhid al-Tanzīl of al-Ḥasakānī, in which 1,163 traditions are reported regarding over two hundred Qur`ānic verses. Dhahabī described al-Ḥasakānī, who was Ḥanafī in his madhhab (school of jurisprudence), as, "an expert in traditions (muḥaddith)," and "[one] possessing complete mastery of the science of ḥadīth," such that "numerous [scholars] relate traditions from him."[106] Unfortunately, even this valuable work leaves us with several hundred verses of the Qur`ān that were revealed regarding 'Alī (ع) that remain unaccounted for in Sunnī sources.

One should also not be surprised by the immense quantity and quality of the virtues of 'Alī (ع) that have been transmitted through prophetic traditions. Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal said, "What has been related in regards to 'Alī through excellent chains of transmission has not been related in regards to any other companion."[107]

Conclusions

Based on this brief discussion, it is clear that 'Alī (ع) was the pioneer in Islām in terms of both being the fist to accept Islām and in terms of the being the foremost of the believers. For the sake of brevity, we have presented only a small fraction of the traditions and Qur`ānic verses in this regards and have limited our discussion and interpretation of the verses to only salient points.

It is interesting to note that debate continues among some Muslims regarding both who was first to accept Islām and who was the best of the companions when Allāh and His Prophet (ص) have clearly answered that question. 'Alī (ع) was not only the first to accept Islām, but also the pioneer in every aspect of faith, virtue, and knowledge and the only person, according to the Qur`ān, upon whom the Prophet (ص) could wholeheartedly rely in every situation. Moreover, according to the Qur`ān, titles given to other companions and subsequent monarchs are to be disregarded, particularly in comparison to 'Alī's (ع) stature in Islām, a fact that Muslims should keep in mind when bombarded with fantastic titles attributed to various individuals throughout Islāmic history.

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102. Tārīkh al-Khulafā` 153; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:395; Shawāhid al-Tanzīl #49. Shawāhid al-Tanzīl (#53) also relates this tradition from Yazīd ibn Rūmān.
103. Tārīkh al-Khulafā` 153.
104. Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:395.
105. Shawāhid al-Tanzīl #50-51.
106. Tadhkirah al-Ḥuffāẓ #1032 (al-Ḥasakānī al-Qāḍī al-Muḥaddith Abū al-Qāsim 'Ubayd Allāh ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥasakān al-Qurashī al-'Āmirī al-Nīsābūrī al-Ḥanafī al-Ḥākim).
107. Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:188. Similarly, Tārīkh al-Khulafā` 150; Iṣābah 2:1294 #5690 ('Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib).

Chapter 2
ʹAlī (ع) was Declared the Imām upon the Invitation of the Prophet's (ص) Kinsmen to Islām

During the initial phase of the prophetic mission, the Prophet (ص) was to only invite his closest friends and family to Islām. When the verse, "And warn your tribe of near kindred,"[108] was revealed, the Prophet (ص) was instructed to openly invite his tribesmen from the Banū Hāshim to Islām. According to Tārīkh Ṭabarī, ʹAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib (ع) said,

> When the verse, "And warn your tribe of near kindred," was revealed to the Messenger of Allāh, he called me and said to me, "ʹAlī, Allāh has commanded me to warn my tribe of near kindred. I was troubled by this, for I knew that when I broached the matter to them they would respond in a way which I would not like. I kept silent until Gabriel came to me and said, 'Muḥammad, if you do not do what you are commanded, your Lord will punish you.' So prepare a measure of wheat for us, add a leg of mutton to it, fill a large bowl of milk for us, and then assemble the Banū ʹAbd al-Muṭṭalib for me so that I may speak to them and tell them what I have been commanded to tell them."
>
> I did what he had told me to do and then called them to him. At that time they numbered forty men, more or less, including his uncles Abū Ṭālib, Ḥamzah, ʹAbbās, and Abū Lahab. When they had gathered together, he called on me to bring the food which I had prepared. I brought it, and when I put it down the Messenger of Allāh took a piece of meat, broke it with his teeth, and threw it towards the dish. Then he said, "Take, in the name of Allāh." They ate until they could eat no more, and yet the food was as it had been, except for where the hands had been. I swear by Allāh, in whose hands ʹAlī's soul rests, that a single man could have eaten the amount of food which I put before all of them. Then he said, "Give them something to drink," so I brought them that bowl and they drank from it until they had drunk their fill, and I swear by Allāh that one man could have drunk that amount.
>
> When the Messenger of Allāh wanted to speak to them, Abū Lahab had forestalled him and said, "Your host has long since bewitched you." Then they dispersed without the Messenger of Allāh speaking to them. On the following day he said to me, "ʹAlī, this man forestalled me by saying what you heard him saying, so that the people dispersed before I could speak to them. Prepare the same food for us as you did yesterday, and assemble them here."
>
> I did this, assembled them, and brought the food to them when he called me. He did as he had done the previous day, and they ate until they could eat no

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[108] Qur'ān 26:214.

> more. Then he said, "Bring the bowl," and they drank until they could drink no more. Then he spoke to them, saying, "Banū ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, I know of no young man among the Arabs who has brought his people something better than what I have brought you. I bring you the best of this world and the next, for Allāh has commanded me to summon you to him. *Which of you will aid me in this matter so that he will be my brother, my agent (waṣī), and my successor (khalīfah) among you?"*
>
> Not one of them rose up, so I stood before him, although I was the youngest there. He said, "Sit down." He repeated the words he had spoken three times, while I would rise up [each time] and he would say to me, "Sit down." On the third occasion, he struck his hand on mine, and said, "*This is my brother, my agent (waṣī), and my successor (khalīfah) among you, so listen to him and obey him.*" They rose up laughing and saying to Abū Ṭālib, "He has commanded you to listen to your son and to obey him!" In this way I became the heir of my cousin to the exclusion of my uncle.[109]

Sunnī Sources of this Tradition

This famous tradition, known as the tradition of kinsmen (ḥadīth al-ʿashīrah), has been transmitted in slightly various forms in many Sunnī sources. Among them are Musnad Ḥanbal,[110] Faḍāʾil Ḥanbal,[111] Khaṣāʾiṣ Nasāʾī,[112] Kanz al-ʿUmmāl,[113] Sīrah Ibn Isḥāq,[114] Sīrah Ḥalabīyyah,[115] Tārīkh Ṭabarī,[116] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr,[117] Tārīkh Ibn Athīr,[118] Tārīkh Abū al-Fidāʾ,[119] Tārīkh Damishq,[120] Sharḥ-i Nahj al-Balāghah of Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd,[121] Tafsīr Ṭabarī,[122] Tafsīr Ibn Kathīr,[123] Tafsīr Baghawī,[124] Tafsīr Thaʿlabī,[125] and Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah,[126] among many others. A large number of other Sunnī sources have presented truncated or distorted versions of this event and are therefore not cited here. This tradition has been narrated through numerous chains of transmission. The fact that these traditions are so widely narrated in Sunnī sources through different chains of transmission leading to ʿAlī (ع) leaves no doubt as to the authenticity of the tradition and the events described.

Censorship of the Tradition of Kinsmen[127]

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[109] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 6:89-92 (two traditions). The account provided here includes details from both accounts presented in Tārīkh Ṭabarī, quoted verbatim, but with some rearrangement to allow the inclusion of details from both accounts.

[110] Musnad Ḥanbal #883.

[111] Faḍāʾil Ḥanbal #1108, #1196, #1220.

[112] Khaṣāʾiṣ Nasāʾī 86-87.

[113] Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #36408, #36419, #36465.

[114] Sīrah Ibn Isḥāq 117-118.

[115] Sīrah Ḥalabīyyah 1:460-1.

[116] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 6:89-92.

[117] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 3:53-4 (several accounts).

[118] Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 1:259.

[119] Tārīkh Abū al-Fidāʾ 1:175.

[120] Tārīkh Damishq 4:32, 42:47-8, 47:49, 47:50.

[121] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 13:210-211.

[122] Tafsīr Ṭabarī, verse 26:214.

[123] Tafsīr Ibn Kathīr, verse 26:214.

[124] Tafsīr Baghawī, verse 26:214.

[125] Tafsīr Thaʿlabī, verse 26:214.

[126] Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:124-5.

[127] For a more detailed discussion, refer to Imām Shenāsī 1:92-94 and al-Ghadīr 2:287-289.

It needs to be noted that some Sunnī scholars who have not wanted to render proof against their own faith have replaced the words "my agent (waṣī) and my successor (khalīfah) among you" with "kadhā wa kadhā," which literally means "et-cetera". They have thus turned the words of the Prophet (ص) from, "Which of you will aid me in this matter to that he will be my brother, my agent (waṣī), and my successor (khalīfah) among you?" into, "Which of you will aid me in this matter so that he will be my brother, etc, etc?" This act of textual corruption (taḥrīf) was committed by Ṭabarī and Ibn Kathīr in their commentaries on the Qur`ān,[128] as well as by Ibn Kathīr in his historical work,[129] even though the source for their traditions was the history of Ṭabarī (Tārīkh Ṭabarī), which contains the full tradition. Muḥammad Ḥusayn Haykal, in the later editions of his book Ḥayāt-i Muḥammad,[130] completely altered the tradition to the following:

> [The Prophet asked], "Who of you then would stand by me on this matter?" To this appeal, the kinsmen were unsympathetic and prepared to leave. ʿAlī, however, though only a boy, arose and said, "Prophet of Allāh! I shall be your helper. Whosoever opposes you, I shall fight as mortal enemy." The Banū Hāshim smiled at this; others laughed loudly. All present looked once at ʿAlī, once at Abū Ṭālib, his father, and left full of ridicule for what they beheld.[131]

Suyūṭī related the entire story of the feast and mentioned that the Prophet (ص) invited his kinsmen to Islām and that ʿAlī (ع) accepted his invitation and was ridiculed, but left out the Prophet's (ص) comments about ʿAlī (ع) in their entirety.[132] Bayhaqī also cited the story of the revelation of the verse and the feast, but left out what the Prophet (ص) said to his kinsmen altogether, presumably because he was only interested in relaying the miracle of how the group was fed.[133] Ibn Hishām, who derived his biography of the Prophet (ص) primarily from Ibn Isḥāq, went even further in this regards. In his introduction to his work he said, "I have left out from this book some of what Ibn Isḥāq mentioned, ...[ع] mentioning some [parts] of it upsets some people."[134] Not surprisingly, among the incidents that would "upset some people" was apparently this incident, which Ibn Isḥāq included but that Ibn Hishām left out of his work altogether. It is for this reason, among other similar acts of censorship, that Ibn Isḥāq's history was later abandoned in favor of Ibn Hishām's.

These examples have been provided to demonstrate how a few "scholars" have resorted to flagrantly changing the traditions of the holy Prophet (ص) in order to cover up the evidence against their faith. There is no doubt regarding what was said during that event. While these "scholars" could not completely cover their tacks and indelibly distort or bury this critical and widely accepted and well-proven event, they could not bear to relate the Prophet's (ص) words in their full glory. The unfortunate choice that a handful of them made was to censor, change, or otherwise cover up the tradition, much like what the People of the Book did to the Word of Allāh and the traditions of their prophets that they did not like. Instead of believing in what the Prophet (ص) said, these "scholars" believe in what they like of what the Prophet (ص) said, abandoning the rest. As described by the Qur`ān, "We have cursed them and made their hearts grow hard [because] they change the words from their [right] places and forget a good part of the message that was sent to them."[135] Unfortunately, this is not an isolated incident, but rather an incident in which the processes involved in these forgeries are both obvious and easy to reveal.

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[128] Tafsīr Ṭabarī and Tafsīr Ibn Kathīr, verse 26:214.

[129] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 3:53.

[130] Translated into English as The Life of Muḥammad.

[131] Haykal 84.

[132] Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, verse 26:214.

[133] Dalā`il al-Nubuwwah of Bayhaqī 2:180-1.

[134] Sīrah Ibn Hishām 2.

Variations of the Tradition of Kinsmen

In addition to the numerous truncated versions of this tradition prevalent in Sunnī sources, there are several versions of this tradition in the Sunnī sources listed above that are essentially identical in terms of what the Prophet (ص) professed about ʹAlī (ع) at that event. The following are three examples:[136]

1. "Who will affirm me in this matter and aid me in my mission... so that he would be my brother, my vizier (wazīr), my inheritor (wārith), and my successor (khalīfah) after me?"[137]
2. "Who amongst you will pledge allegiance to me so that he would be my brother, my companion, and your master (walī) after me?"[138]
3. "This is my brother, executor (waṣī), and successor (khalīfah) among you, so listen to him and obey [him]."[139]

Even though the various versions vary slightly in sentence structure and wording, they convey the message that ʹAlī (ع) was the brother (akh), vizier (wazīr), inheritor (wārith), agent and executor of will (waṣī), and successor (khalīf) of the Prophet (ص).

Implications of the Tradition of Kinsmen

Ignoring the acts of censorship and textual corruption which it has been subjected to, which have no effect on the correctness and wide acceptance of this tradition by Sunnīs and Shīʹah alike, this event has several significant implications. ʹAlī (ع), who was a youth of twelve or thirteen years at the time, was introduced as the brother, vizier (wazīr), agent and executor of will (waṣī), master of affairs (walī), and successor (khalīfah) of the Prophet (ص) among the people, as well as the master (walī) of the believers after the Prophet (ص). Waṣī is an executor of one's will upon one's death as well as one's agent and representative among the people in one's absence. The Prophet's (ص) khalīfah would be his successor in spiritual and political leadership among the people. Although the definitions of the words "walī" and "mawlā" will receive specific attention later in the book,[140] the basic meaning of "walī" in this context is master, guardian, and custodian. Just as a child requires a custodian (walī), the nation requires a custodian, and upon the Prophet's (ص) death, ʹAlī (ع) was designated as that custodian. The fact that ʹAlī (ع) would be the walī of the believers after the Prophet (ص) was a clear reference to ʹAlī's (ع) imāmate and his right to the caliphate, as these positions would commence upon the Prophet's (ص) death. Clearly, the Sunnīs do not recognize any specifically designated role for ʹAlī (ع) upon the Prophet's (ص) death, despite the Prophet's (ص) adamant assertions to the contrary.

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[135] Qurʾān 5:13.
[136] For a listing of seven variations of this tradition, refer to al-Ghadīr 2:278-284.
[137] Sīrah Ḥalabīyyah 1:461.
[138] Kanz al-ʹUmmāl #36465.
[139] Kanz al-ʹUmmāl #36419.
[140] Refer to chapters 31 and 34.

ʿAlī's (ع) young age made the people in the gathering laugh. It would only be natural for a group of elderly and arrogant leaders of an ignorant clan to laugh and ridicule a person inviting them to obey a thirteen year old boy in his absence. However, this only indicated the seriousness of the matter. Had it not been a matter of central importance to Islām, the Prophet (ص) would not have insisted on telling his closest relatives to obey ʿAlī (ع), when their ridicule was to be expected. However, it was important for everyone to know from the earliest days of Islām that ʿAlī (ع) would be their spiritual leader during the Prophet's (ص) absence and upon his death.

Even more interesting is the fact that even today when the Shīʿah invite Sunnīs to accept ʿAlī (ع) as the Prophet's (ص) appointed wakīl, waṣī, walī, and khalīfah, all one hears are chuckles of ridicule. Unfortunately, this is the same exact attitude that the Prophet's (ص) tribesmen such as Abū Lahab had when they were asked to accept the same facts. Indeed, the entire Sūrah of the Qurʾān promising Abū Lahab nothing but the fire[141] was revealed after the verse, "And warn your tribe of near kindred," was revealed.[142]

Another important element of this tradition is the fact that the Prophet (ص) set out to choose from among his family members a brother, vizier, inheritor, executor of will, and successor. They all turned down the Prophet (ص), leaving ʿAlī (ع) as the one and only person to fulfill these roles. The fact that these titles could only belong to the Banū Hāshim is critical, as those outside the Banū Hāshim were ineligible to become the Prophet's (ص) wakīl, waṣī, wazīr, walī, and khalīfah (successor) because the Prophet (ص) insisted that these positions could only belong to someone from his family. Indeed, this is great proof of the fact that the title "khalīfah of the Messenger of Allāh" could under no circumstances be applied to anyone outside the Banū Hāshim, and more specifically to any person other than ʿAlī (ع) upon the death of the Prophet (ص).

Was Abū Lahab Right for Criticizing ʿAlī's (ع) Young Age?

Some people raise the question of age. Is it not odd for an adolescent to be considered the successor of the Prophet (ص)? Was ʿAlī's (ع) belief in Islām even valid since he was very young when he accepted Islām? And, by extension of the same logic, wasn't Abū Lahab right in ridiculing this idea of following a teenager? Indeed, ʿUmar followed the same logic as Abū Lahab by claiming that ʿAlī (ع), at the age of thirty-three, was too young to be the caliph.[143] The answer to such questions is to be found in the Qurʾān:

> When the angels said, "O Mary, indeed Allāh gives you the tidings of a Word from Him. His name is Messiah (Masīḥ), Jesus, the son of Mary. He is dignified and exalted in this world and in the hereafter, and is among those close to Allāh. And thus Jesus spoke to the people in his infancy and adulthood, and he was from among the righteous.[144]

In these verses of the Qurʾān, Jesus (ع) is said to have been a guide for the people since his days of infancy. Then how could it be that ʿAlī (ع) could not be the brother, executor of will, and successor of the Prophet (ص) as well as the master of the believers after him at the age of thirteen? And how could he could not be fit to be caliph at age of thirty-three?

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[141] Qurʾān, sūrah 111.

[142] Tafsīr Thaʿlabī, verse 26:214.

[143] Refer to chapter 46.

[144] Qurʾān 3:45-46.

Of course, age has no bearing on these matters. There are elderly people buried deeply in their blindness and sin. And there are young men and women, who through their purity and righteousness, are chosen from amongst all people. The Qur`ān never mentions the issue of age as being a factor in closeness to Allāh or among the qualifications for bearing divine missions. ʹAlī (ع) was not selected as a prophet or messenger, but rather as the leader (imām) of the nation and the executor of the laws of Islām in the Prophet's (ص) absence. His role as such was made clear from the onset of the prophetic mission and was one of the critical elements of Islām from the beginning. Indeed, the Prophet's (ص) invitation of his clansmen to Islām can be summarized as accepting three elements: (1) accepting the unity of Allāh; (2) accepting the prophecy of Muḥammad (ص); (3) accepting ʹAlī (ع) as the Prophet's (ص) agent during his life (wazīr) and after his death (waṣī), as the master (walī) of all believers after him, and as his successor (khalīfah)—in summary, as the rightful imām. Of note, the Prophet (ص) at that time had no political power to proclaim a successor, yet the importance of accepting ʹAlī (ع) as his successor (khalīfah) in religious affairs as well as in political matters if and when such power were to develop was spelled out from the beginning of Islām's proclamation.

Some might consider it controversial to compare ʹAlī (ع) to a prophet like Jesus (ع). They claim that Jesus (ع), as a messenger of Allāh, would not be comparable to anyone but other prophets. In the next chapter we will examine the fact that ʹAlī (ع) was indeed comparable to Jesus (ع) and the other prophets of Allāh.

Chapter 3
The Similarity of ʹAlī (ع) to Jesus and Other Prophets (ع)

The Similarity of ʹAlī (ع) to Jesus (ع)

ʹAlī (ع) said,

> I arrived one day and found the Messenger of Allāh (ص) among a group of the Quraysh. He looked at me and then said, "O ʹAlī! You, in this nation, are the one [most] similar to Jesus the son of Mary—a group of people went too far in loving him, and a group went too far in despising him." The people present laughed and said, "See how he is comparing his uncle's son to the son of Mary." Then the verse, "When Mary's son is quoted as an example, your tribe laugh out [in ridicule],"[145] was revealed.[146]

In a widely transmitted tradition that was certified as authentic by Ḥākim,[147] and that has been cited by Bukhārī, Nasā`ī, Ḥanbal, Ḥākim, Ibn Kathīr, Suyūṭī, Haythamī, and others, the Prophet (ص) said,

> ʹAlī! Indeed Allāh has set in you a similarity to Jesus the son of Mary—the Jews hated him until they insulted his mother, and the Christians loved him until they claimed in him what was not truthful.[148]

In another widely transmitted tradition that was certified as authentic by Ḥākim,[149] and that has been cited by Ḥanbal, Ḥākim, Suyūṭī, Ibn Kathīr, Haythamī, and Ibn ʹAbd al-Barr, the Prophet (ص) acknowledged the existence of two misguided groups when he told ʹAlī, "Two men perish in regards to you—the one who loves you too much and the one who despises you."[150]

The Prophet's (ص) prophecy obviously turned out to be true later in Islāmic history. Whereas a small group of people (the Ghālīyah) left Islām by considering ʹAlī (ع) to be divine in much the same way that the Christians ascribed divinity to Jesus (ع), another group of people denied the imāmate of ʹAlī (ع) the same way the Jews denied the prophecy of Jesus (ع). And just like the Jews have insulted the mother of Jesus (ع) and have ascribed to her great sins, the Sunnīs have openly insulted ʿAlī's (ع) father Abū Ṭālib, ascribing to him the greatest sin of all—idolatry.[151] While the Jews conspired against Jesus (ع), oppressed him and plotted to kill him, a group among the Prophet's (ص) companions conspired against ʿAlī (ع) and plotted to kill him.[152] In fact, ʿAlī (ع) was eventually martyred by Ibn Muljam, whom Sunnīs consider to be one of the companions guaranteed a place in paradise,[153] even though the Prophet (ص) called him the worst of people according to a widely transmitted, authentic, and indeed mutawātir tradition.[154]

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[145] Qur`ān 43:57.

[146] Kanz al-ʹUmmāl #4596; Shawāhid al-Tanzil #860, verse 43:57.

[147] Mustadrak Ḥākim #4622.

[148] Tārīkh Bukhārī vol 3 #966 (Rabīʹah ibn Nājidh); Sunan al-Kubrā Nasā`ī #8488; Khaṣā`iṣ Nasā`ī 106; Musnad Ḥanbal #1377; Faḍā`il Ḥanbal #1087, #1221-2; Mustadrak Ḥākim #4622 (certifies the tradition as authentic); Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:392; Tārīkh al-Khulafā` 154; Majmaʹ al-Zawā`id #14762; Kanz al-ʹUmmāl #33032, #36399; Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:194-5.

[149] Mustadrak Ḥākim #4622.

[150] Faḍā`il Ḥanbal #951, #964, #1087, #1147, #1221-2; Mustadrak Ḥākim #4622 (certifies the tradition as authentic); Tārīkh al-Khulafā` 154; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:392; Majmaʹ al-Zawā`id #14762; Istīʹāb 3:204 #1875 (ʹAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib). Some of the traditions are stated as ʹAlī (ع) recounting what the Prophet (ص) told him while some quote the Prophet (ص) directly.

These traditions establish several facts. First, noting similarities between ʿAlī (ع) and prophets such as Jesus (ع) is permissible, as the Prophet (ص) and ʿAlī (ع) cited such similarities themselves. Second, the Prophet's (ص) companions were envious of the similarity ʿAlī (ع) had to the prophets and therefore ridiculed the Prophet (ص) for citing similarities between ʿAlī (ع) and Jesus (ع). Third, the Prophet (ص) left a clear warning for Muslims neither to deny ʿAlī's (ع) divinely-appointed role as rightful imām nor to deify him. Fourth, those who deny ʿAlī's (ع) divinely-assigned role and who insult his father are like the Jews, while those who deify ʿAlī (ع) are like the Christians. Thus, one must not deny ʿAlī's (ع) similarities to Jesus (ع), insult his father, deny his imāmate, or deify him.

Indeed, the Prophet (ص) told ʿAlī, "My nation will break into [two] sects in regards to you the way the Children of Israel broke into [two] sects (the Jews and Christians) in regards to Jesus."[155] This shows that denying the imāmate of ʿAlī (ع) is similar to denying the prophecy of Jesus (ع), while deifying ʿAlī (ع) is similar to deifying Jesus. As such, ʿAlī (ع) said, "O Allāh, curse all those who despise us [Ahl al-Bayt] and all those who love us to extremes (ghāl)."[156] The word ghāl appears as a an apparent reference to the Ghālīyah, who left Islām by their belief in the divinity of ʿAlī and the other Shīʿah imāms (ع).[157]

Other Traditions Comparing ʿAlī (ع) to Jesus (ع)

There are a number of other Sunnī traditions comparing ʿAlī (ع) to Jesus. Shaʿbī said: I met ʿAlqamah. He asked [me], "Do you know who is like ʿAlī (ع) in this nation (ummah)?" I asked, "Who is like him?" He said, "[He is] like Jesus the son of Mary. A group loved him until they perished due to his [extreme] devotion, and a group despised him until they perished in his hatred."[158]

More significantly, on the day of Khaybar, the Prophet (ص) told ʿAlī (ع),

> ʿAlī! Were it not [for the fact] that a group of my people would say regarding you what the Christians said regarding Jesus the son of Mary, I would have said something about you such that you would not pass any group of Muslims without them taking the dirt under your shoes and the water of your ablution (wuḍūʾ) as a blessing.[159]

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[151] According to the Qurʾān 4:48, Allāh forgives all sins except the sin of idolatry.

[152] Refer to chapter 50.

[153] Refer to chapter 54.

[154] Refer to chapter 88.

[155] Istiʿāb 3:204 #1875 (ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib).

[156] Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:195; Faḍāʾil Ḥanbal #1136; Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #31639.

[157] Refer to chapter 91.

[158] Faḍāʾil Ḥanbal #974; Istīʿāb 3:222-3 #1875 (ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib).

[159] Muʿjam al-Kabīr Ṭabarānī 1:320; Majmaʿ al-Zawāʾid #14752; Manāqib Khwārazmī #188, #310; Kifāyah al-Ṭālib 264, chapter 62; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 5:4, 9:168, 18:282.

This tradition establishes that there are many merits of ʿAlī (ع) that have not been transmitted from the Prophet (ص) due to his fear of ʿAlī's (ع) deification. Thus, what we have received in the traditions regarding ʿAlī's (ع) attributes and virtues describe just a fraction of his true status and merits.

We have only presented a small number of Sunnī traditions showing that ʿAlī (ع) was similar to Jesus (ع). Indeed, these traditions prove that ʿAlī (ع) is in a category by himself among the companions and demonstrate the fear the Prophet (ص) had that some people may consider ʿAlī (ع), due to the extreme nature of his merits, to be divine in nature. Such extreme merits, however, are neither a sign of divinity nor prophecy. Such a level of merit is what the Shīʿah attribute to the position of the rightful imām.

Examples of Sunnī Traditions Citing ʿAlī's (ع) Similarity to Other Prophets

The following are examples of other Sunnī traditions showing the similarity of ʿAlī (ع) to prophets:[160]

1. The Messenger of Allāh (ص) said, "Whoever wants to look at Adam in his knowledge, at Noah in his understanding, at Abraham in his patience, at John the son of Zachariah (Yaḥyā ibn Zakarīyyā) in his piety, and at Moses the son of ʿImrān in his courage, should look at ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib."[161]

2. The Messenger of Allāh (ص) was amongst a group of his companions. He said, "Look at Adam in his knowledge, and Noah in his understanding, and Abraham in his wisdom." ʿAlī could not have appeared at a more opportune moment. Abū Bakr said, "O Messenger of Allāh! Have you compared a man to these three messengers? I congratulate this man. But who is he, O Messenger of Allāh?" The Prophet (ص) replied, "Don't you know him, O Abū Bakr?" Abū Bakr replied, "Allāh and His Messenger know better." The Prophet (ص) said, "He is Abū al-Ḥasan, ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib." Abū Bakr said, "Congratulations to you, O Abū al-Ḥasan! And who is like you, O Abū al-Ḥasan?"[162]

3. The Prophet (ص) said, "Whoever wishes to look at Adam in his humility, at Moses in the intensity of his courage, and at Jesus in his piety, should look at the one who is coming." ʿAlī then appeared.[163]

4. Ibn ʿAbbās said: The Messenger of Allāh (ص) was sitting among a group of the companions when ʿAlī came. When the Messenger of Allāh (ص) saw him, he said, "Whoever among you intends to look at Adam in his knowledge, at Noah in his wisdom, and at Abraham in his patience should look at ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib."[164]

5. The Messenger of Allāh (ص) said, "Whoever wishes to look at Abraham in his patience, at Noah in his wisdom, and at Joseph in his beauty should look at ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib."[165]

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[160] For a more complete list, refer to al-Ghadīr 3:355-360.

[161] Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:196; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:393; Tārīkh Damishq 42:313; Shawāhid al-Tanzīl #117, verse 2:31. Similarly, Manāqib Ibn Mughāzilī #256; Manāqib Khwārazmī #70; Shawāhid al-Tanzīl #116, verse 2:31.

[162] Manāqib Khwārazmī #79.

[163] Manāqib Khwārazmī #309.

[164] Kifāyah al-Ṭālib 121-2, chapter 23.

[165] Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:196.

6. The Prophet (ص) was asked, "How will ʿAlī be able to carry the Banner of Praise (ḥamd) [on the Day of Judgment]?" The Prophet (ص) replied, "And how would he not be able to do so when he has been given a number of qualities—patience similar to my patience, excellence (ḥusn) similar to that of Joseph, and strength similar to that of Gabriel?"[166]

In fact, the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) is so exalted that they not only can be compared to prophets, but are also the object of reverence for previous prophets, as Adam (ع) had to seek forgiveness from Allāh by the right of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع). According to Suyūṭī and others, Ibn ʿAbbās said,

> The Prophet (ص) was asked about the words that Adam used to ask his Lord to forgive him. He replied, "He asked Him, 'By the rights (ḥaqq) of Muḥammad and ʿAlī and Fāṭimah and Ḥasan and Ḥusayn, accept my repentance!' so Allāh accepted his repentance."[167]

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[166] Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:172.

[167] Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, verse 2:37; Manāqib Ibn Mughāzilī #89.

Chapter 4
´Alī's (ع) Status as Revealed to the Prophet (ص) During the Mi´rāj (Ascension)

The Qur`ān says,

> Glory be to He Who had His servant travel by night from the Masjid al-Ḥarām to the Masjid al-Aqṣā whose surroundings We have blessed, so that We might show him some of Our signs.[168]

This verse describes the incident known as the mi´rāj, or ascension, of the Prophet (ص). Allāh, in order to show the Prophet (ص) the grandeur of His heavens, took him from the Masjid al-Ḥarām in Mecca to the Masjid al-Aqṣā in Palestine by night, then raised the Prophet (ص) in a journey through the seven heavens. The traditions detailing the events in the mi´rāj are numerous and lengthy. As such, only a few excerpts from the many Sunnī traditions that have been related regarding what was revealed regarding the position of ´Alī (ع) and the Prophet's Ahl al-Bayt (ع) on the night of mi´rāj will be presented here.

Tradition 1

> The Prophet (ص) said, "I did not pass by any heaven except that [I found] their inhabitants to be longing for (yashtāqūna ilā) ´Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib. And there was no prophet in paradise except that he was longing for ´Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib."[169]

Tradition 2

> The Prophet (ص) said: When I was taken by night to heaven, I saw written on the leg of the throne (´arsh), "There is no god but Allāh. Muḥammad is the Messenger of Allāh. I strengthened and aided him by ´Alī."[170]

Tradition 3

> The Prophet (ص) told ´Alī: I saw your name next to mine in four places [during the mi´rāj]. When I reached the Bayt al-Maqdis in my ascension (mi´rāj) to the heavens, I saw written on a stone there, "There is no god but Allāh. Muḥammad is the Messenger of Allāh. I have strengthened him by his vizier (wazīr), ´Alī." When I reached Sidrah al-Muntahā (the most remote lote tree)[171], I found

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[168] Qur`ān 17:1.

[169] Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:198.

[170] Kanz al-´Ummāl #33040, #33041; Tārīkh Baghdād #5876 (´Īsā ibn Muḥammad ibn ´Ubayd Allāh); Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:131; Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, verse 17:1.

[171] A reference to Qur`ān 53:14.

written on it, "I am Allāh, one, other than Whom there is no god. Muḥammad is My chosen one from among My creation. I have strengthened and aided him by his vizier, ʹAlī." When I reached the throne (ʹarsh) of the Lord of the worlds (ʹālamīn), I found written on its pillars, "I am Allāh. Other than Me there is no god. Muḥammad is the most beloved one [to Me] among my creation. I have strengthened and aided him by his vizier, ʹAlī." When I reached paradise, I found written on the gate of paradise, "There is no god but Me. Muḥammad is the most beloved of my creation [to Me]. I have strengthened and aided him by his vizier, ʹAlī."[172]

Tradition 4

The Prophet (ص) said: When I traveled by night to the seventh heaven... a voice called from behind a curtain (ḥijāb), "What a great father is your father Abraham and what a great brother is your brother ʹAlī."[173]

Tradition 5

The Messenger of Allāh (ص) said: On the night I was raised to heaven, I saw written on the gate of paradise, "There is no god but Allāh. Muḥammad is a messenger of Allāh. ʹAlī is the beloved (ḥabīb) of Allāh. Ḥasan and Ḥusayn are the closest friends (ṣifwah) of Allāh. Fāṭimah is the chosen one (khīrah) of Allāh. The curse of Allāh is on those who despise them."[174]

Tradition 6

The Messenger of Allāh (ص) said: On the night by which I traveled to the heavens, I passed by an angel sitting on a pulpit of light, with [other] angels surrounding it. I said, "O Gabriel, who is this angel?" Gabriel said, "Go up to him and greet him." So I went close and greeted him, and suddenly it appeared [to me] that I was with my brother and my paternal uncle's son, ʹAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib. I said, "O Gabriel, has ʹAlī [arrived in] the fourth heaven before me?" Gabriel replied, "O Muḥammad, no, but the angels complained about [the intensity of] their love for ʹAlī. So Allāh, the oft-high, created this angel from light, and he looks just like ʹAlī. The angels visit him seventy thousand times every Friday, during the night and during the day, glorifying Allāh and sanctifying Him. They grant their reward [for doing this] as a gift to those who love ʹAlī."[175]

Tradition 7

The Messenger of Allāh (ص) said: On the night in which I was taken to heaven, there was a red palace of sapphire, where it was revealed to me that ʹAlī is the chief of the Muslims (sayyid al-muslimīn), the leader of the pious (imām al-muttaqīn), and the commander of the shining (qāʹid al-ghurr al-muḥajjalīn)."[176] One tradition also adds, "and the chief of religion (yaʹsūb al-dīn)."[177]

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[172] Al-Ghadīr 2:51 quotes this from al-Mawaddah al-Qurbā of Sayyid al-Hamdānī (eighth mawaddah).

[173] Kanz al-ʹUmmāl #14242.

[174] Tārīkh Baghdād #88 (Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq); Manāqib Khwārazmī #297.

[175] Kifāyah al-Ṭālib 131-3, chapter 26.

[176] Manāqib Ibn Mughāzilī #146; Kanz al-ʹUmmāl #33010; Majmaʹ al-Zawāʹid #245, #14700; Usd al-Ghābah 1:81 #92 (Asad ibn Zurārah al-Anṣārī), 2:550-1 #2813 (ʹAbd Allāh ibn Asʹad). Similarly, Tārīkh Baghdād #5805

Tradition 8

The Messenger of Allāh (ص) said: When I traveled by night, I reached Sidrah al-Muntahā (the most remote lote tree). There, three items were revealed to me in regards to ʿAlī—that he is the leader of the pious, the chief of the Muslims, and the commander of those shining [on their path] towards the gardens of bliss (al-jannāt al-naʿīm)."[178] According to a similar tradition, he said, "ʿAlī is the chief of the Muslims, the master (walī) of the pious, and the commander of the shining."[179] In yet another similar tradition that Ḥākim certified as authentic, the Prophet (ص) said, "Three things were revealed to me regarding ʿAlī—that he is the chief of the Muslims, the leader of the pious, and [the commander of the] shining."[180]

Tradition 9

The Prophet (ص) said: When I was taken on a nighttime trip to the heavens, Gabriel took my hand and sat me on a rug from the rugs of paradise and offered me a quince. I was turning it in my hand when suddenly it opened and a houri came out, better than whom I had never seen. She said to me, "Peace be upon you, O Messenger of Allāh!" I asked, "Who are you?" She replied, "I am the agreeable and pleasing. I was created from three things—my lower section is from musk, my middle section is from camphor, and my top section is from ambergris. [Allāh] has created me from the water of life. Allāh, the Almighty, then said, 'Be!' and I was. He created me for your brother and your uncle's son, ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib."[181]

Tradition 10

Jābir al-Juʿfī said: I asked [Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī] al-Bāqir, "O son of the Messenger of Allāh! A group says that Allāh has set the imāmate in the offspring of Ḥasan." He replied, "O Jābir! The imāms are those whom the Prophet (ص) has specifically designated (naṣṣ), and they are twelve. [The Prophet (ص)] said: When I traveled by night to the heavens, I found their names written with light on the leg of the throne (sāq al-ʿarsh). [There were] twelve names. The first was ʿAlī, then his two sons (Ḥasan and Ḥusayn), [then] ʿAlī, Muḥammad, Jaʿfar, Mūsā, ʿAlī, Muḥammad, ʿAlī, Ḥasan, and Muḥammad al-Qāʾim al-Ḥujjah al-Mahdī."[182]

Comments

These traditions all address the fact that the status of ʿAlī (ع) was a key theme during the Prophet's (ص) ascension (miʿrāj). Clearly, if ʿAlī (ع) had no particular individual role in Islām as a rightful imām and successor to the Prophet (ص) and was merely one among

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(ʿAbd al-Jabbār ibn Aḥmad); Muʿjam al-Ṣaghīr Ṭabarānī #1012. Some traditions state that the palace was made of pearls.

[177] Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:138.

[178] Manāqib Ibn Mughāzilī #147.

[179] Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #33010; Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:137-8.

[180] Mustadrak Ḥākim #4668 (certifies the tradition as authentic).

[181] Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:185; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 9:280-1; Manāqib Ibn Mughāzilī #456; Manāqib Khwārazmī #287.

[182] Yanābīʿ al-Mawaddah 3:249.

many pious companions, his name appearing over and over again in the heavens would be meaningless. Even more importantly, these traditions, some of which have been accepted as authentic by Sunnī scholars, clearly point to the fact that ʿAlī (ع) is the master (walī) of the believers and the imām of the pious and that accepting this role is necessary for being among those who will be shining on the Day of Judgment.

These traditions also point to the fact that Allāh specifically chose ʿAlī (ع) to be the aide of the Prophet (ص). This fact is supported by the Qur`ān which says, "O Prophet, suffices you Allāh and one who follows you among the believers."[183] It has been related that the phrase, "the one who follows you among the believers," was revealed regarding ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib (ع).[184] Of course, the reason ʿAlī (ع) was sufficient for the Prophet (ص) in lieu of the rest of companions was precisely because Allāh specifically chose ʿAlī (ع) to be the one who would aid and support the Prophet (ص), as is indicated by these traditions. Indeed, according to Suyūṭī's Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr and Ibn ʿAsākir's Tārīkh Damishq, the word "believers" in the verse, "He is the one who has helped you with His aid and with the believers," refers to ʿAlī (ع) alone.[185]

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[183] Qur`ān 8:64.

[184] Shawāhid al-Tanzīl #305-6, verse 8:64.

[185] Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, verse 8:62; Tārīkh Damishq 42:360.

Chapter 5
Abū Ṭālib and the Prophet's (ص) Ancestors were Pious Believers

When the persecution of Muslims in Mecca became unbearable for many of the new converts, the Prophet (ص) sent a group of his followers to Abyssinia, where they were granted a safe haven by the Christian monarch Najāshī (Negus). Two delegations were sent by the Quraysh to Abyssinia to ask Najāshī to return the Muslim refugees to them, but both were unsuccessful.

The Quraysh then decided that the best strategy would be the economic and social isolation of the Muslims by the imposition of strict sanctions against them. Eighty Arab tribal leaders gathered and signed a pact banning trade and marriage with Muslims until the Prophet (ص) was surrendered to the Quraysh to be killed. The pact was sealed and placed in the interior of the Kaʿbah as a sign of the strictness of the covenant. This boycott created strict economic isolation of the nascent Muslim community. They were forced to move to the Valley of Abū Ṭālib. Due to the trade sanctions, they were deprived of all sources of income. They remained there at the expense of Khadījah, the Prophet's (ص) wife, and Abū Ṭālib, the Prophet's (ص) uncle. This boycott lasted for three years. It was brought to an end due to the intercession of some of the Meccans, as well as the fact that termites had miraculously eaten all the words of the sealed covenant except for the phrase, "In Your name, O Allāh."[186]

The Deaths of Abū Ṭālib and Khadījah

The Prophet's (ص) uncle Abū Ṭālib and his wife Khadījah died within 3 days of one another,[187] three years before his emigration to Madīnah,[188] thus inflicting a heavy loss on the Muslims, as those two glorious individuals had provided constant political and economic support to the small yet growing Muslim community.

It had been Abū Ṭālib who had prevented the Quraysh from killing the Prophet (ص), and who had given the Muslims refuge in his valley. Indeed, he had proclaimed his readiness for martyrdom in the cause of Allāh when he said, "We [will] keep him safe until we are struck down around him, and forget our sons and our wives."[189] Khadījah's immense wealth, which by the time of her death had been utterly exhausted on providing for the cause of Islām, had been the savior of the Muslims during the times of severe economic hardship. Gabriel relayed to the Prophet (ص) what a great loss to the Muslims Abū Ṭālib's death was. Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd said, "According to a famous tradition, Gabriel told the Prophet (ص) on the night Abū Ṭālib died, 'Your helper has just died.'"[190]

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[186] Tārīkh Tabarī 6:112-114; Sīrah Ibn Isḥāq 172-173.
[187] Murūj al-Dhahab 2:289.
[188] Mustadrak Ḥākim #4837.
[189] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 7:53.

Abū Ṭālib was born thirty five years before the Prophet (ص).[191] Some say that his name was ʿAbd Manāf, others say ʿImrān, and yet others claim that his name and his kunyah were the same.[192] He had four sons, Ṭālib, ʿAqīl, Jaʿfar, and ʿAlī (ع), and one daughter, Umm Hāniʾ, all of whom were born from Fāṭimah bint Asad.[193]

Despite Abū Ṭālib's unrelenting support for the Muslims, despite the clear evidence of his belief in Islām in the form of his words and poems, and despite the treatises written proving his faith in Islām, the vast majority of Sunnī scholars persist in calling him a disbeliever (kāfir). Although evidence of Abū Ṭālib's faith can fill a book by itself, we will refer to a few pieces of evidence that should convince any unbiased person of his unrelenting belief in Islām.

Proof of Abū Ṭālib's Faith in Islām

Abū Ṭālib Knew of the Prophecy of Muḥammad (ص) from the Prophet's (ص) Childhood

The reality is that Abū Ṭālib knew that the Prophet Muḥammad (ص) was bound to be a prophet from childhood, especially after the famous monk of Baḥīrā, in a widely accepted and narrated event, foretold of his nephew's prophetic mission. According to Ṭabarī,

> ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib died eight years after the Year of the Elephant. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib had entrusted the Messenger of Allāh to the care of his paternal uncle, Abū Ṭālib, because Abū Ṭālib and ʿAbd Allāh, the father of the Messenger of Allāh, had the same mother. Abū Ṭālib assumed responsibility for the Messenger of Allāh after the death of his grandfather and kept him with him.
>
> Once Abū Ṭālib was going on a trading exhibition to Syria with a party of the Quraysh, but when he had made his preparations and was ready to set out, the Messenger of Allāh, as they allege, could not bear to be separated from him. Abū Ṭālib took pity on him and said, "By Allāh, I will take him with me, and we shall never part from one another," or words to that effect; and took him with him.
>
> The caravan halted at Buṣrā in Syria where there was a learned Christian monk named Baḥīrā in his cell. There had always been a monk in that cell, and their knowledge was passed on, it is alleged, by means of a book which was handed down from generation to generation.
>
> When the caravan halted at Baḥīrā's cell this year, he prepared a copious meal for them, because while he was in his cell, he had seen the Messenger of Allāh shaded by a cloud which marked him out from among the company. Then they had come near, and when they halted in the shade of a tree close to him, he observed the cloud covering the tree and bending down its branches over the Messenger of Allāh until he was in the shade beneath it.

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[190] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 14:70.
[191] Iṣābah 4:2279 #10166 (Abū Ṭālib ibn ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib).
[192] Iṣābah 4:2279 #10166 (Abū Ṭālib ibn ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib).
[193] Istīʿāb 3:197 #1875 (ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib).

> When Baḥīrā saw this, he descended from his cell and sent the caravan a message inviting them all, even though when they had passed by him previously he had not done so nor paid any attention to them. When he saw the Messenger of Allāh, he observed him very intently, noting features of his person whose description he had found in his book. After the company had finished the meal and dispersed, he asked the Messenger of Allāh about certain matters which had taken place both when he was awake and when he was asleep. The Messenger of Allāh told him, and he found that these things corresponded to the description which he had found in his book. Finally he looked at Muḥammad's back, and saw the seal of prophethood between his shoulders.
>
> After this, Baḥīrā asked Muḥammad's uncle, Abū Ṭālib, "What relation is this boy to you?" "My son," he replied. "He is not your son," said Baḥīrā. "This boy's father cannot be living." "He is my brother's son," said Abū Ṭālib. "What happened to his father?" he asked. "He died while the boy's mother was pregnant with him," he replied. "You have spoken the truth," said Baḥīrā. Then he said, "This is the chief of the worlds; this is the messenger of the Lord of the worlds. This person has been sent by Allāh as a mercy to the worlds."
>
> The shaykhs (elders) of the Quraysh said to him, "What is it that you know?" He replied, "I know that when you appeared at the top of the pass there was not a tree or a stone which did not prostrate itself in worship; and they only prostrate themselves to a prophet. I also recognize him by the seal of prophethood which is below the cartilage of his shoulders and which is like an apple. Take him back to your country, and be on guard against the Jews, for by Allāh, if they see him and recognize what I have recognized in him, they will seek to do him harm. Great things lie ahead of him, so take him back quickly to his country." His uncle then took him quickly back to Mecca.[194]

The Poetry of Abū Ṭālib

The historian Ya'qūbī said,

> The Arabs used poetry in the place of philosophy (ḥikmah) and many other sciences. Whenever there was a well-versed poet among a tribe who related concepts and picked words well, he would be taken to the markets that were set up during the year and during the ḥajj rituals, so the other tribes and families would stop and gather to listen to his poems. [Poetry] was considered a pride among their prides and a sign of their greatness. They had nothing but poems to refer to in their judgments and decisions. Only through poetry did they argue, exemplify matters, seek superiority, make promises, claim pride, praise others, and cite fault.[195]

Poems were typically composed regarding the following matters: (1) the bravery of men in battle and descriptions of their swords, bows and arrows, horses, and armaments, (2) the qualities of an individual and his tribe, and (3) the poet's beloved women. Before Islām, the greatest poets of Arabia were Abū Ṭālib and Ḥassān ibn Thābit. Upon the advent of Islām, Abū Ṭālib composed dozens of poems about his faith. Many of the poems are rather lengthy, so I have selected portions of a few of his many poems that highlight his faith in Islām. Ḥākim has related the following verses of poetry from Abū Ṭālib:

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[194] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 6:44-46 (two accounts). This has been quoted based on a compliation of both accounts accounts present in Tārīkh Ṭabarī. This event is also narrated in Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 1:250; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 2:289; Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 1:120-121; Tārīkh Damishq 3:6-12 (several accounts).

[195] Tārīkh Ya'qūbī 1:262.

> Know that the chosen of mankind is Muḥammad,
> The vizier (wazīr) of Moses and the Messiah (Masīḥ), [Jesus] the son of Mary.
> He gives us guidance like that with which they came.
> They all guided and protected [from sin] by the command of Allāh.[196]

Ibn Ḥajar has related the following poem from Abū Ṭālib:

> You invite me, and I know that you are truthful.
> You are definitely telling the truth as you were, from before, the trustworthy (amīn) one.
> And I definitely know that the religion of Muḥammad
> Is the best religion among the righteous religions.[197]

It is interesting to note that the historian Ibn Isḥāq related poems from Abū Ṭālib that clearly demonstrated his faith in Islām, yet he claimed that Abū Ṭālib said, "There is no god but Allāh," on his deathbed only to please the Prophet (ص), without actually holding such a belief.[198] It is indeed absurd that a man who served Islām with all his might and who left us with his unforgettable verses in praise of Islām is considered a disbeliever by some. The following are just a few examples of Abū Ṭālib's poems that Ibn Isḥāq has related:[199]

Poem 1

> You [pagans] lie, by Allāh's House, Muḥammad shall not be maltreated;
> Before we shoot and thrust in his defense.
> We will not give him up till we lie dead around him,
> And be unmindful of our wives and children.[200]

Poem 2

> In faith I am devoted to Aḥmad and his brethren,
> As a constant lover.[201]

Poem 3

> We would follow him, whatever fate might bring,
> In deadly earnest, not in idle words.
> They know that our son is not held a liar by us,
> And is not concerned with foolish falsehood.
> Aḥmad has struck so deep a root among us
> That the attacks of the arrogant fail to affect him.
> I shielded and defended him myself by every means.[202]

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[196] Mustadrak Ḥākim #4247.
[197] Iṣābah 4:2280 #10166 (Abū Ṭālib ibn ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib).
[198] Sīrah Ibn Isḥāq 192.
[199] Refer to Sīrah Ibn Isḥāq 122-127, 160.
[200] Sīrah Ibn Isḥāq 124.
[201] Sīrah Ibn Isḥāq 127.

Poem 4

> Did you not know that we have found Muḥammad,
> A prophet like Moses, described in the oldest books...[203]

Poem 5

> By the Lord of the temple (i.e. Ka´bah) we will not give up Aḥmad,
> To harsh misfortunes and times' troubles.[204]

These verses of poetry are just a few of the many verses composed by Abū Ṭālib, each one of which is very explicit in his belief in Islām and the prophecy of Muḥammad (ص). The Sunnī scholar Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd accumulated a larger sampling of Abū Ṭālib's poetry establishing his faith in Islām, which the reader is recommended to refer to.[205] In one of them, Abū Ṭālib clearly asked, "Don't you know that I found Muḥammad to be a messenger?"[206] This is clearly indicative of his belief in the legitimacy of the Prophet's (ص) mission.

Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, after citing a number of these poems, said, "The totality of these poems indeed comes close to tawātur (proof by multiplicity). Even if any one of them [alone] is not mutawātir, their collection prove one common fact, and that is [Abū Ṭālib's] confirmation of [the prophecy of] Muḥammad (ص), and the totality is mutawātir."[207]

Indeed, there is no better proof of Abū Ṭālib's faith in Islām than his clearly stated belief that, "My brother's son does not lie at all."[208] With such a belief, he could not doubt the prophecy of Muḥammad (ص).

Abū Ṭālib Encouraged His Children to Accept Islām

In chapter 1, while addressing the fact that ´Alī (ع) was the first person to accept Islām and the first to pray alongside the Prophet (ص), traditions were cited showing that Abū Ṭālib explicitly approved of ´Alī's (ع) faith and ritual practices. This is proof of his belief in Islām. Indeed, ´Alī (ع) said that when he accepted Islām, his father told him, "He calls you to nothing but good, so adhere to him."[209] Also, when Ja´far ibn Abī Ṭālib became Muslim, Abū Ṭālib told him, "Go [under] the wings of your uncle's son." Ja´far then started praying with the Prophet (ص).[210]

Abū Ṭālib Believed in Islām Until His Death

Ibn ´Abbās said,

> When the Messenger of Allāh (ص) went to Abū Ṭālib in his sickness, he said, "O uncle, say, 'There is no god but Allāh,' a word which will permit intercession

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202. Sīrah Ibn Isḥāq 127.
203. Sīrah Ibn Isḥāq 160.
204. Sīrah Ibn Isḥāq 160.
205. Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 14:71-81.
206. Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 14:72.
207. Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 14:78.
208. Iṣābah 4:2280 #10166 (Abū Ṭālib ibn ´Abd al-Muṭṭalib).
209. Tārīkh Ṭabarī 6:84; Sīrah Ibn Isḥāq 114; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 13:199-200.
210. Iṣābah 4:2281 #10166 (Abū Ṭālib ibn ´Abd al-Muṭṭalib).

> (shafā´ah) for you on the Day of Judgment." Abū Ṭālib said, "O son of my brother, by Allāh, had it not been a source of insults and oppression for me and my family after me, and were it not that they would see it as my saying it out of fear of death, I would have said it. I would not have said it but to make you content." When Abū Ṭālib was about to die, he was seen moving his lips. ´Abbās went close to him and heard what he said. He raised his head and said, "He just said, by Allāh, the words that you asked him to say."[211]

Abū Ṭālib's Marriage to Fāṭimah bint Asad is Evidence of His Being Muslim

As related by Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, when ´Alī ibn Ḥusayn ibn ´Alī (ع) was asked about Abū Ṭālib's faith, he replied, "It is amazing! Allāh banned His Prophet (ص) from allowing a Muslim woman to remain in a marriage with a non-believer, yet Fāṭimah bint Asad was one of the pioneers in Islām and she remained with Abū Ṭālib until he died."[212]

Abū Ṭālib Maintained His Family Ties to the Prophet (ص) Until His Death

Abū Ṭālib said, "I heard my brother's son, Muḥammad, say that his Lord raised him for maintaining family ties (ṣilah al-arḥām) and to serve Him alone and not to serve other than Him along with Him. To me, only Muḥammad is the truthful and trustworthy."[213] When Abū Ṭālib died and the Messenger of Allāh (ص) was with his body, he said, "You indeed maintained your close family ties to your relatives."[214]

Comments

These traditions clearly establish Abū Ṭālib's belief in Islām in two ways. First, he explicitly expressed his belief in Islām by stating that the Prophet (ص) was truthful and trustworthy. Second, the Prophet (ص) confirmed that Abū Ṭālib maintained his close family ties to him, something that he would only do through accepting Islām. There is no way the Prophet (ص) would have said this if Abū Ṭālib was a disbeliever, as close family ties to prophets are abrogated by disbelief. This is made clear in the Qur`ān when Allāh told Noah regarding his disbelieving son, "Surely he is not of your family (ahl), as he is [the doer of] other than good deeds."[215]

Weakness of Traditions Claiming that Abū Ṭālib Will Burn in the Shallow Fires of Hell

It is commonly claimed that Abū Ṭālib will burn in the shallow portions of hell. The Sunnī Mu´tazilī scholar Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd said,

> The tradition that [Abū Ṭālib will burn in the] shallow fire has been narrated by everyone through one single man, and that is Mughīrah ibn Shu´bah. His hatred for the Banū Hāshim, and particularly for ´Alī, is well-known and well-established. His story and his deviance (fisq) [make him] one [whose traditions in this regards are] not to be respected.[216]

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[211] Iṣābah 4:2280-1 #10166 (Abū Ṭālib ibn ´Abd al-Muṭṭalib). Similarly, Sīrah Ibn Isḥāq 192.
[212] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 14:69.
[213] Iṣābah 4:221 #10166 (Abū Ṭālib ibn ´Abd al-Muṭṭalib); Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 14:69.
[214] Iṣābah 4:2281 #10166 (Abū Ṭālib ibn ´Abd al-Muṭṭalib).
[215] Qur`ān 11:46.
[216] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 14:70.

Although this tradition now appears in Sunnī works through a number of chains of transmission, it seems likely that the tradition began as an invention of Mughīrah ibn Shu`bah, who, as we will discuss later, would regularly stand at the pulpit in Kūfah and hurl insults at `Alī (ع).[217] People took his words and then appended them to the Prophet (ص) directly in a process known as tadlīs, in which the true source of a tradition is masked. Unfortunately, Sunnīs believe that tadlīs of this type is acceptable, as it is unnecessary to include the true source of a tradition if that true source is a companion, as all companions are completely trustworthy.

Of note, the traditions that appear in Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī and Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim that are attributed to `Abbās ibn `Abd al-Muṭṭalib are narrated through `Abd Allāh ibn Ḥārith,[218] whose mother was Hind bint Abī Sufyān,[219] making him Mu`āwīyah's nephew. Apparently, he was trying to please his uncle when he passed on this invented tradition defaming the lineage of `Alī (ع), who was the archenemy of the Umayyads. The English translation of Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim tries to make it appear that this tradition is narrated through a number of sources when it says:

> This tradition is narrated from the Apostle... on the authority of the chain of transmitters like Muḥammad ibn Ḥātim, Yaḥyā ibn Sa`īd, Abū Sufyān, `Abbās ibn `Abd al-Muṭṭalib, and others.[220]

This makes it appear that the chain is mutawātir, as it is narrated by a number of individuals. Yet, all these names are just the chain of yet another tradition that is related through `Abd Allāh ibn Ḥārith. The actual Arabic text of this reads: "Muḥammad ibn Ḥātim narrated from Yaḥyā ibn Sa`īd from Sufyān from `Abd al-Malik ibn `Umayr from `Abd Allāh ibn Ḥārith from `Abbās ibn `Abd al-Muṭṭalib..."[221] Indeed, Abū Sufyān in the English translation is actually Sufyān, who is just one of the narrators of the tradition.

Furthermore, the tradition that Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī and Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim cite from Abū Sa`īd al-Khudrī is as follows:

> Narrated Abū Sa`īd al-Khudrī: He heard the Prophet, when somebody mentioned his uncle (Abū Ṭālib), saying, "Perhaps my intercession will be helpful to him on the Day of Judgment so that he may be put in a shallow fire reaching only up to his ankles. His brain will boil from it."[222]

Whoever invented this tradition forgot that the Qur`ān clearly states that the pagans will have no intercessors on the Day of Judgment.[223] For the Prophet (ص) to claim that he might intercede on behalf of his pagan uncle would therefore be impossible. Furthermore, the tradition claims that the Prophet's intercession might benefit his pagan uncle, yet the Qur`ān clearly states that, "The intercession of the intercessors will not be of [any] benefit to them."[224]

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[217] Refer to chapter 76.

[218] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.58.222 (Arabic original #3670), #8.73.227 (Arabic original #5855); Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #1.408 (Arabic original #209).

[219] Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb vol 5 #310 (`Abd Allāh ibn Ḥārith ibn Nawfal ibn Ḥārith ibn `Abd al-Muṭṭalib).

[220] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #1.410.

[221] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #209 (Arabic original)

[222] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.58.224; Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #1.411.

[223] For example, Qur`ān 7:53, 26:100, 40:18.

[224] Qur`ān 74:48.

One must decide whether to believe such traditions forged to please the Umayyads in accordance with the words of the enemies of the Ahl al-Bayt such as Mughīrah ibn Shu´bah, or to believe the words of ´Alī the son of Muḥammad ibn ´Alī al-Bāqir (ع), as related by Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd in defense of Abū Ṭālib. He said, "If the faith of Abū Ṭālib were placed on one side of a scale and the faith of these people on the other side, his faith would outweigh [theirs]."[225] Of course, no one knows better than one's own offspring of the nature of one's faith.

Amazingly, some have extended the lies about Abū Ṭālib to the point of claiming that ´Alī (ع) and Ja´far did not take anything from Abū Ṭālib's inheritance because of his being a disbeliever.[226] However, these "scholars" have forgotten the fact that, according to the jurisprudence of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع), while non-believers do not inherit from Muslims, Muslims do inherit from disbelievers. Furthermore, even if it is true that ´Alī (ع) and Ja´far were deprived of Abū Ṭālib's inheritance, it would only be because of the fact that the pagans were in control of Mecca, and there was no way of forcing the implementation of Islāmic laws.

Indeed, some have gone so far in their smear campaign against ´Abū Ṭālib that they have even claimed that the following verse was revealed when the Prophet (ص) prayed for Abū Ṭālib while he was laying in his deathbed: "It is not fitting for the Prophet and the believers to ask Allāh's forgiveness for the pagans, even if they were their near relatives, after it has become clear to them that they are the dwellers of the fire."[227,228] Yet, this is impossible, as Sūrah Tawbah, the ninth sūrah of the Qur`ān, was revealed in its entirety in the latter part of the Prophet's (ص) stay in Madīnah, while Abū Ṭālib died while the Prophet (ص) was still in Mecca.

Why Abū Ṭālib was Labeled as a Disbeliever

In light of such poetry shining with belief and in light of his numerous sacrifices for Islām and numerous traditions citing his faith in Islām, one indeed has every right to wonder why some have claimed that Abū Ṭālib died as a disbeliever who will spend an eternity burning in the shallow parts of hell. Indeed, the fact that Sunnīs even today spend so much effort trying to prove that Abū Ṭālib was a non-Muslim, while ferociously defending the faith of hypocrites such as Abū Sufyān, Mu´āwīyah, and Mughīrah ibn Shu´bah would be truly bewildering were it not for the historical context within which their faith developed.

The Umayyad and ´Abbāsīd caliphs and their worldly followers had a clear political agenda in publicly spreading such stories whose purpose was to defame ´Alī (ع) and the pure imāms from his progeny by defaming their lineage. The Umayyads had a clear political motive for defaming ´Alī (ع), and their acts in this regards are addressed in chapter 76. Later, the ´Abbāsīds revolted against the Umayyads in the name of restoring power to the family of the Prophet (ص), but once they gained power, they needed to justify why the offspring of ´Abbās would inherit the caliphate instead of the offspring of the Prophet (ص) through ´Alī and Fāṭimah (ع).

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[225] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 14:68.
[226] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 14:69; Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #2.26.658, #5.59.579; Sunan al-Kubrā Bayhaqī #12006.
[227] Qur`ān 9:113.
[228] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.58.223.

According to Shahrastānī, "The ʻAbbāsīds claimed that the caliphate belonged rightly to them because of their close blood relationship with the Prophet; for when the Prophet died, his uncle ʻAbbās was the nearest of kin, with right of succession."[229] One of their basic arguments hinged on claiming that Abū Ṭālib had died as a disbeliever. They claimed that the caliphate could not pass through the Prophet's (ص) daughter because she was a woman. However, they realized that even in this case, according to Arab custom, the caliphate would pass to Abū Ṭālib and his children since he was a full brother of ʻAbd Allāh, the Prophet's (ص) father, whereas ʻAbbās was his half-brother. So by promoting the claim that Abū Ṭālib was a disbeliever, they would deny the rights of Abū Ṭālib and his progeny to any inheritance from the Prophet (ص). However, the ʻAbbāsīds apparently glossed over the fact that, according to Qur`ānic law, an uncle has no inheritance whatsoever if one dies with any progeny, which is why uncles do not appear in even a single verse among the verses of inheritance.

The following tradition cited in both Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī and Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim is a perfect example of what was widely circulated among the Sunnīs during the Umayyad era: ʻAmr ibn ʻĀṣ, the governor of ʻUmar and Muʻāwīyah in Egypt and avowed enemy of the Ahl al-Bayt, said: I heard the Prophet say openly, not secretly, "The family (āl) of Abū so-and-so (Ṭālib) are not my walīs (devotees); my walīs are only Allāh and the righteous believers."[230]

The "āl" of an individual is one's family, particularly one's offspring. Abū Ṭālib's children were none other than Ṭālib, ʻAqīl, Jaʻfar, ʻAlī (ع), and Umm Hāni`. One must ask which one of these among the family of Abū Ṭālib was not a righteous believer. Was it ʻAlī (ع), the first man to become Muslim, and the one who, as will be examined in detail later, the Qur`ān and the Prophet (ص) called the master (walī and mawlā) of the believers? Or was it Jaʻfar, one of the great martyrs of Islām, who, according to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, was granted the title Dhū al-Janāḥayn (the one with two wings) so that he could fly freely in the heavens?[231] Or was it ʻAqīl or Ṭālib or Ḥasan or Ḥusayn (ع) or Zaynab or Umm Kulthūm? The answer is clear—neither Abū Ṭālib nor any of his children were disbelievers. However, they all had to suffer these insults because the caliphs felt threatened by ʻAlī (ع) and his progeny who had a rightful claim to leadership of the Muslim nation.

Another possible reason why Abū Ṭālib was considered a disbeliever is that Abū Ṭālib kept his faith relatively private so that he could maintain influence among the pagans of the Quraysh for the benefit of the Prophet (ص) and the oppressed Muslim community. This is referred to as taqīyyah, or dissimulation. It should therefore come as no surprise that many Meccan pagans had no idea that Abū Ṭālib was a Muslim. Unfortunately, the words and recollections of such pagans who later converted to Islām only to save their own lives and who spent little or no time with the Prophet (ص) as believers later became central elements of Sunnī faith, as such individuals were later promoted as glorious companions, and their words were followed with the utmost of zeal, without any attempts to validate the accuracy of what they said.

The Permissibility of Taqīyyah (Dissimulation)

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[229] Milal wa Niḥal 129.

[230] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #8.73.19. Similarly, Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #1.417 (omits the last sentence). Translation is directly from the Arabic (Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5644; Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #215).

[231] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.57.58.

Taqīyyah refers to the practice of hiding one's faith and beliefs in order to prevent persecution. This practice is often referred to in English as dissimulation. Taqīyyah is widely accepted by the Shī'ah as not only permissible but also sometimes necessary when survival of the individual requires one to hide one's faith. It is common for anti-Shī'ah propagandists to claim that taqīyyah is a form of hypocrisy because it promotes dishonesty among the Shī'ah. In reality, however, taqīyyah is the opposite of hypocrisy. Whereas hypocrites pretend to be Muslim while at heart they are disbelievers, those practicing taqīyyah hold true Islāmic beliefs in their hearts, while hiding their faith with their words or actions. The difference is the difference between Abū Ṭālib, the forefather of the Shī'ah imāms, and Abū Sufyān, the forefather of three Umayyad caliphs. Abū Ṭālib pretended to be a pagan so that he could protect the Prophet (ص) and other Muslims from the pagan Quraysh, while he held a strong belief in Islām in his heart. Conversely, Abū Sufyān despised the Prophet (ص) and Islām, but when he realized he had been militarily defeated, he outwardly professed Islām, while holding his disbelief in his heart, in order spare himself from execution. Indeed, at soon as his Umayyad tribesman 'Uthmān became caliph, Abū Sufyān's openly manifested his disbelief to his family (the Banū Umayyah).[232]

Taqīyyah According to the Qur`ān

It is sometimes claimed that taqīyyah is an innovation of the Shī'ah, even though it is clear that taqīyyah has Qur`ānic roots, as is evident in the following three verses of the Qur`ān:

<u>Qur`ānic Verse 1:</u>

> Anyone who, after accepting faith in Allāh, utters disbelief [will be subject to the wrath of Allāh], *except for one who is under compulsion while his heart remains firm in faith*, but those who open their breast to disbelief, on them is the wrath of Allāh, and theirs will be a dreadful penalty.[233]

It is widely narrated and indeed universally accepted by the Sunnī interpreters of the Qur`ān that this verse was revealed when 'Ammār ibn Yāsir practiced taqīyyah during the Prophet's (ص) lifetime. According to these accounts, the non-believers caught 'Ammār and forced him to praise their false gods and to condemn the Prophet (ص). They coerced him to the extent that 'Ammār gave into their demands. After that, when he returned to the Prophet (ص), 'Ammār related the entire story. The Prophet (ص) asked him how he felt in his heart. To this, 'Ammār replied, "I am fully content with Allāh's religion in my heart." The Prophet (ص) replied, if non-believers ask you to say the same again, say it." At that time, the above verse was revealed.[234]

Ibn Ḥajar said, "They (i.e. the Sunnī scholars) concur that [this verse] was revealed regarding ['Ammār ibn Yāsir]."[235] Furthermore, the Sunnī commentaries on the Qur`ān agree that this verse and the situation regarding which it was revealed clearly allow the denunciation of one's faith in situations of grave danger, as long as one's heart remains

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232. Refer to chapter 63.
233. Qur`ān 16:106.
234. This is a summary of numerous similar accounts that appear in Tafsīr Ibn Kathīr, Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, Tafsīr Ṭabarī, Tafsīr Bayḍāwī, Tafsīr Baghawī, and many other Sunnī works of Qur`ānic commentary, verse 16:106.
235. Iṣābah 2:1300 #5706 ('Ammār ibn Yāsir).

firm in belief.[236] Baghawī said, "The scholars (ʹulamā`) have consensus that if one is coerced, it is permissible to [say] words of disbelief by one's tongue. As long as what one says by one's tongue is not what one believes, this is not considered [an act of] disbelief."[237]

Qur`ānic Verse 2

> Let not the believers take disbelievers as their close associates instead of believers. Whoever does this shall have no relation left with Allāh, *except if you are guarding yourselves (tattaqū) out of fear (tuqātan)."*[238]

Ibn Kathīr said,

> Those believers who, in some places or at some times, fear for their safety from the disbelievers... are allowed to show friendship to the disbelievers outwardly, but never inwardly. For instance, Bukhārī recorded that Abū Dardā` said, "We smile in the face of some people although our hearts curse them." Bukhārī said that Ḥasan said, "Taqīyyah is allowed until the Day of Judgment."[239]

Similarly, Rāzī said,

> Taqīyyah is permitted to preserve one's self. As to whether it is permitted to preserve one's property, it is likely that it is permissible, because of the saying [of the Prophet (ص)], "The sanctity of a Muslim's property Muslim is like the sanctity of his life," and his saying, "Whoever dies for his property is a martyr."[240]

Qur`ānic Verse 3

> And a believing man among the family of Pharaoh *who concealed his faith* said: Will you slay a man because he says, "My Lord is Allāh"?[241]

Allāh clearly refers to the man who hid his belief among the people of Pharaoh as a believer worthy of praise. Indeed, Abū Ṭālib's role was very similar to that of the believer among the people of Pharaoh, as he hid his true faith in order to maintain influence among his pagan tribesmen.

Comments

These verses clearly show that a believer may pretend to be a disbeliever to prevent the persecution of his own self or of other believers. This is the exact role that Abū Ṭālib played until his death and this is the exact role that the Shīʹah believe taqīyyah should have in a believer's life. It is important to realize that taqīyyah only has a role when there is a clear threat. For example, throughout much of Umayyad and ʹAbbāsīd history, the supporters of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) were rounded up and killed, their properties were confiscated, and their wives and children were taken as slaves. These were times when taqīyyah was permissible and at times mandatory. In the absence of such threats, taqīyyah is not permissible. Some have gone as far as claiming that nothing a Shī'ah says can be believed, because one can never know if they are performing taqīyyah or not. This claim, however, is not true. If there is an obvious and imminent threat, they may be performing taqīyyah. In the absence of such an imminent threat, taqīyyah is not permissible, and lying is considered a great sin.

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[236] For example, Tafsīr Bayḍāwī, Tafsīr Baghawī, and Tafsīr Rāzī, verse 16:106.

[237] Tafsir Baghawī, verse 16:106.

[238] Qur`ān 3:28.

[239] Tafsir Ibn Kathīr, verse 3:28.

[240] Tafsīr Rāzī, verse 3:28.

[241] Qur`ān 40:28.

'Abd Allāh ibn 'Umar Performed Taqīyyah

The following tradition from Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī shows that 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Umar also performed taqīyyah during the Umayyad era, keeping his belief that the Umayyads were unfit for the caliphate to himself to prevent harm to himself and discord in the nation:

> Narrated 'Ikrimah ibn Khālid: Ibn 'Umar said: I went to Ḥafṣah while water was dribbling from her twined braids. I said, "The condition of the people is as you see, and no authority has been given to me." Ḥafṣah said, "Go to them, as they are waiting for you, and I am afraid your absence from them will produce division amongst them." So Ḥafṣah did not leave Ibn 'Umar until we went to them. When the people differed, Mu'āwīyah addressed the people saying, "If anybody wants to say anything in this matter of the caliphate, he should show up and not conceal himself, for we are more rightful to be a caliph than he and his father." On that, Ḥabīb ibn Maslamah said [to Ibn 'Umar], "Why don't you reply to him?" 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Umar said, "I untied my garment that was going round my back and legs while I was sitting and was about to say, 'He who fought against you and against your father for the sake of Islām is more rightful to be a caliph,' but I was afraid that my statement might produce differences amongst the people and cause bloodshed, and that my statement might be interpreted not as I intended. [So I kept quiet], remembering what Allāh has prepared in the gardens of paradise [for those who are patient]." Ḥabīb said, "You did what kept you safe and secure."[242]

If this is not taqīyyah being performed by Ibn 'Umar due to his fear of the Umayyads, whereby he withheld his belief that the Umayyads were unfit to rule in order to stay safe and secure, it is not clear what taqīyyah would be.

Conclusions Regarding the Faith of Abū Ṭālib

Despite clear evidence to the contrary, many Sunnīs, in line with the insults created on behalf of the Umayyad and 'Abbāsīd caliphs, continue to deny Abū Ṭālib's faith in Islām. This tendency to discredit Abū Ṭālib is so strong that, after reviewing clear proof of Abū Ṭālib's faith, Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd concluded, "There are many accounts regarding his belief in Islām and many accounts regarding his having died while following the [pagan] religion of his tribe... This situation requires a neutral stance, so in his regards I remain neutral."[243]

However, neutrality carries significant dangers. Indeed, Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd himself clarified the position of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) when he related that 'Alī ibn Mūsā al-Riḍā (ع) told someone who doubted Abū Ṭālib's faith in Islām, "If you do not admit to the faith of Abū

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[242] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.59.434. Historically, this exchange apparently occurred when Mu'āwīyah was in the process of appointing his son Yazīd as his heir, and ran into opposition from Ibn 'Umar, among others (refer to chapters 94, 95, and 97).

[243] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 14:82.

Ṭālib, your path will be towards the fire."[244] This makes sense because, according to a tradition in Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, if one person refers to another as a disbeliever, then one of the two is surely a disbeliever.[245]

The Belief of the Ancestors of the Prophet (ص)

Another matter of difference among Sunnīs and Shī'ah is in regards to the belief of the ancestors of the Prophet (ص), from his father 'Abd Allāh to Adam (ع). The Prophet (ص) said, "We descended from pure (ṭāhir or ḥasan) loins to clean (zakīyyah or ṭāhir) wombs."[246] According to this, the ancestors of the Messenger of Allāh (ص) must all be pure from idolatry and disbelief. Since the Qur'ān clearly states, "Truly the pagans are filthy (najas),"[247] the purity of the loins and wombs that carried the Prophet (ص) from Adam (ع) to 'Abd Allāh must refer to their purity from idolatry and their belief in Islām.

Those who maintain that the Prophet (ص) descended from pagan ancestors claim that Āzar who, according to the Qur'ān, was a pagan, was the father of Abraham (ع). Since the Prophet (ص) is a descendant of Abraham (ع), the idolatry of Āzar would prove that the Prophet's (ص) ancestors were not all believers. To further their claim, they use the following verses:

1. "And when Abraham asked his father Āzar, 'Do you take idols as gods?'"[248]

2. "And when Abraham told his father and his people, 'I am pure of that which you worship.'"[249]

3. "And Abraham's asking forgiveness for his father was nothing but a fulfillment of a promise he made to him. When it was made clear to him that he was an enemy of Allāh, he renounced him. Abraham is fearful [of Allāh] and patient."[250]

However, the truth is that Āzar was the uncle of Abraham, not his father. In Arabic, it is rather common to use the word father to refer to an uncle, and this usage can be found in the following verse of the Qur'ān:

> Were you witnesses when death approached Jacob, when he asked his children, "What will you worship after me?" They replied, "We will worship your god and the god of your fathers Abraham, Ishmael, and Isaac, the one God, and we submit to Him."[251]

According to this verse, the sons of Jacob (ع) referred to their great grandfather Abraham (ع), their grandfather Isaac (ع), and their great uncle Ishmael (ع) all as fathers. If the Qur'ān allows a prophet to refer to his great uncle as "father," it should be no surprise that in the Qur'ān Abraham would call his uncle "father" or "ab". In addition, the following verse proves that Abraham's father was a believer:

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[244] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 14:68.

[245] For example, Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #8.73.125.

[246] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 14:67; Kanz al-'Ummāl #32010, #35489; Tārīkh Damishq 3:408; Jāmi' al-Kabīr Suyūṭī letter kāf #913 (kuntu wa Ādam). Note that two different sets of adjectives appearing in the different traditions carry the same implications, and both sets of original Arabic words are presented parenthetically.

[247] Qur'ān 9:28.

[248] Qur'ān 6:74.

[249] Qur'ān 43:26.

[250] Qur'ān 9:114.

[251] Qur'ān 2:133.

> [Abraham said], "Praise be to Allāh Who has given me, in my old age, Ishmael and Isaac, for truly my Lord is the hearer of prayer. O Lord, make me and my progeny ones who stand in prayer. O Lord, accept my prayer (du´ā`). O Lord, forgive me, my two parents, and the believers on the day in which the accounts will be raised."[252]

According to this verse, Abraham (ع) asked Allāh to forgive both his father and mother. But the Qur`ān also says,

> And Abraham's asking forgiveness for his father [Āzar] was nothing but a fulfillment of a promise he made to him. When it was made clear to him that he was an enemy of Allāh, he renounced him.[253]

Abraham's (ع) promise to Āzar to ask for his forgiveness was made when Abraham (ع) was young and starting his prophetic mission, whereas his prayers for Allāh to forgive his two parents and his offspring (dhurīyyah) were at a time when he was very old and clearly already has his two sons, for whom he was grateful to Allāh. This is clear because, according to the Qur`ān, Abraham (ع) said as part of his prayers, "Praise be to Allāh Who has given me, in my old age, Ishmael and Isaac!"[254] As Abraham (ع) had no offspring until he was a very old man, his prayers for his father and mother at the time he already had his two sons must have been when he was old. By that time, the disbelief of Āzar was well-proven to him and it was no longer permissible for him to ask for Āzar's forgiveness according to the quoted verse of the Qur`ān. Indeed, by the time he was old, he had long renounced Āzar.[255] The fact that Abraham (ع) had a son at a very advanced age when his wife was considered completely barren is also related in the account of the Qur`ān in which the angels visited Abraham (ع) to gave him tidings of a son who would miraculously be granted to him by Allāh from his barren wife.[256]

It should also be noted that the Jews and Christians do not cite Āzar as the father of Abraham (ع). Rather, they say that his father was Terah,[257] which in Arabic has been cited as Tāriḥ or Tīraḥ. Furthermore, Suyūṭī cites several traditions stating that,

1. "Āzar was not his father."
2. "His father's name was Tāriḥ."
3. "Āzar was not his father... He was Abraham the son of Tīraḥ."
4. "The name of Abraham's father was not Āzar but rather Tāriḥ."[258]

Similar traditions can be found in other works of Sunnī commentary as well.[259] According to Tafsīr Rāzī, Zajjāj[260] said, "There is no dispute among the genealogists that [Abraham's father's] name was Tāriḥ."[261] It is therefore very clear that that Āzar was not Abraham's (ع) father, thus taking away the main argument used to claim that the Prophet's (ص) ancestors included pagans. Interestingly, some scholars have realized that Āzar was not Abraham's (ع) father and instead claim that Āzar was the name of an idol.[262] This, however, is hard to reconcile with the verses of the Qur`ān that appear to refer to Āzar as being a person. As such, the Shīʿah view that Āzar was a relative of Abraham (ع) who had a fatherly role towards him but not his biological father is most definitely the correct one.

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[252] Qur`ān 14:39-41.
[253] Qur`ān 9:114.
[254] Qur`ān 14:39.
[255] Qur`ān 9:114.
[256] Qur`ān 51:24-30.
[257] Bible, Old Testament, Genesis 11:26.
[258] Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, verse 6:74.
[259] For example, Tafsīr Ṭabarī and Tafsīr Ibn Kathīr, verse 6:74.
[260] A famous philologist (d. 311 A.H.).

Proof that the Prophet's (ص) Mother was a Believer

There is a tradition certified by Ḥākim as authentic by the criteria of Muslim that has been related by Nasā`ī, Abū Dāwūd, Ibn Mājah, and Ḥanbal that clearly proves that the mother of the Messenger of Allāh (ص) was a believer in the unity of Allāh. According to this tradition, "The Messenger of Allāh (ص) visited the tomb of his mother. He cried and so did those around him."[263]

As is clearly stated in this tradition, the Prophet (ص) cried for his mother, even though he had banned crying for dead non-Muslim ancestors and relatives. According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, once Allāh's Apostle passed by the grave of a Jewish woman whose relatives were weeping over her. He said, "They are weeping over her and she is being tortured in her grave [as a result of their weeping]."[264] ʿUmar said, "Don't you know that the Prophet said, 'The deceased is tortured for the weeping of the living'?"[265] According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, this tradition of ʿUmar's was clarified by ʿĀ`ishah as follows:

> May Allāh be merciful to ʿUmar. By Allāh, Allāh's Apostle did not say that a believer is punished by the weeping of his relatives. But he said, "Allāh increases the punishment of a non-believer because of the weeping of his relatives."[266]

As such, the Prophet (ص) would not have wept at his mother's gravesite had she not been a believer. The fact that he did cry is clear proof that she was a believer, as claimed by the Shīʿah, otherwise he would have been merely torturing her by crying at her gravesite.

The Ancestors of the Prophet (ص) Performed Taqīyyah

The reality is that the ancestors of the Prophet (ص) performed taqīyyah to keep their faith concealed in order to protect the upcoming prophet of Islām. As such, it is no surprise that companions who descended from the pagans of Arabia would have no knowledge of the true beliefs of the Prophet's (ص) ancestors, as their beliefs were not publicly proclaimed. Indeed, there is Qur`ānic proof that the Prophet's (ص) ancestors performed taqīyyah, except when ordered by Allāh to reveal their faith:

> As such we showed Abraham the kingdom of the heavens and earth so that he would be among those with certitude. When the night covered over him, he saw

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[261] Tafsīr Rāzī, verse 6:74.

[262] For example, Tafsīr Rāzī and Tafsīr Ibn Kathīr, verse 6:74.

[263] Sunan Nasā`ī #2034; Sunan Abū Dāwūd #3234; Sunan Ibn Mājah #1572; Musnad Ḥanbal #9686; Mustadrak Ḥākim #1390 (certifies the tradition as authentic by the criteria of Muslim).

[264] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #2.23.376.

[265] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #2.23.377.

[266] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #2.23.375. Similarly, Saḥīḥ Muslim #4.2022.

> a star and said, "This is my lord." But when it set, he said, "I do not love that which sets." When he saw the moon rising he said, "This is my lord." But when it set, he said, "Unless my Lord guides me, I will be among the people who go astray." When he saw the sun rising he said, "This is my lord; this is the greatest." But when he saw it set, he said, "O my people! I renounce that which you set up as partners to Allāh."[267]

These verses clearly show the use of taqīyyah in practice by a prophet. The first verse establishes that Abraham (ع) already believed in Allāh with certitude and therefore recognized the sinfulness of paganism. Yet, he went on to say that the stars, the moon, and the sun were his lords. Despite the certitude in his heart, he uttered several words of disbelief. As such, Abraham (ع) openly rejected the idolatry of his tribe only after he began his open prophetic mission. Without such an ordained mission, Abraham (ع) would have continued to keep his true beliefs in his heart, as did many of the Prophet's (ص) other ancestors.

Another prophet who performed taqīyyah even more clearly was Aaron (ع). When the Children of Israel worshipped the calf, Aaron (ع) remained quiet to the point that he has, until today, been considered by both Jews and Christians to have been complicit in the act of idolatry. Indeed, Moses (ع) confronted him for his apparent complicity. The Qur`ān describes this event as follows:

> And when Moses returned to his people, angry and grieved, he said, "Awful is the way you succeeded me after me (i.e. in my absence). Did you hasten to bring on the judgment of your Lord?" He put down the tablets, seized his brother's head, and dragged him over. Aaron said [to him], "Son of my mother! The people did indeed oppress me and were plotting to kill me."[268]

This clearly shows that Aaron (ع), on the surface, appeared to be complicit with the act of idolatry, as he did not speak out against it. Rather, he practiced taqīyyah, remaining quiet to the point of appearing complicit out of fear for his life, as the Children of Israel were plotting to kill him if he were to openly oppose them. It also proves that the Children of Israel erred in the caliphate, as did the Muslim nation. The phrase, "bi`samā khalaftumūnī min ba´dī," literally means, "how awfully you conducted my successorship (caliphate) after me." This is exactly what the Messenger of Allāh (ص) will say to the Muslim nation. Indeed, the Prophet (ص) promised, "You would tread the same path as was trodden by the [Jews and Christians] before you, inch by inch and step by step, so much so that if they entered into the hole of a lizard, you would follow them in this also."[269] As the Prophet (ص) predicted, the Muslims handled his caliphate rather awfully, just as the Children of Israel did before with respect to Moses (ع). ´Alī (ع) became the oppressed of Muḥammad's (ص) nation, as Aaron (ع) had been the oppressed of the nation of Moses (ع). ´Alī (ع) was forced to perform taqīyyah to save his life just as Aaron (ع) was forced to perform taqīyyah to save his life, while they both painstakingly watched their respective nations go astray from the straight path.

Aaron's (ع) taqīyyah shows that when taqīyyah is performed properly, it will completely confuse the nation at large to the point that they will consider the performer of taqīyyah to be one of their own. Just as the Children of Israel to this day consider Aaron (ع) to have been complicit in worshipping the calf, the majority of Muslims to this day consider Abū Ṭālib and ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib and the ancestors of the Prophet (ص) to have been complicit in the worship of idols. Yet, the Shīʿah have accurate knowledge of both the faith of Aaron (ع) as well as that of the Prophet's (ص) ancestors and his uncle Abū Ṭālib. Moreover, due to bitter facts of history, the Shīʿah truly understand the need for such holy men to have hidden their true beliefs from the idolaters and the enemies of Allāh who predominated at their times.

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[267] Qur`ān 6:75-78.
[268] Qur`ān 7:150.
[269] Ṣaḥiḥ Muslim #34.6448-9.

The Names of the Prophet's (ص) Ancestors

The Prophet (ص) was the son of ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib ibn Hāshim ibn ʿAbd Manāf ibn Quṣayy ibn Kilāb ibn Murrah ibn Kaʿb ibn Luʾayy ibn Ghālib ibn Fihr ibn Naḍr. Some may wonder why names such as "ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib" and "ʿAbd Manāf" appear on the list and whether these names indicate idolatry.

It should be noted that these names were not original names but rather acquired names. For example, the name of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib was Shaybah,[270] and the name of ʿAbd Manāf was Mughīrah.[271] Moreover, ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib was named as such after his paternal uncle, Muṭṭalib, who took him from his Syrian mother upon the death of his father, Hāshim. Upon being returned to Mecca, Shaybah was thought to be Muṭṭalib's slave (ʿabd), and he thereby became known as ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib (the slave of al-Muṭṭalib).[272] This is how inaccurate titles such as this were bestowed. It would be very easy for names such as ʿAbd Manāf to be bestowed by the unknowing pagans who would equate service to the Kaʿbah to service to the pagan idols inside the Kaʿbah, thereby feeling free to grant a title such as ʿAbd Manāf that would be nearly impossible to shed barring a divinely-ordained mission to reveal one's true faith. This is similar to how the Children of Israel thought that Aaron (ع) was complicit with them in worshipping the calf when, even though he was not, he was unable to correct their misperception until Moses (ع) returned from his trip.

It should also be noted that some names and titles may have become so commonplace that they no longer carried any pagan or other religious significance. This is rather evident today. For example, among South Asian Muslims, names such as Parvīz (Parwīz) and Fīrūz are very common, but they have nothing to do with Khosrow Parvīz, the ancient Persian king, who, by arrogantly refusing to accept Islām, will bear the sins of all Zoroastrians until the Day of Judgment,[273] or Abū Luʾluʾah al-Fīrūz, ʿUmar's Christian Persian assassin. Similarly, one commonly encounters the name Mītrā in Iran, yet it has no connection in the minds of people to pagan Mithraism which flourished in ancient Persia and Rome. This fact is brought out by Bukhārī who said, "From Khadījah, [two sons] were born for the Messenger of Allāh (ص) in Mecca—ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā and Qāsim. The two died before Islām."[274] As such, Bukhārī believed that one of the Prophet's (ص) sons was named ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā, even though the consensus of the Shīʿah and Sunnīs is that the Prophet (ص) never worshipped any pagan idol. In fact, according to a tradition certified as authentic by Haythamī,[275] the Prophet (ص) told Khadījah, "O Khadījah, by

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[270] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 6:9-11.

[271] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 6:18; Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:22.

[272] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 6:9-10.

[273] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 4:306-7 cites the text of the Prophet's (ص) letter to the Persian monarch, in which he warned the latter that if he refuses to accept Islām, he would bear the sins of all Zoroastrians until the Day of Judgment.

[274] Tārīkh al-Ṣaghīr Bukhārī 30.

[275] Majmaʿ al-Zawāʾid #13861 certifies the chain of transmission of Ḥanbal as authentic (ṣaḥīḥ).

Allāh, I have never ever worshipped Lāt! By Allāh, I have never ever worshiped ʿUzzā!"[276] It is therefore clear that if he actually did name his son ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā, which is highly doubtful, it would only be because such a title was so commonplace that carried no religious significance at the time. If there was a son named ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā, it is likely it was one of the children he adopted upon marrying Khadījah, as was the case with Ruqayyah and Umm Kulthūm.

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[276] Musnad Ḥanbal #23117; Faḍā`il Ḥanbal #1578; Majmaʿ al-Zawā`id #13861.

Chapter 6

The Emigration to Madīnah: ʹAlī (ع) Showed Heroism While Abū Bakr Showed Cowardice

The Quraysh Decided to Kill the Messenger of Allāh (ص)

The death of Abū Ṭālib brought a new era for the Muslims. They no longer had the protection that was provided to them out of respect for Abū Ṭālib. In the meanwhile, the Quraysh was even more alarmed at the spread of Islām to other lands and the fact that some of the Prophet's (ص) companions had already left Mecca for Yathrib, seeking refuge from the pagan Quraysh. The Quraysh feared that if Muḥammad (ص) were to leave Mecca for Yathrib, he would mobilize an army that could challenge them militarily. Therefore, the leaders of the Quraysh gathered to consult on the matter. Some suggested imprisoning the Prophet (ص), but they feared that his followers would attack and free him from prison, creating a humiliating situation for them. Others argued that the wisest thing to do would be to banish him from Mecca, but they then feared that Islām might spread even more rapidly in other lands. A stronger, more powerful Muḥammad (ص) with a well-equipped army might return to Mecca within a few years. Abū Jahl proposed yet another idea: "Why not take a young, strong, and noble man from each clan, give them [each] a sword, and have them all stab Muḥammad at the same time? In this way, we will be rid of Muḥammad, and the responsibility for the shedding of his blood will be divided among all the clans. Muḥammad's kinsmen and followers would be unable to wage war against all the Arab tribes, and will therefore consent to accept blood money, which we will gladly pay."[277]

This plan was thought to be fool-proof. The Quraysh would be rid of the Prophet (ص) forever, without any serious threat of retaliation. However, Gabriel (ع) informed the Prophet (ص) of the decision of the Quraysh to kill him at night while he was asleep. The Prophet (ص) was ordered to avoid his bed on the night of the planned assassination and to leave for Madīnah, whose inhabitants had previously pledged allegiance to him, promising to grant him and his followers protection.

Had the Prophet (ص) left his bed empty, the Quraysh would have noticed him missing and would have led a search for him, so someone was needed to take the Prophet's (ص) place in his bed, and it had to be someone who was willing to give up his life for Islām and who could be relied upon not to waver or flee in the face of danger. Of course, the one and only person for the job was ʹAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib (ع), who readily accepted the task, sleeping in what the Quraysh were planning to turn into the Prophet's (ص) deathbed. The Prophet (ص) told ʹAlī (ع) to lie on his bed and to cover himself with a green blanket.[278] He did so with neither fear not worries, allowing the Prophet (ص) to safely emigrate to Madīnah.

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[277] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 6:140-142; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 1:275; Sīrah Ibn Isḥāq 221-2.

Two Verses were Revealed About ʿAlī (ع)

Verse 1: Allāh Foiled the Plot of the Disbelievers Through ʿAlī (ع)

The Qurʾān says, "And [recall] when the disbelievers plotted against you to stop you, to kill you, or to send you away. They plotted and Allāh plotted, yet Allāh is the best of plotters."[279] According to numerous Sunnī commentaries, this verse was revealed in regards to ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib's (ع) sleeping in the Prophet's (ص) bed on that night in accordance with Allāh's plan, as it foiled the plot of the disbelievers.[280]

Verse 2: Allāh Told the Archangels to be Like ʿAlī (ع), Who Sold His Life to Please Allāh

When the Prophet (ص) left Mecca by night for the Cave of Thawr, ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib (ع) lay in his bed. Allāh told the archangels Gabriel and Michael (ع), "I have set brotherhood between the two of you and have made the life of one of you longer than that of the other. So which one of you prefers his companion's life over his own life?" Each of them preferred for the longer life to be his own and wanted to outlive the other. Then Allāh told them, "Why are you not like ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib? I have set brotherhood between him and My prophet, Muḥammad, and now he is laying the in bed of the Prophet. Go protect him with your lives! Descend to the earth and protect ʿAlī from his enemy!" The angels descended and Gabriel (ع) stood by ʿAlī's head while Michael (ع) was by his foot. Gabriel (ع) said, "Wow! Wow! Who is like you, ʿAlī? Allāh, the glorious, brags about you in front of the angels." The following verse was then revealed about ʿAlī (ع): "Whoever among the people sells his life out of a desire to please Allāh, Allāh is kind to such servants."[281,282]

Indeed, Gabriel and Michael (ع) were frequent companions of ʿAlī (ع). According to a famous tradition related by Ḥākim, Ḥanbal, Ibn Kathīr, and others, "The Prophet (ص) would give ʿAlī the banner, and he would fight with Gabriel on his right and Michael on his left, and would not return until Allāh would grant him victory."[283] This tradition is clear proof that angels may accompany or empower an infallible imām without necessitating him to be a prophet. Unlike what some have claimed, visitation by angels is not restricted to prophets. Rather, what is restricted to prophets is the revelation of a new divine message.

ʿAlī's (ع) Lack of Fear was Due to His Faith

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278. Usd al-Ghābah 3:285 #3789 (ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib). Similarly, Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:175, 3:176-8; Sīrah Ibn Isḥāq 222; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 3:216; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 1:276.

279. Qurʾān 8:30.

280. Tafsīr Rāzī, Tafsīr Ṭabarī, Tafsīr Bayḍāwī, Tafsīr Qurṭubī, Tafsīr Ibn Kathīr, Tafsīr Baghawī, and Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, verse 8:30.

281. Qurʾān 2:207.

282. Usd al-Ghābah 3:290-1 #3789 (ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib). This event appears summarily in Sīrah Ḥalabīyyah 2:192. Tafsīr Rāzī and Tafsīr Nīsābūrī (verse 2:207) also mention the fact that Gabriel and Michael (ع) stood by ʿAlī (ع) on that night and relate the words of Gabriel in regards to ʿAlī (ع) that are quoted in this tradition.

283. Mustadrak Ḥākim #4802; Musnad Ḥanbal #1719; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:368; Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #36574; Majmaʿ al-Zawāʾid #14798, #14799 (certifies some of the chains of transmission as good); Tārīkh Damishq 42:579, 42:581, 42:582; Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:232; Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:155.

The fact that ʹAlī (ع) slept in the bed of the Messenger of Allāh (ص) on the night of his emigration is accepted widely by Sunnī scholars,[284] and to my knowledge has not been disputed by anyone. According to Abū Jaʹfar al-Iskāfī, this incident is mutawātir.[285] While ʹAlī (ع) slept in the Prophet's (ص) bed, the assassins of the Quraysh gathered outside the house, and decided that it was time to complete their mission. They broke into the house, charging towards the Prophet's (ص) bed with their swords. According to Ṭabarī,

> ʹAlī rose from his bed, and when they came close to him, they recognized him and said, "Where is your companion (i.e. Muḥammad)?" ʹAlī said, "I do not know. Do you expect me to keep watch over him? You told to him leave, and he has left." They scolded him and beat him. Then they took him to the mosque and imprisoned him for a while, but after this they left him alone. Thus Allāh delivered His Messenger from their plotting. About this event Allāh revealed, "And when those who disbelieve plot against you to wound you fatally or to kill you or to drive you out, they plot, but Allāh plots; and Allāh is the best of plotters."[286,287]

Thanks to ʹAlī (ع) and his self-sacrifice and lack of fear, the pagans were unsuccessful. The Qur`ān repeats over and over again that the believers have no fear or worries. One example is the Qur`ānic verse, "So for those who follow my guidance, there will be no fear or worry."[288] This lack of fear is to be contrasted with Abū Bakr's immense fear on the same night.

Abū Bakr Joined the Prophet During the Emigration (ص)

According to Ṭabarī, while the Prophet (ص) was on his way to Yathrib, he noted someone following him and realized that it was Abū Bakr.[289] For obvious reasons, he could not send Abū Bakr back because he was concerned that once the Quraysh found Abū Bakr, he would cave under pressure and inform them that the Prophet (ص) had left to Yathrib on such-and-such a route. Thus, the Prophet (ص) was forced to take Abū Bakr along with him. Of note, this account in Ṭabarī is rather different from the accounts of ʹĀ`ishah, in which she claimed that the Prophet (ص) specifically took Abū Bakr with him.[290] However, as will soon be proved, ʹĀ`ishah's accounts, which are typical of the way she would distort events to glorify her father, contradict the Qur`ān. Moreover, ʹĀ`ishah was too young to be trusted with any tradition she narrated from that time, as she would have been around seven or eight years old,[291] and she would have been neither privy to the details of the emigration, nor able to accurately remember them decades later.

The Verse of the Cave Proves Abū Bakr's Lack of Faith

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[284] Musnad Ḥanbal #3062; Mustadrak Ḥākim #4652 (certifies this tradition as authentic); Tārīkh Ṭabarī 6:143-4; Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 1:228; Sīrah Ibn Hishām 333; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 1:276; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 3:216; Sīrah Ḥalabīyyah 2:191-2.

[285] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 13:261.

[286] Qur`ān 8:30.

[287] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 6:144.

[288] Qur`ān 2:38. Other Qur`ānic verses stating that the believers have neither fear nor worries include 2:62, 5:69, 2:262, 2:277, 2:38, 2:112, 3:176, 6:48, 7:35, and 43:68.

[289] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 6:144.

[290] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 6:145, 147.

[291] Iṣābah 4:2573 #11452 (ʹĀ`ishah bint Abī Bakr) states that she was born 4 or 5 years after the start of the prophetic mission and that the Prophet (ص) married her when she was 6 or 7 years old and consummated his marriage with her in the year 1 A.H. when she was 9 years old.

The Prophet (ص) and Abū Bakr spent the night of emigration in the Cave of Thawr to avoid detection. The Qur`ān described the events of the cave as follows:

> If you do not aid him, then Allāh did surely aid him when those who disbelieve drove him out, [and he] was the second of the two when they were in the cave when he was saying to his companion, "Do not worry (lā taḥzan), Allāh is with us"; Allāh sent His serenity upon him, and helped him with troops that cannot be seen, and lowered the word of those who disbelieve, as the Word of Allāh is exalted. Allāh is mighty, wise.[292]

Some have used this verse as a proof of Abū Bakr's superiority over the other companions, as he was the Prophet's (ص) companion in the cave. However, a closer examination of the verse reveals that Allāh not only did not praise Abū Bakr, but rather harshly scolded him in this verse.

Contradiction of the Verse with ´Ā`ishah's Account of the Emigration

The beginning of the verse indicates that the Quraysh made only the Prophet (ص) leave, as the reference is in the singular. If they made Abū Bakr leave along with the Prophet (ص), the dual form of the direct object would have been used. This shows that ´Ā`ishah's claim that the two of them left together was inaccurate. ´Ā`ishah's claim also directly contradicts the accounts of others who said that Abū Bakr set out after the Prophet (ص) when he discovered that the latter had left. By setting out after the Prophet (ص) and without proper coordination or planning, Abū Bakr could have easily compromised the secrecy of the Prophet's (ص) emigration and could have disclosed his location, thereby allowing the pagans of his tribe to kill him and put an end to his prophetic mission.

Abū Bakr was Not Blessed with Serenity Because He Lacked Faith

According to the verse of the cave, "Allāh sent His serenity upon him and helped him with troops that cannot be seen."[293] A critical issue here is that serenity was sent upon only one of the two persons in the cave. This is clear from the verse because the singular form of the third person direct object is used instead of the dual form. Had Allāh sent His serenity upon both the Prophet (ص) and Abū Bakr, the Qur`ān would have used the dual form for the object pronoun. There are two clear reasons why the Prophet (ص) was the one who received the serenity and not Abū Bakr. The first is a grammatical one, as every singular pronoun in the verse is referring to the Prophet (ص):

> If you do not aid him (the Prophet), then Allāh did surely aid him (the Prophet) when those who disbelieve drove him (the Prophet) out, [and he] was the second of the two when they were in the cave when he (the Prophet) was saying to his (the Prophet's) companion, "Do not worry (lā taḥzan), Allāh is with us"; Allāh sent His serenity upon him (the Prophet), and helped him (the Prophet) with troops that cannot be seen, and lowered the word of those who disbelieve, as the Word of Allāh is exalted. Allāh is mighty, wise.[294]

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[292] Qur`ān 9:40.
[293] Qur`ān 9:40.
[294] Qur`ān 9:40.

It would be grammatically absurd for every single pronoun to refer to the Prophet, except for the object of the serenity. Furthermore, it is clear that the army of angels were sent to help the Prophet (ص) against the pagans who were seeking to kill him, as it would not make sense for Allāh to send an army an angels solely to Abū Bakr. Moreover, the verse continues by saying that thanks to the army of angels, the Word of Allāh became victorious over the word of the disbelievers. Clearly, it was the Prophet (ص) who brought the Word of Allāh, not Abū Bakr.

The second reason why Abū Bakr was not the one to receive the serenity is that the Qur`ān explains the criteria for receiving serenity. While addressing the Battle of Ḥunayn in the same sūrah, the Qur`ān says,

> So Allāh sent down His serenity upon His Messenger and upon the believers, and sent troops that you cannot see, and punished the disbelievers.[295]

This verse is clear that Allāh sends His serenity upon two groups—(1) His Messenger (ص), and (2) the believers. Without the serenity of Allāh, they would have fear of the enemies of Islām. The verse of the cave, as quoted earlier, clearly indicates that the serenity of Allāh was sent upon only one of the two people in the cave—either the Prophet (ص) or Abū Bakr. This latter verse indicates that Allāh sends His serenity only to the Prophet (ص) and the believers. Since Allāh's serenity was sent down as per the verse of the cave, it would have been received by any person who qualified to receive it, which would be someone who was either a prophet or a believer. As such, the person who received Allāh's serenity was certainly the Prophet (ص) himself and not Abū Bakr. Thus, one can deduce that Abū Bakr did not qualify for the serenity of Allāh. The reason Abū Bakr did not qualify was his lack of belief and the fact that he was not a prophet. This concept is proved by yet another verse in which Allāh says, "He (Allāh) recognized what was in their hearts, so He sent down serenity upon them."[296] This verse shows that Allāh grants His serenity only to those who are fit for it and who have a pure heart—that is, the believers, not the hypocrites whose "hearts," according to the Qur`ān, "are diseased."[297] Again, as per the verse of the cave, only one person in the cave received Allāh's serenity. So one needs to ask the question: Who had a heart pure enough to qualify him to receive Allāh's serenity—the Prophet (ص) or Abū Bakr? Indeed, in yet another verse, Allāh says,

> While those who disbelieved were setting up fanaticism—the fanaticism of [the Days of] Ignorance—in their own hearts, Allāh sent His serenity down upon His Messenger and upon the believers, and necessitated for them to respect the word of piety. *They were truer to it and more deserving of it.* Allāh is aware of everything![298]

Again, the Qur`ān indicates that this divine serenity is sent to those who are deserving of it. The only question is whether the Prophet (ص) was more deserving of it or whether Abū Bakr was, as only one of the two of them actually received Allāh's serenity according to the verse of the cave.

Yet another verse says, "He is the One Who sends down serenity on the believers' hearts so they may add belief (īmān) to the belief (īmān) they already have."[299] This verse also

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295. Qur`ān 9:26.
296. Qur`ān 48:18.
297. Qur`ān 2:10.
298. Qur`ān 48:26.
299. Qur`ān 48:4.

indicates that serenity is only sent to the hearts of the believers and results in an increase in their belief. Thus, the reason Abū Bakr did not receive serenity in the cave would be because he lacked belief (īmān).

Abū Bakr's Fear Calls into Question His Faith

A key point in the verse of the cave is that Abū Bakr was so worried about and fearful of the potential congregation of the Quraysh against them that the Prophet (ص) had to tell him to stop worrying. Yet, the Qur`ān describes the attitude of believers when confronted by overwhelming odds as follows:

> Those whom people have told, "The people have gathered to [oppose] you, so be wary of them!" yet this increased their belief and they said, "Suffices for us Allāh, a splendid disposer of affairs!"[300]

It appears that the attitude described here was not the attitude of Abū Bakr in the cave. Rather, this verse accurately describes the attitude of ʹAlī (ع) on that night when he was, in fact, in much greater danger than Abū Bakr was in.

The Claim that Allāh was with Abū Bakr According to the Qur`ān

According to the verse of the cave, "He (i.e. the Prophet) was saying to his companion (i.e. Abū Bakr), 'Do not worry, Allāh is with us (maʹanā).'"[301] In an attempt to salvage some virtue for Abū Bakr out of this verse, some have claimed that the Prophet's (ص) telling Abū Bakr, "Allāh is with us," proves a special virtue for Abū Bakr that others do not share. However, the Qur`ān refutes such a claim, making it evident that Allāh is with everyone and in every gathering when it says,

> Three cannot have private conversation without Him being the fourth of them, and five cannot [talk] without Him being the sixth; and neither less than this nor more [can meet] without Him being among them (maʹahum) wherever they are.[302]

Therefore, the Prophet's (ص) statement to Abū Bakr that Allāh was with them was merely a statement of fact and not a statement of praise for Abū Bakr.

The Claim that Abū Bakr was a Companion According to the Qur`ān

Some also use this verse to claim that the reference to Abū Bakr as the companion or "ṣāḥib" of the Prophet (ص) is a special quality granted to him by Allāh, as the verse reads, "He (i.e. the Prophet) was saying to *his companion* (Abū Bakr), 'Do not worry, Allāh is with us.'"[303] However, the Qur`ān refutes the notion of companionship implying a virtue where it says,

> His companion (ṣāḥib) (the believer) told him (the disbeliever) during an argument, "Do you disbelieve in Him Who created you from dirt then from a sperm-drop and then made you into a man?"[304]

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[300] Qur`ān 3:173.
[301] Qur`ān 9:40.
[302] Qur`ān 58:7.
[303] Qur`ān 9:40.
[304] Qur`ān 18:37.

According to this verse, a companion or ṣāḥib does not necessarily share one's beliefs, and that the companion of a believer may be one who does not even believe in the existence of a creator. Thus, the Qur`ānic reference to Abū Bakr's being a companion of the Prophet (ص) implies absolutely no particular virtue for him according to the Qur`ān.

The Setting of Brotherhood Among the Companions

After the emigration to Madīnah, the Prophet (ص) set brotherhood among pairs of his companions. According to Ibn Sa´d, the setting of brotherhood in Madīnah occurred prior to the Battle of Badr.[305] According to Ḥākim,

> The Messenger of Allāh (ع) set brotherhood between his companions. He set brotherhood between Abū Bakr and ´Umar, between Ṭalḥah and Zubayr, and between ´Uthmān ibn ´Affān and ´Abd al-Raḥmān ibn ´Awf. ´Alī then said, "O Messenger of Allāh! You have just set brotherhood between your companions. So who is my brother?" The Prophet (ص) replied, "Are you not satisfied, O ´Alī, that I am your brother?" ´Alī rather boldly replied, "Yes, O Messenger of Allāh!" The Prophet (ص) said, "You are my brother in [this] world and in the hereafter."[306]

Historically, the post-emigration setting of brotherhood occurred soon after the emigration to Madīnah. This process appears to have continued onwards as the Muslim population grew, since the Prophet (ص) also set brotherhood between his two grandsons, Ḥasan and Ḥusayn (ع), a few years later.[307] Amazingly, one who studies Islāmic history finds that each pair of brothers had life stories that ran in parallel. Abū Bakr and ´Umar were inseparable; Zubayr and Ṭalḥah were joined until their deaths during the Battle of Jamal; and ´Uthmān and ´Abd al-Raḥmān ibn ´Awf were close allies until ´Uthmān's conduct even repelled ´Abd al-Raḥmān shortly before the latter's death.[308] Similarly, ´Alī (ع) followed the path of the Prophet (ص) throughout his life, and Ḥasan and Ḥusayn (ع) led similarly pure lives until their respective assassinations at the behest of the Umayyads.

Examples of Traditions Regarding the Brotherhood Between the Prophet (ص) and ´Alī (ع)

Traditions regarding the brotherhood of ´Alī (ع) and the Prophet (ص) are numerous and mutawātir. The following are a few traditions in this regards from Sunnī sources:

Tradition 1: According to Tirmidhī, Ḥākim, and others,

> [The Prophet (ص)] set brotherhood between his companions. ´Alī came with eyes full of tears and said, "O Messenger of Allāh, you have set brotherhood between your companions but you have not set brotherhood between me and anyone else." The Messenger of Allāh (ص) replied, "O ´Alī, you are my brother in this world and in the hereafter."[309]

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[305] Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 3:22.

[306] Mustadrak Ḥākim #4289.

[307] Kanz al-´Ummāl #14242.

[308] Refer to chapter 66.

[309] Sunan Tirmidhī #3720; Mustadrak Ḥākim #4288-9; Usd al-Ghābah 3:294 #3789 (´Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib); Istī´āb 3:202-3 #1875 (´Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib); Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:124; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:371; Tārīkh al-Khulafā` 152. Jāmi´ al-Ṣaghīr Suyūṭī (#5589) and Kanz al-´Ummāl (#32879) cite only the last sentence.

Tradition 2: Ḥudhayfah ibn Yamān said,

> The Messenger of Allāh (ص) set brotherhood between the Muhājirīn and Anṣār. He made each man the brother of someone like him. Then he took the hand of ʻAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib and said, "This is my brother." Ḥudhayfah added, "The Messenger of Allāh, who is the chief (sayyid) of the Muslims, the chief of the pious, and the messenger of the Lord of the worlds (ʻālamīn), who has nothing similar to him or like him among creation, and ʻAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib are brothers!"[310]

Tradition 3

> ʻAlī said, "I am the servant of Allāh, and the brother of the Messenger of Allāh, and I am the most truthful one (al-ṣiddīq al-akbar). No one can say this except me but a liar."[311]

Tradition 4: After the Prophet (ص) set brotherhood between the Muslims, he told ʻAlī (ع),

> Indeed, I have left you for myself. You are my brother and I am your brother. If anyone [ever] argues with you, say, "I am the servant of Allāh and the brother of His Messenger, and no one other than me can claim this except for a liar."[312]

Tradition 5

> The Prophet (ص) said, "Allāh, bear witness upon them! Allāh! I have verily proclaimed that this is my brother, the son of my paternal uncle, my son-in-law, and the father of my child. O Allāh! Throw his enemies into the fire!"[313]

Tradition 6

> The Messenger of Allāh (ص) said that on the Day of Judgment, a caller will announce from the depths of the throne, "O Muḥammad! What a great father is your father Abraham, and what a great brother is your brother ʻAlī."[314] Of note, according to some Sunnī traditions, the Prophet (ص) heard this same announcement during his ascension (miʻrāj).[315]

Tradition 7: When the Prophet (ص) invited his closest kinsmen, he said,

> This is my brother, my agent (waṣī), and my successor (khalīfah) among you, so listen to him and obey him.[316]

Tradition 8

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[310] Manāqib Ibn Mughāzilī #60. A very similar account with similar comments appears in Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 3:277 and Sīrah Ibn Hishām 351.

[311] Sunan Ibn Mājah #120; Sunan al-Kubrā Nasāʼī #8395; Mustadrak Ḥākim #4584; Faḍāʼil Ḥanbal #993; Kanz al-ʻUmmāl #36389; Tārīkh Ṭabarī 6:81; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 3:36; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 13:200, 13:228; Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:124.

[312] Kanz al-ʻUmmāl #32939.

[313] Kanz al-ʻUmmāl #32947.

[314] Kanz al-ʻUmmāl #32297; Faḍāʼil Ḥanbal #1131; Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:172.

[315] Kanz al-ʻUmmāl #33088, #36706.

[316] The sources of this tradition were discussed in chapter 2.

The Messenger of Allāh (ص) said: I saw written on the gate of heaven, "There is no god but Allāh; Muḥammad is a messenger of Allāh; ʿAlī is the brother of the Messenger of Allāh."[317]

Tradition 9

The Messenger of Allāh (ص) said: It was written on the gate of paradise two thousand years before Allāh created the heavens, "Muḥammad is a messenger of Allāh and ʿAlī is his brother."[318]

Tradition 10

The Messenger of Allāh (ص) told ʿAlī, "You are my brother and the father of my children. You will fight over my Sunnah and fulfill my obligations."[319]

Comments

There are many traditions like these citing the brotherhood between the Prophet (ص) and ʿAlī (ع). ʿAllāmah Amīnī, after listing 50 such traditions,[320] said, "If we were to gather all the entries on this topic, a thick book would be made from it. We have selected from it a small sample."[321] Some of the Sunnī sources citing the brotherhood between ʿAlī (ع) and the Messenger of Allāh (ص) include Sunan Tirmidhī,[322] Sunan Ibn Mājah,[323] Mustadrak Ḥākim,[324] Musnad Ḥanbal,[325] Sunan al-Kubrā Nasāʾī,[326] Khaṣāʾiṣ Nasāʾī,[327] Faḍāʾil Ḥanbal,[328] Kanz al-ʿUmmāl,[329] Majmaʿ al-Zawāʾid,[330]Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā,[331] Iṣābah,[332] Istīʿāb,[333] Usd al-Ghābah,[334] Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah,[335] Tārīkh Baghdād,[336] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr,[337] Tārīkh al-Khulafāʾ,[338] Sīrah Ḥalabīyyah,[339] and Tārīkh Damishq.[340] The few traditions I have listed here should suffice to establish the brotherhood between the Prophet (ص) and ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib (ع).

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[317] Faḍāʾil Ḥanbal #1134; Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #36435; Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:125.

[318] Faḍāʾil Ḥanbal #1140; Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #33043; Majmaʿ al-Zawāʾid #14656; Tārīkh Baghdād #3919 (Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī ibn Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī ibn Ḥasan ibn al-Khaṭṭāb); Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:125; Dhakhāʾir al-ʿUqbā 66-7; Tārīkh Damishq 42:59.

[319] Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #36491. Similar but more detailed traditions appear in Faḍāʾil Ḥanbal #1118; Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:124.

[320] Al-Ghadīr 3:113-125.

[321] Al-Ghadīr 3:113.

[322] Sunan Tirmidhī #3720.

[323] Sunan Ibn Mājah #120.

[324] Mustadrak Ḥākim #4288, #4289, #4584.

[325] Musnad Ḥanbal #2040.

[326] Sunan al-Kubrā Nasāʾī #8395, #8450.

[327] Khaṣāʾiṣ Nasāʾī 46, 86.

[328] Faḍāʾil Ḥanbal #1019, #1055, #1085.

[329] Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #32879, #36345, #36440, #36491.

[330] Majmaʿ al-Zawāʾid #7702, #14704-5, #14925.

[331] Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 3:22.

[332] Iṣābah 2:1294 #5690 (ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib).

[333] Istīʿāb 3:202-3 #1875 (ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib) (several traditions).

[334] Usd al-Ghābah 3:282 #3789 (ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib).

[335] Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:187.

[336] Tārīkh Baghdād #3919 (Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī ibn Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī ibn Ḥasan ibn al-Khaṭṭāb).

[337] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:371.

[338] Tārīkh al-Khulafāʾ 149.

[339] Sīrah Ḥalabiyyah 2:181-2.

[340] Tārīkh Damishq 42:51, 42:52, 42:53, 42:61, 42:96, 42:432, 42:434.

Apparently, there were two instances in which brotherhood was created between pairs of Muslims—in Mecca and in Madīnah. According to Sunnī sources, in both cases ʿAlī (ع) was designated as the Prophet's (ص) brother.[341] This fact is referred to in some traditions, such as the one cited earlier in this chapter regarding what Allāh told Gabriel and Michael (ع) regarding the brotherhood of ʿAlī (ع) and the Prophet (ص) on the night ʿAlī (ع) slept in the Prophet's (ص) bed when he emigrated to Madīnah. Ibn Athīr said,

> The Messenger of Allāh (ص) declared [ʿAlī to be] his brother twice, [the first time] when the Prophet (ص) set brotherhood between the Muhājirīn [in Mecca before the emigration] and then when he set brotherhood between the Muhājirīn and Anṣār after the emigration. He told ʿAlī in each of the [two] times, "You are my brother in this world and in the hereafter."[342]

The choice of brother made by the Prophet (ص) was determined by similarities between the pairs of people. People with similar degrees of belief were assigned to be brothers. The Prophet (ص) stressed this fact when he said in many of the traditions that ʿAlī (ع) would be his brother both in this world and in the hereafter. Therefore, ʿAlī (ع) not only was the closest to the Prophet (ص) in this world, but also will be the closest to his degree of reward in the hereafter. This is a clear corollary for ʿAlī's (ع) imāmate, as he was the only one in the nation who could be the Prophet's (ص) equal in this world and in the hereafter, except for not being a prophet.

ʿUmar Tried to Deny the Brotherhood Between the Prophet (ص) and ʿAlī (ع)

ʿUmar, realizing the significance of ʿAlī (ع) being the Prophet's (ص) brother, tried to deny it. According to Ibn Qutaybah,

> When ʿAlī was taken out to the mosque [to pledge allegiance to Abū Bakr], he was told, "Pledge allegiance!" ʿAlī said, "And what if I don't?" They replied, "Then, by Allāh, other than whom there is no god, we will cut off your head!" ʿAlī said, "Then you would have killed the servant of Allāh and the brother of His Prophet (ص)." ʿUmar said, "Your being the servant of Allāh we accept, but we do not accept your being the brother of the Messenger of Allāh." Abū Bakr was quiet and did not speak. So ʿUmar asked him, "Won't you make your decision regarding [forcing] him [to pledge allegiance]?" Abū Bakr said, "I will not force him to do anything as long as Fāṭimah is beside him." ʿAlī turned to the grave of the Messenger of Allāh (ص), crying and proclaiming [the verse of the Qurʾān], "O son of my mother! Indeed, the people have oppressed me and have conspired to kill me."[343]

ʿAlī's (ع) comment to the grave of the Prophet (ص) reflects what Aaron (ع) said in the Qurʾān about the Children of Israel oppressing him and plotting to kill him in the absence of Moses (ع).[344] The oppression of ʿAlī and Aaron (ع) by their respective nations will be discussed later in this chapter. However, the fact that ʿUmar denied the brotherhood of ʿAlī (ع) and the Prophet (ص) was clearly because of his fear of the high virtue that was bestowed upon ʿAlī (ع) by his assigned brotherhood. If it was some generic brotherhood like the brotherhood of all Muslims in general, ʿUmar would not had felt threatened by it and would not have felt compelled to deny it.

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[341] Istīʿāb 3:202-3 #1875 (ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib); Sīrah Ḥalabīyyah 2:181.
[342] Usd al-Ghābah 3:282 #3789 (ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib).
[343] Imāmah wa Sīyāsah 23.
[344] Qurʾān 7:150.

Abū Bakr was the Prophet's (ص) Generic Brother but Not His Friend

There are some Sunnī traditions that indicate that other companions were also brothers of the Prophet (ص). According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, the Prophet (ص) said, "If I was to take a friend (khalīl), I would have taken Abū Bakr, but he is my brother and my companion."[345] Of course the tradition is a forgery, but in any case such a designation would clearly be no more than a general reference based on the following verse of the Qur`ān:

> Believers merely form a brotherhood, so reconcile your brethren and heed Allāh so that you may find mercy.[346]

Therefore, all Muslim men are brothers in a general sense. This is aside from the specific setting of brotherhood between designated pairs of companions. Indeed, this interpretation is made clear by the following tradition also related in Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī:

> The Prophet said, "If I were to take a friend, I would have taken him (Abū Bakr) as a friend (khalīl), but the Islāmic brotherhood is better."[347]

This tradition shows two things. First, the Prophet (ص) did not take Abū Bakr as a friend. Second, the brotherhood of Abū Bakr and the Prophet (ص) fell under the category of the generic Islāmic brotherhood, not a specific appointment of Abū Bakr as the Prophet's (ص) brother. In fact, even in regards to this generic brotherhood between all Muslims, the Prophet (ص) said, "The best of my brothers is ʹAlī."[348] This is a clear reference to ʹAlī's (ع) superiority in virtue as compared to the rest of the male companions, most notably in this context, Abū Bakr.

In contrast to the general fraternity of all Muslims, ʹAlī (ع) was considered the Prophet's (ص) brother in this world and in the hereafter. If all the brotherhood with ʹAlī (ع) was referring to was the normal relation between two Muslims, then that would not prove anything for ʹAlī (ع), there would be nothing for ʹUmar to attempt to deny, and ʹAlī (ع) would not have said, "If anyone argues with you about this say, 'I am the servant of Allāh and the brother of His Messenger,' as no one can claim this after you other than a liar."[349] Moreover, the designation of brotherhood between pairs of Muslims could not have the same significance as the general fraternity between Muslims, otherwise the act of setting up pairs of brothers would be in vain.

It is clear that the true position of fraternity and equality with the Prophet (ص), except in the matter of prophecy, belongs to ʹAlī (ع) in lieu of the other companions. Any references to the brotherhood of other companions with the Prophet (ص) are therefore both highly doubtful and explicable only through the Islāmic concept of the fraternity of all Muslims. Furthermore, even if Abū Bakr were a friend of the Prophet (ص), Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim makes it clear that it would not be a particular virtue, as some of the Prophet's (ص) friends would be sent to the fire on the Day of Judgment:

> The Messenger of Allāh said: I will be there at the Fount [of Kawthar] before you, and I will have to contend for some people, but I will have to yield [and

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[345] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.57.8.
[346] Qur`ān 49:10.
[347] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.57.9.
[348] Jāmiʹ al-Ṣaghīr Suyūṭī #4049; Iṣābah 2:967 #4339 (ʹĀbis Ibn Rabīʹah); Manāqib Ibn Mughāzilī #58.
[349] Kanz al-ʹUmmāl #32939.

> allow them to be dragged away from me into the fire]. I will be saying, "My Lord, they are my friends, they are my friends," and it will be said, "You don't know what innovations they made after you."[350]

Proof of the Imāmate Based on ʿAlī's (ع) Brotherhood with the Prophet (ص)

The imāmate of ʿAlī (ع) is clear from his brotherhood with the Messenger of Allāh (ص) because the Prophet (ص) set brotherhood based upon the status of the companions in belief. He set brotherhood between Abū Bakr and ʿUmar, between Ṭalḥah and Zubayr, and between himself and ʿAlī (ع). This shows the similarity of ʿAlī's (ع) status to that of the Prophet (ص). In addition, the Prophet (ص) said, "You are my brother in this world and the hereafter." Brotherhood in the hereafter is determined only based on one's spiritual status. Since ʿAlī (ع) and the Prophet (ص) possess an equivalent spiritual status, all those who are below the Prophet (ص) in spiritual status and therefore have to follow him are also below ʿAlī (ع) in this regards and therefore must follow him as well. As such, ʿAlī (ع) is the rightful imām of all believers.

Conclusions Regarding the Emigration to Madīnah

The emigration to Madīnah shows that while ʿAlī (ع) had no fear when he slept in what the Quraysh were planning to turn into the Prophet's (ص) deathbed that night, Abū Bakr was worried and scared while uninvitedly and rather recklessly accompanying the Prophet (ص) on his journey. Based on Qurʾānic verses, these events clearly confirm that ʿAlī (ع) was a true believer while Abū Bakr was not. These facts suffice to prove that ʿAlī (ع) was worthy of the imāmate while Abū Bakr was not. Moreover, while Abū Bakr and ʿUmar were designated as brothers in this world, ʿAlī (ع) was designated as the Prophet's (ص) brother in this world and will join him in his place in paradise in the hereafter.

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[350] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #30.5690.

Chapter 7
Fāṭimah (ع) was Married to ʹAlī (ع) After Abū Bakr and ʹUmar were Rejected

The Prophet (ص) entered Yathrib on the twelfth of the month of Rabīʹ al-Awwal.[351] The city was then re-named as Madīnah al-Nabī (City of the Prophet), and has ever since been referred to as Madīnah for short. ʹAlī (ع) remained in Mecca for three days prior to emigrating to Madīnah because the Prophet (ص) had selected him to be his representative in Mecca and had entrusted him to return all his dues.[352] According to Ibn Athīr,

> When [the pagans] saw ʹAlī on the [Prophet's (ص) bed], they said [to each other], "Had Muḥammad left [Mecca], he would have taken ʹAlī with him." So Allāh made them content not to search for the Prophet (ص) as long as they saw ʹAlī. The Prophet (ص) had instructed ʹAlī to join him in Madīnah. After returning what belonged to people, he left to seek [the Prophet (ص)]. He walked by night and hid by day until he reached Madīnah. When he reached Madīnah, the Prophet (ص) said, "Bring ʹAlī to me." He was told, "O Messenger of Allāh, he cannot walk." The Prophet (ص) went to him and when he saw him, he cried out of mercy for his swollen feet that were dripping with blood. The Prophet (ص) spit into his two hands and rubbed [ʹAlī's] feet with them and prayed for him to be cured. ʹAlī never complained about his feet until he, may Allāh the oft-high be pleased with him, was martyred.[353]

Soon after the emigration, the Prophet (ص) married his daughter Fāṭimah (ع), the most virtuous of women, to ʹAlī (ع). Although some account claim that the marriage occurred a year or less after the emigration to Madīnah,[354] the accounts in Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī place the marriage after the Battle of Badr.[355]

Abū Bakr and ʹUmar were Rejected as Fāṭimah's Suitors

Abū Bakr and ʹUmar both wished to marry Fāṭimah (ع). According to Nasāʾī, Ḥākim, Ḥanbal, and others,

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[351] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 6:150.

[352] Usd al-Ghābah 3:285 #3789 (ʹAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib); Sīrah Ibn Isḥāq 227; Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:113. Similarly, Tārīkh Ṭabarī 6:148.

[353] Usd al-Ghābah 3:285 #3789 (ʹAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib).

[354] Murūj al-Dhahab 2:289.

[355] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #3.34.302, #3.40.563.

> Abū Bakr and ʹUmar asked the Prophet (ص) for Fāṭimah's [hand in] marriage. He said, "She is [too] young." ʹAlī then asked for her [hand in] marriage and he married her to him."[356]

Ḥākim states, "This tradition is authentic by the criteria of both shaykhs (Bukhārī and Muslim) but neither of them included it."[357] According to Ibn Saʹd,

> Abū Bakr asked the Prophet (ص) for Fāṭimah's [hand in] marriage. He said, "I am waiting for the decision [of Allāh]." Abū Bakr informed ʹUmar of this. ʹUmar told him, "You were rejected, Abū Bakr." Abū Bakr then told ʹUmar, "Ask the Prophet for Fāṭimah's [hand in] marriage." ʹUmar asked [the Prophet (ص)] but was [also] told what Abū Bakr was told, that, "I am waiting for the decision [of Allāh]." ʹUmar returned to Abū Bakr and informed him of what had happened. Abū Bakr said, "You were rejected, ʹUmar." Then the family of ʹAlī told him, "Ask the Prophet for Fāṭimah's [hand in] marriage." He asked, "After Abū Bakr and ʹUmar [were rejected]?" They reminded him of his closeness to the Prophet (ص), so he asked for her [hand in] marriage, and the Prophet (ص) married him [to her].[358]

Traditions about Abū Bakr and ʹUmar being rejected by the Prophet (ص) are mutawātir and appear in Sunan Nasāʾī,[359] Mustadrak Ḥākim,[360] Faḍāʾil Ḥanbal,[361] Khaṣāʾiṣ Nasāʾī,[362] Sunan al-Kubrā Nasāʾī,[363] Muʹjam al-Kabīr Ṭabarānī,[364] Kanz al-ʹUmmāl,[365] Majmaʹ al-Zawāʾid,[366] Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah,[367] Dhakhāʾir al-ʹUqbā,[368] Yanābīʹ al-Mawaddah,[369] Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā,[370] Usd al-Ghābah,[371] and Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd,[372] among others.

Fāṭimah (ع) was Married to ʹAlī (ع) Because He was the Best of the Companions

After the Prophet (ص) announced that he was marrying Fāṭimah to ʹAlī (ع), she was ridiculed by Muslim women for marrying a poor man. According to a widely narrated tradition, Fāṭimah (ع) was upset by these comments, so her father told her,

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356. Sunan Nasāʾī #3221; Mustadrak Ḥākim #2705 (certifies the tradition as authentic by the criteria of Bukhārī and Muslim); Faḍāʾil Ḥanbal #1051; Kanz al-ʹUmmāl #36370; Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:144.
357. Mustadrak Ḥākim #2705.
358. Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 8:19.
359. Sunan Nasāʾī #3221.
360. Mustadrak Ḥākim #2705 (certifies the tradition as authentic by the criteria of Bukhārī and Muslim).
361. Faḍāʾil Ḥanbal #1051.
362. Khaṣāʾiṣ Nasāʾī 114.
363. Sunan al-Kubrā Nasāʾī #5329, #8508.
364. Muʹjam al-Kabīr Ṭabarānī 4:34.
365. Kanz al-ʹUmmāl #36370, #37746.
366. Majmaʹ al-Zawāʾid #15207 (certifies those in the chain of transmission as trustworthy).
367. Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:142.
368. Dhakhāʾir al-ʹUqbā 29-30.
369. Yanābīʹ al-Mawaddah 2:126-7.
370. Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 8:19-20.
371. Usd al-Ghābah 1:438 #1094 (Ḥujr ibn ʹAnbas), 5:364 #7184 (Fāṭimah bint Rasūl Allāh).
372. Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 13:228.

> "Are you not content that I married you to the first of my nation (ummah) to accept Islām, to the most knowledgeable of them, and to the most patient of them?" She replied, "Yes, I am content, O Messenger of Allāh."[373]

According to a similar tradition, the Prophet (ص) told her, "Your husband is a chief (sayyid) in this world and in the hereafter."[374] In yet another account related by Ḥanbal and Ḥākim, the Prophet (ص) told her, "I have just married you to the most beloved of my Ahl al-Bayt to me."[375] In fact, he did not choose ʿAlī (ع) based on his own decision. Rather, according to a widely narrated tradition, he said, "Allāh, the oft-high, has ordered me to marry Fāṭimah to ʿAlī."[376] According to Ḥākim and others,

> When Fāṭimah told the Prophet (ص), "O Messenger of Allāh! You are marrying me to ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib though he is poor with no [worldly] possessions," the Prophet (ص) replied, "Are you not satisfied that Allāh, the great and glorious, looked at the people of the earth and chose two men—one is your father and the other is your husband?"[377]

This tradition clearly shows that ʿAlī (ع) was chosen by Allāh just as the Prophet (ص) was chosen. In fact, the Prophet (ص) said,

> O Fāṭimah, did you know that Allāh, the great and glorious, gleamed towards the people of the earth and chose from among them your father and made him a prophet, then glanced a second time and chose your husband. [He] then sent revelation to me, and [based on that revelation], you married him and I chose him as [my] waṣī?[378]

This shows that Allāh specifically picked ʿAlī (ع) to be the Prophet's (ص) waṣī, or executor. This is most certainly an example of specific designation (naṣṣ), which the Shīʿah consider necessary for one to be a rightful imām, as Fāṭimah's (ع) husband was specifically selected by divine decree. This would be unnecessary if Fāṭimah and ʿAlī (ع) were ordinary companions, but would be necessary if they were to bear a line of imāms specifically chosen by Allāh to lead mankind. This tradition is also among the numerous traditions showing that ʿAlī (ع) was the waṣī of the Prophet (ص). Since a waṣī at the very least is the executor of one's will, it is not clear how Abū Bakr and ʿUmar or anyone else could legitimately decide on who would inherit the Prophet's (ص) caliphate without the consent of the Prophet's (ص) waṣī. Even more flagrant was their usurpation of the personal property of the Prophet (ص) upon his death instead of allowing his waṣī, whose least role would be tending to the Prophet's inheritance, to properly distribute his possessions.

Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd related the following from a large group of companions, including Asmāʾ bint ʿUmays, Umm Ayman, Ibn ʿAbbās, and Jābir ibn ʿAbd Allāh:

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[373] Usd al-Ghābah 5:364 #7184 (Fāṭimah bint Rasūl Allāh); Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 13:227-8; Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:160; Sīrah Ḥalabīyyah 1:432; Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #36370, #32925-7. Slight differences in phrasing exist in these traditions.

[374] Istīʿāb 3:203 #1875 (ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib).

[375] Mustadrak Ḥākim #4752; Faḍāʾil Ḥanbal #1342; Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:116, 3:143.

[376] Jāmiʿ al-Ṣaghīr Suyūṭī #1693; Muʿjam al-Kabīr Ṭabarānī 10:156, 22:408; Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #32891, #32929; Majmaʿ al-Zawāʾid #15208 (certifies those in the chain of transmission as trustworthy), #15209; Tārīkh Damishq 37:13, 42:129, 52:444-5.

[377] Mustadrak Ḥākim #4645; Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #36355; Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:144.

[378] Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #32923; Muʿjam al-Kabīr Ṭabarānī 4:171.

> When Fāṭimah was married, the women visited her and said, "O daughter of the Messenger of Allāh! So-and-so and so-and-so have asked to marry you but he rejected them on your behalf. Instead, he married you to a poor man with no [material] possessions." When her father came to her, he saw the [expression] in her face and asked her about it and she mentioned this to him. He said, "O Fāṭimah, verily Allāh ordered me, so I married you to the first of them to accept Islām, the most knowledgeable of them, and the most patient of them. I did not marry you except by an order from the heavens. Know that he is my brother in this world and in the hereafter."[379]

This tradition and the one cited earlier are explicitly clear that ʻAlī (ع) accepted Islām before Abū Bakr and ʻUmar, and that he was both more knowledgeable and more patient than the two of them. Indeed, if Abū Bakr or ʻUmar were more qualified in any of these three traits than ʻAlī (ع), the Prophet (ص) could not have claimed that he married her to ʻAlī (ع) because of his superiority in these three traits. If Abū Bakr and ʻUmar were not knowledgeable and patient enough to become Fāṭimah's (ع) husband and to lead her family, what makes them knowledgeable and patient enough to lead the entire Muslim nation? In fact, when Fāṭimah (ع) cried to the Prophet (ص) about the ridicule of the other women, he told her, "I have married you to one who is blessed in this world and who will be among the sincere (ṣāliḥīn) in the hereafter."[380] Since ʻAlī (ع) was being compared to Abū Bakr and ʻUmar in this context, it appears that those two were neither blessed in this life nor will they be among the sincere in the hereafter. These traditions also show how shallow-minded some of the female companions were, taking worldly possessions to be more important than service to Islām, knowledge, and personal character.

Fāṭimah's (ع) Marriage to ʻAlī (ع) was Conducted in the Heavens

There are several Sunnī traditions indicating that it was Allāh who married Fāṭimah to ʻAlī (ع) and that their marriage ceremony was held in the heavens.[381] The following is one example:

> The Messenger of Allāh (ص) said, "O Fāṭimah! I have married you to a chief (sayyid) in this world, who in the hereafter will be among the righteous. O Fāṭimah! When I decided to marry you to ʻAlī, Allāh ordered Gabriel to stand in the fourth heaven, and the angels stood in lines. Gabriel then delivered a sermon to them and married you to ʻAlī." ...Umm Salamah said, "Fāṭimah used to take pride in the presence of other women by the fact that the first to marry her [to ʻAlī] was Gabriel."[382]

In fact, according to Muḥibb Ṭabarī, forty thousand angels served as witnesses in their marriage.[383] On earth, the Prophet (ص) told Anas ibn Mālik to call for Abū Bakr, ʻUmar, ʻUthmān, ʻAbd al-Raḥmān in ʻAwf, Saʻd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ, Ṭalḥah, Zubayr, and a group of the Anṣār and told them, "Allāh, the great and glorious, ordered me to marry Fāṭimah the daughter of Khadījah to ʻAlī the son of Abū Ṭālib. So bear witness that I have married her to him for four hundred mithqāls[384] of silver."[385] The Prophet (ص) also prayed, "O Allāh! Bless them in their union."[386]

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[379] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 13:227.

[380] Kanz al-ʻUmmāl #32928; Muʻjam al-Kabīr Ṭabarānī 22:412, 24:134.

[381] Refer to al-Ghadīr 2:315-7 for a several Sunnī traditions in this regards.

[382] Tārīkh Baghdād #1805 (Aḥmad ibn Khālid ibn ʻAmr).

[383] Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:146.

The Similarity of Fāṭimah (ع) to Mary (ع)

A few of Fāṭimah's (ع) innumerable merits appear in chapter 50. However, it is noteworthy at this point that only ʿAlī (ع) was suitable marriage to Fāṭimah (ع) because she was the best of the women of the worlds, comparable to only three others in history. The Prophet (ص) said, "The best of the women of the worlds are Khadījah the daughter of Khuwaylid, Fāṭimah the daughter of Muḥammad, Mary the daughter of ʿImrān, and Āsīyah, the daughter of Muzāḥim [and] the wife of Pharaoh."[387] He similarly said, "Suffices you from among the women of the worlds Mary the daughter of ʿImrān, Khadījah the daughter of Khuwaylid, Fāṭimah the daughter of Muḥammad, and Āsīyah the wife of Pharaoh."[388] Furthermore, he said, "The best of the women of paradise are Khadījah the daughter of Khuwaylid, Fāṭimah the daughter of Muḥammad, Mary the daughter of ʿImrān, and Āsīyah, the daughter of Muzāḥim [and] the wife of Pharaoh."[389] He also referred to the four of them as the chiefs (sayyidāt) of the women of paradise and of the worlds (ʿālamīn).[390]

Of note, the Qur`ān says in regards to Mary, "And Mary, the daughter of ʿImrān, who *guarded her chastity*, We breathed into [her womb] from Our spirit. She testified to the truth of the words of her Lord and [the truth] of His Books, and was one of the devout."[391] The Qur`ān also says, "And she who *guarded her chastity* (i.e. Mary); We breathed into her from Our spirit, and We made her and her son a sign for the worlds (ʿālamīn)."[392] According to a widely quoted tradition certified as authentic by Ḥākim, the Prophet (ص) said,

> Fāṭimah guarded her chastity, so Allāh has forbidden the fire to her offspring (dhurīyyah).[393]

Some may wonder how the offspring of Fāṭimah (ع) are protected from the fire when there may be disbelievers and hypocrites among those in later generations. It is possible that in this tradition the word "dhurīyyah," which generally means descendants, is referring only to Fāṭimah's (ع) immediate offspring—Ḥasan (ع), Ḥusayn (ع), Umm

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[384] 1 mithqāl is approximately 4 grams.

[385] Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:145.

[386] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:378.

[387] Mustadrak Ḥākim #4160 (certifies the tradition as authentic by the criteria of Bukhārī and Muslim); Tārīkh Damishq 35:136, 52:6, 70:107, 70:111, 70:112.

[388] Sunan Tirmidhī #3878 (certifies this tradition as authentic); Mustadrak Ḥākim #4745, #4746 (certifies this tradition as authentic by the criteria of both Bukhārī and Muslim); Musnad Ḥanbal #12414; Faḍā`il Ḥanbal #1325, #1337-8, #1575; Muʿjam al-Kabīr Ṭabarānī 22:402, 23:7; Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #34403; Majmaʿ al-Zawā`id #15269; Jāmiʿ al-Ṣaghīr Suyūṭī #3714; Muṣannaf ʿAbd al-Razzāq #20919; Iṣābah 4:2597 #11579 (Fāṭimah al-Zahrā`); Istīʿāb 4:450 #3491 (Fāṭimah bint Rasūl Allāh); Tārīkh Damishq 52:102, 70:109-11 (several chains of transmission); Fatḥ al-Bārī #3249; ʿUmdah al-Qārī 3:272, 15:309; Tahdhib al-Tahdhīb vol 12 #2860 (Fāṭimah bint Rasūl Allāh). Note that slightly different phrasing as well as differences in the order of the four names appear in the various traditions.

[389] Mustadrak Ḥākim #3836, #4754, #4852 (certifies all three traditions as authentic); Faḍā`il Ḥanbal #1339; Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #34402; Majmaʿ al-Zawā`id #15268 (certifies the tradition as authentic); Muʿjam al-Kabīr Ṭabarānī 11:266, 22:407, 23:7.

[390] Mustadrak Ḥākim #4853; Faḍā`il Ḥanbal #1336.

[391] Qur`ān 66:12.

[392] Qur`ān 21:91.

[393] Mustadrak Ḥākim #4726 (certifies the tradition as authentic); Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #34220; Muʿjam al-Kabīr Ṭabarānī 22:407; Jāmiʿ al-Ṣaghīr Suyūṭī #2309; Tārīkh Baghdād #997 (Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī ibn Mūsā ibn Jaʿfar).

Kulthūm, and Zaynab. In fact, according to a tradition cited by Khaṭīb Baghdādī, it refers only to Ḥasan and Ḥusayn (ع),[394] which makes sense given the fact that they were both protected from sin (ma'ṣūm) according to Shī'ah beliefs. Furthermore, there is a Sunnī tradition stating that the Prophet (ص) will provide intercession (shafā'ah) for all those in Madīnah,[395] which must be interpreted as intercession for believers who either live and die there. Similarly, the descendants of Fāṭimah (ع) who are protected from the fire are only her faithful descendants who follow the straight path, as disbelief would be cause for rupture of family ties, as was the case with Noah (ع) and his disbelieving son, whom the Qur'ān says was not part of Noah's (ع) family due to his sins.[396] Of note, the Prophet (ص) also said, "Allāh named her Fāṭimah because Allāh has cut off (faṭama) herself and those who love her from the fire."[397] This shows that all of the devotees of Fāṭimah (ع) are cut off from the fire, whether from among her descendants or not.

Proof of Fāṭimah's (ع) Infallibility and Immunity from Sin

According to a widely narrated tradition certified as authentic by Ḥākim, the Prophet (ص) said, "O Fāṭimah! Allāh is angered by your anger and is pleased by your pleasure."[398] This is clear proof of immunity from sin ('iṣmah) because if Fāṭimah (ع) could sin, her sin might please her and Allāh would therefore have to be pleased by her sinful act. Moreover, this tradition is proof that Allāh is angry at Abū Bakr and 'Umar, because as we shall discuss later in greater detail, Fāṭimah (ع) died angry at the two of them.[399]

The Children of 'Alī and Fāṭimah (ع)

Fāṭimah and 'Alī (ع) had two sons, Ḥasan and Ḥusayn (ع), as well as two daughters, Umm Kulthūm and Zaynab.[400] Ḥasan and Ḥusayn (ع) were given their names by the Prophet (ص). Ibn Kathīr said, "Some traditions claim that 'Alī named Ḥasan Ḥamzah and Ḥusayn Ja'far at first but that the Messenger of Allāh (ص) changed their names."[401] In fact, the Prophet (ص) said, "Aaron named his two sons Shabar and Shubayr, and I have named my two sons Ḥasan and Ḥusayn [following] the way Aaron named his two sons."[402] The following widely narrated tradition also shows that the names of Fāṭimah's (ع) sons were selected by the Prophet (ص):

> When Ḥasan was born, the Messenger of Allāh (ص) came and said, "Show me my son. What have you named him?" 'Alī replied, "Ḥarb." The Prophet (ص) said, "Rather, he is Ḥasan." When Ḥusayn was born, the Messenger of Allāh (ص) said, "Show me my son. What have you named him?" 'Alī replied, "Ḥarb." The Prophet (ص) said, "Rather, he is Ḥusayn." When the third was born, the Messenger of Allāh (ص) came and said, "Show me my son. What have you named him?" 'Alī replied, "Ḥarb." The Prophet (ص) said, "Rather, he is

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[394] Tārīkh Baghdād #997 (Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn Mūsā ibn Ja'far).

[395] Sunan Tirmidhī #3924.

[396] Qur'ān 11:46.

[397] Tārīkh Baghdād #6772 (Ghānim ibn Ḥumayd); Kanz al-'Ummāl #34226-7; Fayḍ al-Qadīr #203, #3883; Dhakhā'ir al-'Uqbā 26.

[398] Mustadrak Ḥākim #4730 (certifies the tradition as authentic); Kanz al-'Ummāl #34238, #37725; Majma' al-Zawā'id #15204; Mu'jam al-Kabīr Ṭabarānī 1:108; Usd al-Ghābah 5:367 #7184 (Fāṭimah bint Rasūl Allāh); Iṣābah 4:2597 #11579 (Fāṭimah al-Zahrā').

[399] Refer to chapter 50.

[400] Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 8:26.

[401] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:367. Similarly, Kanz al-'Ummāl #37677.

[402] Jāmi' al-Ṣaghīr Suyūṭī #4710. Similarly, Mustadrak Ḥākim #4783 (certifies the tradition as authentic); Kanz al-'Ummāl #34276, #37692, #37701; Mu'jam al-Kabīr Ṭabarānī 6:263; Tārīkh Damishq 14:118-9 (few traditions).

> Muḥsin." He then added, "I have named them by the names of the children of Aaron: Shabar, Shubayr, and Mushbir."[403]

Actually, the Prophet (ص) named Muḥsin in the womb of Fāṭimah (ع) as she was pregnant with Muḥsin when the Prophet (ص) died. Of note, according to Suyūṭī, the names Ḥasan and Ḥusayn did not exist prior to their birth; rather, traditions state that they were given these new names because they were "two names from the names of the people of paradise."[404]

ʿAlī (ع) Had Three Qualities that the Prophet (ص) Did Not Possess

The Prophet (ص) told ʿAlī (ع),

> You have been granted three [qualities] that no one else, including myself, has been granted. You have been granted a father-in-law like me, while I have not been granted one like yours. You have been granted a truthful (ṣiddīqah) wife like my daughter, while I have not been granted a wife like her. And you have been granted Ḥasan and Ḥusayn from your loins, while I have not been granted the like of them from my loins. But you are from me and I am from you.[405]

The Revelation of Sūrah Kawthar in Regards to Fāṭimah (ع)

Although it is commonly held that Sūrah Kawthar was revealed in Mecca, there is also evidence that it was revealed in Madīnah. According to Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, Anas ibn Mālik said that "[the Prophet] was sitting amongst us in the mosque" when this sūrah was revealed.[406] As Anas was a resident of Madīnah and was ten years old at the time of the emigration,[407] the mosque in this tradition must have referred to the Prophet's Mosque in Madīnah. Indeed, Ibn Kathīr preferred the opinion that the sūrah was revealed in Madīnah when he said, "[This sūrah] was revealed in Madīnah, and they also say in Mecca."[408] The sūrah reads:

> In the name of Allāh, most gracious, most merciful. We have granted you al-Kawthar. So pray to your Lord and sacrifice, for your opponent is the one cut off from male progeny (abtar).[409]

Ibn ʿAbbās said,

> Qāsim (the son of the Prophet [ص]) died and he was the first to die among his children who died in Mecca. Then ʿAbd Allāh (his second son) died. ʿĀṣ ibn Wāʾil said, "His line of descent has been cut off as he is without male issue

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[403] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:366-7; Musnad Ḥanbal #769; Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #37692; Majmaʿ al-Zawāʾid #12869 (certifies those in the chain as trustworthy [thuqah]); Sunan al-Kubrā Bayhaqī #11706, #13168; Usd al-Ghābah 2:13 #1165 (Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī), 2:21 #1173 (Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī); Istīʿāb 1:436 #573 (Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī); Tārīkh Damishq 13:170-1, 14:117, 14:118. Note that some texts indicate that the names of Aaron's (ع) are properly pronounced as Shabbar, Shabbīr, and Mushabbir.

[404] Tārīkh al-Khulafāʾ 166.

[405] Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:172-3.

[406] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #4.790.

[407] Iṣābah 1:79 #277 (Anas ibn Mālik).

[408] Tafsīr Ibn Kathīr, verse 108:1.

[409] Qurʾān 108:1-3.

> (abtar)." Then Allāh revealed the verse, "Your opponent is the one cut off from male progeny (abtar)."[410]

The fact that this verse was revealed regarding what ʻĀṣ ibn Wāʻil, the father of ʻAmr ibn ʻĀṣ, is widely narrated by Sunnī commentators through numerous chains of transmission, including Tafsīr Ṭabarī, Tafsīr Zamakhsharī, Tafsīr Rāzī, Tafsīr Qurṭubī, Tafsīr Ibn Kathīr, Tafsīr Shawkānī, Tafsīr Thaʻlabī, Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, and Tafsīr Nīsābūrī, among others.[411]

"Abtar" describes someone with no surviving male offspring.[412] As is clear, the disbelievers were happy when the Messenger of Allāh's sons died. They thought, "He will die sooner or later and he won't leave any successor as he has no sons to leave behind. His religion will therefore naturally fall into our hands as there would be no one to take over it after him, or we will be the ones to inherit his religion and do with it as we please." This verse responded by saying that the Prophet's (ص) enemies will be cut off from male offspring, not the Prophet (ص) himself.

It is true that the Prophet (ص) did not have any male children, however, he told ʻAlī (ع), "The offspring of every prophet has been placed in his own loin, while my offspring has been placed in the loin of [ʻAlī]."[413] Thus, Fāṭimah and ʻAlī (ع) were the source of the Prophet's (ص) male offspring. In fact, the entire lineage of the Prophet (ص) is only through Fāṭimah and ʻAlī (ع). As such, Ibn Ḥajar said, "The lineage of the Prophet (ص) has been cut off except through Fāṭimah."[414]

In Sūrah Kawthar, the word "kawthar" refers to offspring. Kawthar is a derivative of the word "kathara," which means to exceed in number. Since the opposite of kawthar in this verse is abtar, or one cut off from male offspring, one can conclude that kawthar here refers to the bountiful offspring of the Prophet (ص) that came through ʻAlī and Fāṭimah (ع). In other words, the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) are the true kawthar the Prophet (ص) was granted in spite of the fact that many people wanted him to be left without any male progeny.

There is no doubt that Kawthar is also the name of a fount in heaven, but in the context of what ʻĀṣ ibn Wāʻil said, the Fount of Kawthar does not appear to be what is referred to in this verse. If we take the meaning of this sūrah one level further, and not limit the "opponent" referred to in the sūrah to ʻĀṣ ibn Wāʻil, we could say that all the enemies of the Prophet (ص) will eventually perish, while the descendants of the Prophet (ص) and their followers will live on.

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[410] Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr and Tafsīr Shawkānī, verse 108:1-3; Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 3:7; Tārīkh Damishq 3:126.

[411] Tafsīr Ṭabarī, Tafsīr Zamakhsharī, Tafsīr Rāzī, Tafsīr Qurṭubī, Tafsīr Ibn Kathīr, Tafsīr Shawkānī, Tafsīr Thaʻlabī, Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, and Tafsīr Nīsābūrī, verse 108:3.

[412] Mufradāt al-Qurʼān 36 (b-t-r, abtar).

[413] Refer to chapter 29.

[414] Iṣābah 4:2596 #11579 (Fāṭimah al-Zahrāʼ).

Chapter 8
ʹAlī's (ع) Heroism in the Battle of Badr

The Battle of Badr occurred during the month of Ramaḍān of the year 2 A.H.[415] The Quraysh would send caravans to Syria twice a year for trade. This bi-annual trade is mentioned in the Qur`ān where it says, "By the covenants of the Quraysh, covenants guaranteeing ease of travel in winter and in summer."[416] In that year, Abū Sufyān ibn Ḥarb was the leader of the Meccan caravan to Syria whose path the Prophet (ص) decided to block. Abū Sufyān altered his caravan's and sent an urgent messenger to Mecca ordering them to mobilize for battle. The Meccans quickly raised an army of a thousand horsemen,[417] and proceeded to a place known as Badr, where around three hundred Muslims were camped.

ʹAlī (ع) is the Standard-Bearer of the Prophet (ص) in this World and in the Hereafter

Leading the Muslims on the battlefield was ʹAlī (ع). According to Ibn ʹAbd al-Barr, "ʹAlī did not miss any battle in which Messenger of Allāh (ص) was present from when he entered Madīnah except for [the Battle of] Tabūk, when the Messenger of Allāh (ص) made him his successor (khallafahu) in Madīnah."[418] Ibn Ḥajar,[419] Ibn Athīr,[420] Ibn Saʹd,[421] and Suyūṭī[422] have made similar statements as well.

According to a tradition Ḥākim certified as authentic by the criteria of both Bukhārī and Muslim, the banner of the Messenger of Allāh (ص) was held by ʹAlī (ع) on the day of Badr.[423] Indeed, ʹAlī (ع) held the banner at every battle in which he took part during the Prophet's (ص) lifetime.[424] Ḥanbal and others have related that, "ʹAlī held the banner of the Messenger of Allāh (ص) on the day of Badr—the day of Badr and [indeed] in every battle."[425] According to Ibn Kathīr, "Ibn ʹAbbās said that the banner of the Muhājirīn was with [ʹAlī] in every battle, and Saʹīd ibn Musayyab and Qatādah have stated the same."[426] Ibn Saʹd has also related this statement from Qatādah.[427] Ibn ʹAbbās said,

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[415] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 7:26-28.

[416] Qur`ān 106:1-2.

[417] Sīrah Ibn Hishām 489.

[418] Istīʹāb 3:201 #1875 (ʹAlī ibn Abī Tālib).

[419] Iṣābah 2:1294 #5690 (ʹAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib).

[420] Usd al-Ghābah 3:285 #3789 (ʹAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib).

[421] Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 3:23.

[422] Tārīkh al-Khulafā` 149.

[423] Mustadrak Ḥākim #4583 (certifies the tradition as authentic by the criteria of Bukhārī and Muslim); Tārīkh Ṭabarī 7:39; Sīrah Ḥalabīyyah 2:382; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:371; Istīʹāb 3:201 #1875 (ʹAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib); Faḍā`il Ḥanbal #1106; Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:156; Tārīkh Damishq 42:72.

[424] Istīʹāb 3:197 #1875 (ʹAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib).

[425] Faḍā`il Ḥanbal #1106; Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:156; Tārīkh Damishq 42:72.

[426] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:371.

[427] Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 3:23.

> ʻAlī possesses four qualities that no one other than him possesses. He was the first among the Arabs and non-Arabs to pray with the Prophet (ص); he was the one who held [the Prophet's (ص)] banner in every march; he was the one who [remained] patiently with him when everyone else fled from him; and he was the one who washed him and entered him into his grave.[428]

In fact, the Prophet (ص) was asked, "Who will carry your banner on the Day of Judgment?" He replied, "No one could carry it on the Day of Judgment but the one who has carried it in [this] world—ʻAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib."[429] He also said, "The Banner of Praise (Ḥamd) will be in [ʻAlī's] hand [on the Day of Judgment], with Adam and all his offspring under it."[430]

ʻAlī (ع) on the Battlefield of Badr

According to Ṭabarī,

> After this, ʻUtbah ibn Rabīʻah took the field, between his brother Shaybah ibn Rabīʻah and his son Walīd ibn ʻUtbah. When he had drawn clear of the battle line, he issued a challenge to single combat. Three young men of the Anṣār came forward to meet him... The Meccans said, "Who are you?" and the three young men replied, "A group of the Anṣār." "We have no business with you," the Meccans said. Then their herald called out, "Muḥammad, send out people of our rank from our tribe!"
>
> The Messenger of Allāh said, "Ḥamzah ibn ʻAbd al-Muṭṭalib, rise; ʻUbaydah ibn Ḥārith, rise; ʻAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib, rise." When they arose and approached the three Meccans, the latter said, "Who are you?" ʻUbaydah said, "ʻUbaydah," Ḥamzah said, "Ḥamzah," and ʻAlī said, "ʻAlī." The Meccans said, "Yes, these are noble equals." ʻUbaydah ibn Ḥārith, who was the oldest of the [three] Muslims, engaged ʻUtbah ibn Rabīʻah in single combat, Ḥamzah engaged Shaybah ibn Rabīʻah, and ʻAlī engaged Walīd ibn ʻUtbah.
>
> It was no time before Ḥamzah had killed Shaybah, and ʻAlī had killed Walīd. ʻUbaydah and ʻUtbah, however, each inflicted a blow upon his adversary which disabled him. Ḥamzah and ʻAlī then turned upon ʻUtbah with their swords and finished him off, and lifted up their companion ʻUbaydah and brought him to his companions. His foot had been cut off and the marrow was flowing out. When they brought ʻUbaydah to the Messenger of Allāh he said, "Am I not a martyr, O Messenger of Allāh?" "Yes indeed," Muḥammad replied.[431]

This initial defeat sent fear throughout the ranks of the pagans. The battle continued but ended in their clear defeat. According to Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, "The greatest of the battles that the Messenger of Allāh (ص) fought and the most significant of them in inflicting harm upon the pagans was the Battle of Greater Badr, in which seventy of the pagans were killed. ʻAlī killed half of them, and the Muslims and the angels killed the other half."[432]

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[428] Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:173.

[429] Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:172; Tārīkh Damishq 42:74; Kanz al-ʻUmmāl #36427; ʻUmdah al-Qārī 16:216.

[430] Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:173. Similarly, Faḍāʼil Ḥanbal #1131.

[431] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 7:52-53. Also refer to Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 1:283-4; Sīrah Ibn Isḥāq 299.

[432] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 1:24.

The sword Dhū al-Faqār was taken on the Day of Badr.[433] Due to ʿAlī's (ع) military prowess that day and the significance of the sword being captured, a call was heard from the heavens saying, "There is no sword but the Dhū al-Faqār, and there is no brave young man but ʿAlī."[434] Of note, ʿAlī (ع) showed his immense courage on the battlefield despite the fact that the Prophet (ص) was always most concerned that he not be killed. At some point when ʿAlī (ع) was sent to battle, the Prophet (ص) prayed, "O Allāh! Do not take my life until You show me ʿAlī [again]."[435] A number of verses were revealed regarding ʿAlī's (ع) prowess during the Battle of Badr and other battles. The following are two examples:

1. "Allāh sufficed the believers in battle."[436] In regards to this verse, Ibn Masʿūd said, "By ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib."[437] Ibn ʿAbbās also stated the same.[438]

2. "These two opponents (i.e. the believers and disbelievers) dispute with each other about their Lord."[439] According to traditions in Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, this verse was revealed in regards to those believers and disbelievers "who fought on the day of Badr, namely, Ḥamzah, ʿAlī, and ʿUbaydah or Abū ʿUbaydah ibn Ḥārith [among the believers and] Shaybah ibn Rabīʿah, ʿUtbah ibn Rabīʿah, and Walīd ibn ʿUtbah [among the pagans]."[440]

Abū Bakr Nearly Sabotaged the Battle of Badr

While ʿAlī (ع) was fighting by the sword, the Prophet (ص) fought through prayer. According to ʿAlī (ع),

> During the day of Badr, I fought in battle some, then I came to the Messenger of Allāh (ص) to see what he was doing. When I arrived, he was prostrating, saying, "O Everliving (Yā Ḥayy)! O Everlasting (Yā Qayyūm)! O Everliving! O Everlasting!" I returned to the battlefield and then came back and he was [still] prostrating, not adding any [new words] to this [supplication]. I then went to the battlefield and then returned and he was still prostrating saying this, so Allāh granted victory to him."[441]

Clearly, ʿAlī (ع) attributed the victory at Badr not to his own achievements on the battlefield but to the prayers of the Prophet (ص). During this battle, Abū Bakr did not enter the active battlefield. Rather, he stayed with the Prophet (ص) in a hut,[442] protected by the safety provided by the active Muslim combatants, most notably ʿAlī (ع) and Ḥamzah. Haykal described this event as follows:

> [The Prophet] returned to his booth with Abū Bakr... Turning his face to Mecca and his whole soul to Allāh, he began to pray, calling on Allāh to give him

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[433] Mustadrak Ḥākim #4344 (certifies the tradition as authentic).

[434] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:250, 7:372; Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:155; Tārīkh Damishq 42:71. Similarly, Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #14242.

[435] Sunan Tirmidhī #3737; Usd al-Ghābah 3:292 #3789 (ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib); Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:393; Faḍāʾil Ḥanbal #1039.

[436] Qurʾān 33:25.

[437] Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr and Tafsīr Māwardī, verse 33:25; Shawāhid al-Tanzīl #629-632, verse 33:25; Tārīkh Damishq 42:360.

[438] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 13:284; Shawāhid al-Tanzīl #633-636, verse 33:25.

[439] Qurʾān 22:19.

[440] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.59.304. Similarly, Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.59.305-8, #6.60.268.

[441] Sunan al-Kubrā Nasāʾī #10447. A summarized version appears in Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:205.

[442] Sīrah Ibn Isḥāq 299.

> victory. He prayed to Allāh for a very long while... Muḥammad prayed with his hands raised to heaven. His mantle fell off and Abū Bakr had to pick it up and put it back on his shoulders. Abū Bakr said to him, "O Prophet of Allāh, enough calling on Allāh; He will surely give you what He promised." Muḥammad continued to pray, pouring out his whole soul in pious invocation to Allāh to help him in this hour of precipitous danger. After near collapse, he came back to himself and told of a vision he saw of Allāh's victory.[443]

Clearly, had the Prophet (ص) listened to Abū Bakr and ceased praying, there was no guarantee that the outnumbered and poorly-equipped Muslim army would not have met its doom. Moreover, Abū Bakr's role in this battle is absurd. Instead of fighting the enemies of the Prophet (ص) on the front lines, he stayed behind, tending to the Prophet's (ص) cloak instead. Most amazingly, his supporters have cited this as proof that he was the most courageous of the companions.

The Claim that Abū Bakr was the Bravest of the Companions

Even though Abū Bakr was rather inept on the battlefield and occupied himself with self-preservation as opposed to fighting the enemies of Islām, some have claimed that Abū Bakr was the "bravest of all people"! As proof, Suyūṭī has cited the following invented tradition:

> 'Alī said, "Tell me who the bravest of the people is." They replied, "You." He said, "For sure I have never fought anyone without exacting revenge on him, but tell me who the bravest of the people is." They said, "We do not know. Who is it then?" He said, "Abū Bakr. During the Battle of Badr, the Messenger of Allāh (ص) set up a hut, and we said, 'Who will stay with the Messenger of Allāh so that none of the pagans would ever think of [coming close to] him?' By Allāh, not one of us volunteered except for Abū Bakr who stood with a sword on the Prophet's (ص) head such that not one of those wishing [to harm him] wished to do so [any longer]. So he is the bravest of the people."[444]

This tradition, which is an obvious forgery, resembles a joke more than proof. Abū Bakr was among the feeblest of companions in battle. He avoided the battlefield at Badr, fled at Uḥud and Khaybar, and never put up a serious fight in any battle. In fact, the verse of the cave in the Qur`ān confirms his fear of losing his life for Islām.[445]

'Urwah ibn Zubayr, a grandson of Abū Bakr through his daughter Asmā`, and one whose traditions are highly suspect,[446] said that 'Uqbah ibn Abī Mu'ayṭ somehow miraculously made it past 'Alī (ع), Ḥamzah, the entire Muslim army, and all the angels present on the battlefield at Badr and attacked the Prophet (ص) while he was praying but that Abū Bakr successfully fended him off.[447] As further proof of Abū Bakr's bravery, they claim that Abū Bakr said, "During the Battle of Uḥud, when the people all turned away from the Messenger of Allāh, I was the first to return."[448] Yet, if he was truly brave, he would not have fled in the first place.

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[443] Haykal 226-7.
[444] Tārīkh al-Khulafā` 38-9.
[445] Refer to chapter 6.
[446] Refer to the discussion on 'Ā`ishah in chapter 76.
[447] Tārīkh al-Khulafā` 39.
[448] Tārīkh al-Khulafā` 39.

ʹUthmān Stayed Away from the Battle of Badr

ʹUthmān avoided the Battle of Badr, using the excuse that he wanted to care for his wife, who was the adoptive daughter of the Messenger of Allāh (ص). According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, "ʹUthmān did not join the Badr battle because he was married to one of the daughters of Allāh's Apostle and she was ill."[449] Yet, when his wife died, ʹUthmān showed no signs of mourning, and instead of grieving her death, he had intercourse with another wife that night. According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī,

> Narrated Anas ibn Mālik: We were [in the funeral procession] of one of the daughters of the Prophet and he was sitting by the side of the grave. I saw his eyes shedding tears. He said, "Is there anyone among you who did not have sexual relations with his wife last night?" Abū Ṭalḥah replied in the affirmative. And so the Prophet told him to get down in the grave. And so he got down in her grave.[450]

It was clearly the utmost insult to ʹUthmān for the Prophet (ص) to ban him from entering his wife's grave, instead sending another man into the grave of his wife. Moreover, the Prophet (ص) publicly showed that ʹUthmān, instead of being heartbroken from the loss of his wife, was having intercourse with his other wives the night Ruqayyah died. In the meanwhile, the Prophet (ص) himself was so heartbroken that he was shedding tears for his loss of his adoptive daughter. Clearly, ʹUthmān used his wife as an excuse not to go to battle, but when she died, the Prophet (ص) made it clear that ʹUthmān did not care enough about her to be saddened by her loss.

The Emigration of Zaynab to Madīnah and Her Miscarriage

Zaynab was the eldest adoptive daughter of the Messenger of Allāh (ص). She married her maternal aunt's son, Abū al-ʹĀṣ ibn Rabīʹ. Zaynab had become Muslim, but Abū al-ʹĀṣ remained a pagan.[451] When Abū al-ʹĀṣ was taken as a prisoner during Badr, the Messenger of Allāh (ص) struck a deal with him that he would set him free if he would allow Zaynab to emigrate to Madīnah. Upon the return of Abū al-ʹĀṣ to Mecca, he had Zaynab's brother in law, Kinānah ibn Rabīʹ guide her to Madīnah. The Quraysh went off in her pursuit and caught them in Dhū Ṭuwā[452]. The first man to approach them was Habbār ibn Aswad, who threatened her with his lance. Zaynab, who was pregnant at the time, was frightened by the assault and had a miscarriage. Kinānah ibn Rabīʹ took up a bow and arrow and said, "By Allāh, if one of you comes near me, I will put an arrow through him." The Qurayshī pagans fell back. Then Abū Sufyān arrived with other leaders of the Quraysh and asked him to loosen his bow so that they could discuss the matter calmly. After approaching him he said, "You have not done the right thing. You have taken the woman out publicly over the heads of the people when you know of our misfortune and disaster which Muḥammad has brought on us [in the Battle of Badr]. The people will think if you take away his daughter publicly over the heads of everyone, that it is a sign of our humiliation after the disaster that has happened and an exhibition of our utter weakness. We don't want to keep her from her father and that is not our way of seeking revenge. But take the woman back [to Mecca], and when the chatter has died down and people say that we have brought her back you can take her away secretly to join her father." Thus, an agreement was reached. They returned to Mecca and then left at night, delivering her to Zayd ibn Ḥārithah and his companion whom the Prophet (ص) had sent to receive her.[453] Later on, Abū al-'Āṣ accepted Islām and re-married Zaynab.[454]

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[449] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #4.53.359. Similarly, Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.57.48 and #5.59.395 state that ʹUthmān's absence from Badr due to his wife's illness.

[450] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #2.23.374.

[451] Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 8:30-31.

[452] Also pronounced Dhū Ṭawā.

When the Messenger of Allāh (ص) was informed of Zaynab's miscarriage, he told his companions that if they were ever to get their hands on Habbār ibn Aswad or the other man who was with him, they should kill them.[455] The order to kill them was because they had caused the miscarriage of Zaynab's unborn child.

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453. Sīrah Ibn Isḥāq 314-315; Tārīkh Ṭabarī 7:73-76.
454. Sīrah Ibn Isḥāq 316-7; Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 8:32-33; Tārīkh Ṭabarī 7:76-78.
455. Sīrah Ibn Isḥāq 316.

Chapter 9
All the Doors to the Prophet's Mosque were Closed Except for the Door of ʿAlī (ع)

The Muslims who emigrated from Mecca built rooms around the Prophet's Mosque. These rooms, which were used as living quarters, had doors and windows that opened into the mosque. According to traditions related in many Sunnī sources through numerous chains of transmission, the Prophet (ص) ordered the closing of all the doors that opened into his mosque, except for the door of ʿAlī (ع). Even the door of the Prophet's (ص) uncle, Ḥamzah, was closed. The reason for this was explained by the Prophet (ص) when he told ʿAlī (ع), "ʿAlī! It is not permissible (ḥalāl) for anyone to become sexually impure (junub) in this mosque except for me and you."[456]

The people became upset and asked the Prophet (ص) why he closed their doors, leaving only ʿAlī's (ع) door open to the mosque. The Prophet's (ص) answer was that it was not his decision, but rather the decision of Allāh. He said, "Allāh sent revelation to His prophet Moses to make for Allāh a pure mosque, in which no one would live except for Moses, Aaron, and the two sons of Aaron. Allāh ordered me to make a pure mosque, in which no one would live except for me, ʿAlī, and the two sons of ʿAlī."[457] The Prophet (ص) was referring to the verse of the Qur`ān that says, "And we revealed to Moses and his brother: Take houses for your people in Egypt and set your houses as centers of worship."[458]

According to a widely narrated tradition that Ḥākim certified as authentic, when the companions started gossiping and complaining about this issue, the Prophet (ص) proclaimed, "I neither [left] open [ʿAlī's door] nor did I close [the other doors]. Rather, I was ordered to do something, and I obeyed."[459] He also said, "I did not leave [his door] open, but rather Allāh left it open."[460] He even clarified this further by saying, "I am only a servant [of Allāh] taking orders."[461] Ḥudhayfah ibn Asīd, one of the companions of the Prophet (ص),[462] described the event as follows:

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456. Sunan Tirmidhī #3727; Tārīkh al-Khulafā` 153; Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:159; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:379; Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb vol 9 #638 (Muḥammad ibn ʿĪsā). Similarly, the following sources cite traditions stating that only ʿAlī (ع) was allowed to enter the mosque while sexually impure (junub): Mustadrak Ḥākim #4652 (certifies the tradition as authentic); Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:175; Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #14242; and Fatḥ al-Bārī #3454.

457. Manāqib Ibn Mughāzilī #301.

458. Qur`ān 10:87.

459. Musnad Ḥanbal #19306; Mustadrak Ḥākim #4631 (certifies the tradition as authentic); Khaṣā`iṣ Nasā`ī 73; Faḍā`il Ḥanbal #985; Majmaʿ al-Zawā`id #14671; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:379; Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #32877, #33004; Tārīkh Damishq 42:138; Fayḍ al-Qadīr #71; Fatḥ al-Bārī #3454; Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:158; Dhakhā`ir al-ʿUqbā 77; Manāqib Ibn Mughāzilī #305-6.

460. Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:379; Tārīkh Damishq 42:139.

461. Majmaʿ al-Zawā`id #14677.

462. According to Iṣābah 1:361 #1646 (Ḥudhayfah ibn Asīd), he was among the companions who pledged allegiance to the Prophet (ص) during the Pledge of Riḍwān.

> When the companions of the Prophet (ص) came to Madīnah, there were no homes for them to live in, so they lived inside the mosque. The Prophet (ص) told them, "Do not live in the mosque lest you become sexually impure (junub)." The people then made homes next to the mosque with doors opening into the mosque. The Prophet (ص) then sent Mu'ādh ibn Jabal to Abū Bakr. [Mu'ādh] said, "The Messenger of Allāh has ordered you to leave the mosque." Abū Bakr replied, "[I] hear and obey." He closed off his door, thus removing his house from the mosque.
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> Then the Prophet (ص) sent [Mu'ādh] to 'Umar. [Mu'ādh] said, "The Messenger of Allāh has ordered you to close off your door that [opens to] the mosque and to leave the mosque." 'Umar said, "[I] hear and obey Allāh and His Prophet, except that I would like to have an opening [like a window] into the mosque." Mu'ādh relayed 'Umar's request to the Prophet (ص) [but the request was rejected, and] he was then sent to 'Uthmān and Ruqayyah. 'Uthmān said, "[I] listen and obey," and he shut his door [to the mosque].
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> Then the Prophet (ص) sent Mu'ādh to Ḥamzah to tell him to close down his door. Ḥamzah said, "[I] listen to and obey Allāh and His Messenger (ص)." 'Alī was not sure what to do about this matter, as he did not know whether he was among those [allowed to] remain in the mosque or among those removed from it. The Prophet (ص), who had made 'Alī a house between his own homes, told 'Alī, "Dwell here, pure and clean."
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> Ḥamzah heard what the Prophet (ص) had told 'Alī. He asked the Prophet (ص), "Muḥammad, you throw us out of the mosque yet keep the young men of the descendants of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib [in the mosque]?!" The Prophet (ص) replied, "No! Had this been my choice, I would not have given this right to anyone but you. By Allāh, Allāh has not given this privilege to anyone but 'Alī. You are blessed by Allāh and His Prophet, so be content." The Prophet (ص) gave him glad tidings and Ḥamzah was martyred soon thereafter in the Battle of Uḥud.
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> Some people became jealous and were filled with envy and anger because of the fact that 'Alī's superiority over them and the other companions had been made evident. The Prophet (ص) became aware of their discontent. He stood and delivered a sermon [in which] he said, "People are angry because I have housed 'Alī in the mosque. By Allāh, I have neither removed them from [the mosque] nor housed him therein. Allāh, the great and glorious, revealed to Moses and his brother, 'Take houses for your people in Egypt and set your houses as centers of worship.'[463] Then Moses ordered that no one should dwell in his mosque or approach their wives in it except for [Moses himself as well as] Aaron and his offspring. Indeed 'Alī is to me as Aaron was to Moses. He is my only brother in my family, and it is not permissible for anyone to approach women inside [the mosque] except for 'Alī and his offspring. So whoever does not like this should go there," and he pointed to Syria.[464]

According to Ḥākim, it was the Prophet's (ص) uncle 'Abbās who was upset about being ejected from the mosque, saying, "You have evicted us when we are your close family and your uncles, yet you have allowed ʿAlī to live [in the mosque]?!" The Prophet (ص) replied, "I neither evicted you nor housed him. Rather, Allāh evicted you and housed him."[465] Either one of these two accounts has cited the incorrect uncle, or one would conclude that the eviction occurred after the conquest of Mecca when ʿAbbās emigrated to Madīnah,[466] or that ʿAbbās was independently upset about not being allowed to live in the mosque alongside the Prophet (ص) as ʿAlī (ع) was allowed to do upon his taking up residence in Madīnah.

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[463] Qur`ān 10:87.

[464] Manāqib Ibn Mughāzlī #303. Similarly, Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr (verse 10:87) relates part of the Prophet's (ص) speech from Abū Rāfi`.

Indeed, the privilege of living in the mosque belonged to the entire Ahl al-Bayt (ع). The Prophet (ص) said, "It is not permissible for anyone in a state of sexual impurity (junub) or for any menstruating woman to enter this mosque except for the Messenger, ʿAlī, Fāṭimah, Ḥasan, and Ḥusayn. I truly made the names clear for you so that you do not go astray."[467] In a similar tradition, he said, "Verily my mosque is forbidden to every menstruating women and every sexually impure (junub) man except for Muḥammad and his Ahl al-Bayt—ʿAlī, Fāṭimah, Ḥasan, and Ḥusayn."[468] As such, every other door and opening to the mosque had to be closed. According to Tirmidhī and Ibn Ḥajar, ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās said, "The Messenger of Allāh (ص) ordered all the doors to be closed except for the door of ʿAlī."[469] Ibn ʿAbbās further clarified this by saying, "The Messenger of Allāh (ص) ordered the closing of the doors to the mosque except for the door of ʿAlī. [ʿAlī] would enter the mosque while in a state of sexual impurity (junub), with no other path to take [but through the mosque]."[470]

It is clear that the privilege of living in the mosque was one that caused intense envy among the companions. According to a widely narrated tradition Ḥākim certified as authentic, ʿUmar said, "ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib has been given three honors, having any one of which would be dearer to me than many red-haired camels." He was asked, "And what are they, O Commander of the Faithful?" He said, "His marrying Fāṭimah, the daughter of the Messenger of Allāh; [the fact that] he lived in the mosque with the Messenger of Allāh and this was permissible [only] for him; and [the fact that the Prophet] gave him the banner at Khaybar."[471]

Sources for this Event

These traditions are just a few of the dozens of traditions related by Sunnī sources regarding the closing of all the doors to the mosque except for the door of ʿAlī (ع). As such, this incident is clearly mutawātir. Some of the Sunnī sources that include this event include Sunan Tirmidhī,[472] Mustadrak Ḥākim,[473] Musnad Ḥanbal,[474] Sunan al-Kubrā Bayhaqī,[475] Kanz al-ʿUmmāl,[476] Majmaʿ al-Zawā`id,[477] Fatḥ al-Bārī,[478] ʿUmdah al-

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[465] Mustadrak Ḥākim #4601.

[466] Refer to chapter 25.

[467] Sunan al-Kubrā Bayhaqī #13178; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:379. Similarly, Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #34182 and Khaṣā`iṣ al-Kubrā Suyūṭī 2:364 cite the first and key sentence.

[468] Sunan al-Kubrā Bayhaqī #13180.

[469] Sunan Tirmidhī #3732; Fatḥ al-Bārī #3454.

[470] Musnad Ḥanbal #3062; Faḍā`il Ḥanbal #1168.

[471] Mustadrak Ḥākim #4632 (certifies the tradition as authentic); Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:158; Tārīkh al-Khulafā` 154; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:377; Khaṣā`Iṣ al-Kubrā Suyūṭī 2:364; Faḍā`il Ḥanbal #955.

[472] Sunan Tirmidhī #3727, #3732.

[473] Mustadrak Ḥākim #4631, #4632, #4652 (certifies all three traditions as authentic).

[474] Musnad Ḥanbal #1511, #3062.

[475] Sunan al-Kubrā Bayhaqī #13178, #13180-1.

[476] Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #14242, #33004-5, #34182, #36432, #36521. In one tradition (#36521) it is explicitly stated that the Prophet (ص) closed Abū Bakr's door to the mosque and that he obeyed.

Qārī,[479] Khaṣā`iṣ Nasā`ī,[480] Faḍā`il Ḥanbal,[481] Khaṣā`iṣ al-Kubrā Suyūṭī,[482] Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr,[483] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr,[484] Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb,[485] Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah,[486] Dhakhā`ir al-'Uqbā,[487] Sharḥ-i Nahj al-Balāghah of Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd,[488] Sīrah Ḥalabīyyah,[489] Tārīkh al-Khulafā`,[490] and Tārīkh Damishq.[491] There is no doubt regarding its proof by multiplicity (tawātur) because of the numerous distinct chains of transmission this fact has been related through.

Implications of Closing All the Doors Except for That of 'Alī (ع)

This incident illustrates the fact that there is a distinct difference between 'Alī, Fāṭimah, Ḥasan, and Ḥusayn (ع) on the one hand and the rest of the Muslim community on the other. These individuals, as will be discussed in detail later,[492] are the purified Ahl al-Bayt of the Prophet (ص). Based on these traditions, one can conclude that the living quarters of Muḥammad (ص) and 'Alī (ع) were centers of worship for all the Muslims, the same way that the houses of Moses and Aaron (ع) were centers of worship for their followers, as explained in the following verse of the Qur`ān:

> And we revealed to Moses and his brother: Take houses for your people in Egypt and set your houses as centers of worship.[493]

Of note, the word "your" is in the plural form, indicating that the centers of worship included more than the houses of just Moses and Aaron (ع). Otherwise, the dual form of the word "your" would have been used. This shows that, as the traditions mention, the offspring of Aaron (ع) are included in the Qur`ānic verse, the same way that the offspring of 'Alī and Fāṭimah (ع) are included in the prophetic traditions. We will discuss the fact that 'Alī (ع) was the Aaron (ع) of the Muslim nation in chapter 10 in our discussion of the tradition of manzilah.

Shutting down the doors to the mosque likely occurred before the Battle of Uḥud because of the presence of Ḥamzah in some of the accounts. Indeed, the presence of Ruqayyah in one tradition suggests that it occurred, at the latest, soon after the return of the Muslim army from the Battle of Badr. However, Ḥasan and Ḥusayn (ع) were not born yet even though some of the traditions mention them. This is not contradictory. The Prophet (ص) reminded people in later years that Ḥasan and Ḥusayn (ع) were allowed to live in his mosque and to enter it in a state of sexual impurity. In general, the traditions mentioning Ḥasan and Ḥusayn (ع) are clearly in a different context than those addressing the

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[477] Majma' al-Zawā`id #14671-9 (certifies those in the chain of transmission of #14678 as trustworthy and #14672 as good [ḥasan]).

[478] Fatḥ al-Bārī #3454 (several traditions).

[479] 'Umdah al-Qārī 16:176.

[480] Khaṣā`iṣ Nasā`ī 72-73 (two traditions).

[481] Faḍā`il Ḥanbal #985, #1168.

[482] Khaṣā`iṣ al-Kubrā Suyūṭī 2:364.

[483] Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, verse 10:87.

[484] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:374, 379 (several traditions).

[485] Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb vol 9 #638 (Muḥammad ibn 'Īsā).

[486] Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:158 (five traditions), 3:175.

[487] Dhakhā`ir al-'Uqbā 76, 77, 87-88.

[488] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 9:173.

[489] Sīrah Ḥalabīyyah 3:460-1 (several traditions).

[490] Tārīkh al-Khulafā` 154.

[491] Tārīkh Damishq 42:99, 42:100, 42:102, 42:121, 42:122, 42:137, 42:138, 42:139, 42:140, 42:141-2, 42:165, 42:432, 42:435 (numerous traditions).

[492] Refer to chapter 14.

[493] Qur`ān 10:87.

immediate closing of the doors that people's living quarters had to the mosque, as they tend to address the specific legal implications of living and approaching one's wives in the mosque, which is permissible only for the Ahl al-Bayt (ع).

Fabrications in Favor of Abū Bakr

This event clearly established the qualitative superiority of the Prophet's Ahl al-Bayt—Muḥammad (ص), ʻAlī, Fāṭimah, Ḥasan, and Ḥusayn (ع)—over the rest of the companions. In order to avoid Abū Bakr appearing as inferior to ʻAlī (ع), traditions had to be invented that would parallel the virtue bestowed on ʻAlī (ع) in this event. According to one fabricated tradition in Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, the Prophet (ص) said, "There shall be left no open window in the mosque except for Abū Bakr's window."[494] This tradition is weak because its chain includes ʻIkrimah, a known liar who, as a Khārijīte, despised ʻAlī (ع) and considered him a disbeliever.[495] In two other traditions, Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī claims that the Prophet (ص) ordered the Muslims to "close all the gates in the mosque except that of Abū Bakr."[496] This makes no sense considering the fact that it is proven that all the doors to the mosque were shut except for the door of ʻAlī (ع). In fact, it was illegal for Abū Bakr to approach his wives in the mosque or to enter it in a state of sexual impurity, while it was not illegal for ʻAlī (ع) to do so. There is no reason why Abū Bakr's door would be left open while the doors of the rest of the companions, including the Prophet's (ص) uncle Ḥamzah, would have to be shut. This is a clear case of traditions being invented to create virtues for Abū Bakr. In addition, there is no mention whatsoever of Abū Bakr's door or window being left open in any of the traditions just mentioned; they all unanimously reserve the right only for ʻAlī and the rest of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع). In fact, the basic proof that this tradition is untrue is that the shutting of the doors and windows into the mosque was based on the fact that only Moses, Aaron, and Aaron's children (ع) were allowed to take mosques as homes. There is no exception for a companion such as Abū Bakr in this Qurʾānic concept. As Abū Bakr would be unable to approach his wives in the mosque or to enter it in a state of sexual impurity, he would be unable to adopt the mosque as his house.

Of course, these rational arguments are sufficient to prove this tradition to be a forgery. However, the chains of transmission of the two Bukhārī traditions stating that Abū Bakr was allowed to keep his gate to the mosque open are, in fact, weak, as they include Fulayḥ ibn Sulaymān. Nasāʾī included him in his work on weak and abandoned relaters of tradition and said, "He is not strong (laysa bi-qawī)."[497] According to Ibn Ḥajar: (1) Ibn Maʻīn said that he was "weak (ḍaʻīf)," and that "his traditions cannot be used as proof." (2) Abū Ḥātim said, "He is not strong." (3) Nasāʾī called him weak. (4) ʻAlī ibn al-Madyanī said that he and his brother were both weak. (5) Abū Dāwūd said, "He is nothing (laysa bi-shayʾ)." (6) Abū Kāmil said, "We would accuse him [of forging traditions]." (7) Ṭabarī said that he was appointed by the ʻAbbāsīd caliph Manṣūr to oversee charitable properties and that he recommended the imprisonment of the descendants of Ḥasan ibn ʻAlī (ع).[498] It is clear not only that this man was weak because he was a liar but also that he had a motive to lie in this regards, as he was an avowed enemy of ʻAlī's (ع) descendants. In fact, it was Manṣūr who tried hard to discredit the descendants of Ḥasan (ع), and it would be no surprise if this invented tradition was part of that plan to befuddle this very clear privilege and merit that only the Prophet's Ahl al-Bayt (ع) enjoyed.

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[494] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #1.8.456 (Arabic original #455).

[495] Refer to chapters 14 and 22 for a discussion of ʻIkrimah.

[496] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #1.8.455 (Arabic original #454), #5.57.6 (Arabic original #3454).

[497] Al-Ḍuʻafāʾ wa al-Matrūkīn of Nasāʾī #486 (Fulayḥ ibn Sulaymān).

[498] Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb vol 8 #553 (Fulayḥ ibn Sulaymān). For the statement of Ṭabarī, also refer to Tārīkh Ṭabarī 28:117.

Proof of the Imāmate Based on this Event

This event proves that only the Prophet (ص) and the members of his Ahl al-Bayt (ع) could take mosques as their homes, as Moses, Aaron, and the sons of Aaron (ع) did. This proves that Fāṭimah, ʻAlī, Ḥasan, and Ḥusayn (ع) were different from the rest of the nation, and in a category by themselves. If this category is quantitative, having to do solely with the quantity of their virtues, it would prove that they were the most virtuous of the companions and therefore the best suited to lead the nation. If this category was qualitative and indicative that the Muslim ummah is divided into two categories—that of the ordinary believers and that of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع)—then this would support the entire Shīʻah concept of the imāmate, as it would show that the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) are in a different category than the general Muslim population and that they have been specifically selected by Allāh for a number of positions, among them leadership of the Muslim nation, as their homes are mosques for the believers, and as their role is like that of Aaron (ع) among the Children of Israel in every respect except for prophethood. This also proves that the members of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) have rights to the Prophet's Mosque that others were deprived of. Nevertheless, Abū Bakr, ʻUmar, ʻUthmān, and other illegitimate caliphs overtook the mosque and its pulpit from those who were specifically assigned the mosque as their home.

It should also be noted that the door of ʻUthmān to the mosque was shut even though he was married to the Prophet's (ص) adoptive daughter or, as the Sunnīs claim, daughter. If, as the Shīʻah claim, ʻUthmān was married to the Prophet's (ص) adoptive daughter, then the fact that these adoptive daughters were later ascribed biologically to the Prophet (ص) proves that the supporters of ʻUthmān were so desperate to create virtues for him that they would pass on such an absurd lie as the truth. On the other hand, if ʻUthmān was indeed married to two of the Prophet's (ص) biological daughters, then this event would prove that the daughters of the Prophet (ص) other than Fāṭimah (ع) did not share in the merits of the Prophet's Ahl al-Bayt (ع). It would indeed be proof that the quality that allowed ʻAlī, Fāṭimah, Ḥasan, and Ḥusayn (ع) to take the mosque as their home and to enter the mosque in a state of sexual impurity was assigned by Allāh and that it was assigned to them only and not to ʻUthmān and his wives from the Prophet's (ص) lineage. Otherwise, Ruqayyah and ʻUthmān and later Umm Kulthūm and ʻUthmān would have enjoyed the same rights to the mosque as Fāṭimah and ʻAlī (ع) did. This would establish the specific virtue of the Prophet's Ahl al-Bayt—Fāṭimah, ʻAlī, Ḥasan, and Ḥusayn (ع)—over all others, including his other children.

Chapter 10

The Tradition of Manzilah: ´Alī (ع) was Declared the Aaron (ع) of the Nation

The tradition, "You are in the same position in relation to me as Aaron was in relation to Moses, except that there will be no prophet after me," is called the tradition of manzilah. This is one of the undoubted traditions related from the Prophet (ص), proven undisputedly by the multiplicity of its chains of transmission (tawātur). It has been accepted all Sunnīs and Shī´ah alike. The fact that the Prophet (ص) said this many times and in many different public situations ensured that it would be heard and transmitted by many companions. As a result, it has reached us through many different chains of transmission and its authenticity remains undisputed.

The following are just a few of the innumerable Sunnī works that include this tradition: Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī,[499] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim,[500] Sunan Tirmidhī,[501] Sunan Ibn Mājah,[502] Musnad Ḥanbal,[503] Mustadrak Ḥākim,[504] Fatḥ al-Bārī,[505] Sunan al-Kubrā Nasā`ī,[506] Sunan al-Kubrā Bayhaqī,[507] Kanz al-´Ummāl,[508] Majma´ al-Zawā`id,[509] Jāmi´ al-Ṣaghīr Suyūṭī,[510] Tārīkh Baghdād,[511] Faḍā`il Ḥanbal,[512] Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah,[513] Khaṣā`iṣ Nasā`ī,[514] Iṣābah,[515] Usd al-Ghābah,[516] Istī´āb,[517] Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā,[518] Sīrah Ibn Isḥāq,[519] Tārīkh Ṭabarī,[520] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr,[521] and Tārīkh al-Khulafā`.[522]

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[499] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.57.56, #5.59.700.

[500] Sahīḥ Muslim #31.5913-6.

[501] Sunan Tirmidhī #3724, #3730, #3731.

[502] Sunan Ibn Mājah #115, #121.

[503] Musnad Ḥanbal #1463, #1490, #1505, #1509, #1532, #1547, #1583, #1600, #1608, #3062, #11290, #14679, #27126, #27507.

[504] Mustadrak Ḥākim #3294 (certifies this tradition as authentic), #4575 (certifies this tradition as authentic by the criteria of Bukhārī and Muslim), #4652 (certifies this tradition as authentic).

[505] Fath al-Bārī #3503, #4730.

[506] Sunan al-Kubrā Nasā`ī #8138-43, #8398-9, #8409, #8429-49.

[507] Sunan al-Kubrā Bayhaqī #17671.

[508] Kanz al-´Ummāl #14242, #25554-5, #32881, #32886, #32915, #32931-32937, #33616, #36345, #36392, #36395, #36470, #36488, #36489, #36494-6, #36572, #44216.

[509] Majma´ al-Zawā`id #14642-55, #14696, #14925 (certifies #14650 as authentic and states that those in the chain of transmission of #14643, #14645, and #14696 are trustworthy).

[510] Jāmi´ al-Saghīr Suyūṭī #5597.

[511] Tārīkh Baghdād #227 (Muḥammad ibn Ahmad), #1376 (Muḥammad ibn Mazīd), #1534 (Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf), #1693 (Aḥmad ibn Ja´far), #1890 (Aḥmad ibn Ṣāliḥ), #2261 (Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm), #4023 (Ḥasan ibn Yazīd ibn Mu´āwīyah ibn Sāliḥ), #4115 (Ḥusayn ibn Shaddād), #4932 (Ṭarīf ibn ´Ubayd Allāh), #5171 (´Abd Allāh ibn Faḍl), #6323 (´Alī ibn Sirāj), #6767 (Ghīyāth ibn Ibrāhīm).

[512] Faḍā`il Ḥanbal #954, #956, #957, #960, #1005, #1006, #1020, #1041, #1045, #1079, #1085, #1091, #1093, #1131, #1137, #1143, #1153, #1168.

[513] Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:110, 3:117-8 (several traditions), 3:119, 3:152.

[514] Khaṣā`iṣ Nasā`ī 48, 50, 64, 76-85, 116.

[515] Iṣābah 2:1294, 2:1296 #5690 (´Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib).

[516] Usd al-Ghābah 3:291, 3:292 #3789 (´Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib).

[517] Istī´āb 3:201-2 #1875 (´Alī ibn Abī Tālib).

[518] Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 3:23-5 (several traditions).

There is absolutely no doubt in regards to the validity and tawātur of this tradition. Ibn ʹAbd al-Barr said,

> This is among the best proven and most authentic of traditions. It has been related from the Prophet (ص) by Saʹd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ, and the chains of transmission linking this tradition to Saʹd are truly numerous, as stated by Ibn Abī Khaythamah and others. And it has been related by Ibn ʹAbbās, Abū Saʹīd al-Khudrī, Umm Salamah, Asmāʹ bint ʹUmays, Jābir ibn ʹAbd Allāh, and others, mentioning [the names of] whom would take a long time.[523]

According to Ibn Kathīr,

> This tradition has been related by a group of the companions, among them ʹUmar, ʹAlī, Ibn ʹAbbās, ʹAbd Allāh ibn Jaʹfar, Muʹāwīyah, Jābir ibn ʹAbd Allāh, Jābir ibn Samurah, Abū Saʹīd, Barāʹ ibn ʹĀzib, Zayd ibn Arqam, Zayd ibn Abī Awfā, Nubayṭ ibn Shurayṭ, Ḥubshī ibn Junādah, Mālik ibn Ḥuwayrith, Anas ibn Mālik, Abū al-Faḍl, Umm Salamah, Asmāʹ bint ʹUmays, and Fāṭimah bint Ḥamzah.[524]

Ibn ʹAsākir has similarly listed twenty-one companions who have related this tradition.[525]

Attempts to Deny Meaning to this Tradition

The Shīʹah scholars claim that, as the Prophet (ص) stated, ʹAlī's (ع) relationship to the Prophet (ص) was the same as Aaron's (ع) relationship to Moses (ع), except that ʹAlī (ع) was not a prophet. They claim that if Moses (ع) had died earlier than Aaron (ع), Aaron (ع) would have certainly been his successor among the people just as he was the successor of Moses in his absence during his lifetime. Yet, some have tried to dilute the meaning of this tradition. What they assert is summarized in the footnotes of the English translation of Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim:

> Shīʹah authors refer to this and similar traditions in support of their claim that by these words the holy Prophet had made a pointed reference to Ḥaḍrat ʹAlī as his successor. The Sunnī scholars assert, and rightly, that the above words of the holy Prophet have a reference to family relationship between him and ʹAlī and not to the question of the caliphate. Aaron was the cousin of Moses and so was the case with ʹAlī and the holy Prophet. The holy Prophet ordered ʹAlī to remain in Madīnah in charge of the city and the Prophet's family while he was proceeding on the campaign of Tabūk. ʹAlī expressed his anxiety to participate in the campaign and not to stay behind in Madīnah. The holy Prophet referred to the example of Moses who had left his brother Aaron in charge of the community when he himself ascended to Mount Sīnā. In a tradition on the authority of Saʹd, Ḥaḍrat ʹAlī is reported to have been delighted by this. This tradition also

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519. Sīrah Ibn Isḥāq 604.
520. Tārīkh Ṭabarī 9:51.
521. Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 5:11, 7:251, 7:370, 7:374-8 (numerous traditions).
522. Tārīkh al-Khulafāʹ 151.
523. Istīʹāb 3:202 #1875 (ʹAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib).
524. Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:377.
525. Tārīkh Damishq 42:166.

> bears clear testimony to the fact that the holy Prophet is the last of the prophets and that no other prophet would be raised after him.[526]

It is noteworthy that the author of these comments agrees that ʻAlī (ع) was left in charge of Madīnah during the Battle of Tabūk when he said, "The holy Prophet ordered ʻAlī to remain in Madīnah in charge of the city." As we shall see later, some have tried to reclaim even this simple historical event from ʻAlī (ع).[527]

However, it is not clear how the author of these comments could say, "Aaron was the cousin of Moses and so was the case with ʻAlī and the holy Prophet," when Aaron (ع) was clearly the brother of Moses (ع) and not his cousin. The following verses of the Qurʾān are clear in this regards:

1. [Moses said], "Grant me a vizier from my people, Aaron, my brother."[528]
2. "Next we sent Moses and his brother Aaron with Our signs and a clear mandate."[529]
3. [Moses said], "My brother Aaron is more convincing with his tongue; send him along with me to back me up and to vouch for me."[530]

And in case anyone tries to claim that the word brother could refer to a cousin in Arabic, the Qurʾān says,

> Aaron said [to Moses], "O son of my mother! The tribe has oppressed me and has conspired to kill me."[531]

The son of one's mother is undoubtedly one's brother. Indeed, in many Sunnī traditions, Aaron is referred to as Hārūn ibn ʻImrān,[532] meaning that he was the son of ʻImrān and therefore shared the same father with Moses (ع). According to Ṭabarī, ʻImrān married Jochebed, "and she bore him Aaron and Moses."[533] Even the Old Testament states rather explicitly that "Amram (ʻImrān) married... Jochebed, who bore him Aaron and Moses."[534] In fact, I am not aware of any lineage being claimed for Aaron (ع) except through ʻImrān, the father of Moses (ع).

Therefore, we see that some have gone to ludicrous ends to diminish the meaning of this tradition by claiming that Aaron (ع) was the cousin of Moses (ع) and that the only meaning of this tradition was that ʻAlī (ع) was the Prophet's (ص) cousin, something in and of itself not a particularly hefty virtue. Indeed, the admission that, "ʻAlī is reported to have been delighted by this," proves that it was not simple family relations that the Prophet (ص) was citing, as everyone already knew that ʻAlī (ع) was the Prophet's (ص) cousin.

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[526] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim vol 4 p 1284.
[527] Refer to chapter 30.
[528] Qurʾān 20:29-30.
[529] Qurʾān 23:45.
[530] Qurʾān 28:34.
[531] Qurʾān 7:150.
[532] For example, Mustadrak Ḥākim #6713; Fatḥ al-Bārī #3964; Kanz al-ʻUmmāl #30309, #44216; Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:195; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 1:52, 1:89; Khaṣāʾiṣ al-Kubrā Suyūṭī 1:282; Tārīkh Damishq 3:513, 46:505, 61:17.
[533] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 3:30.
[534] Bible, Old Testament, Exodus 6:20. Similarly, Numbers 26:59; Chronicles 6:3, 23:13.

ʹAlī (ع) was Always Like Aaron (ع) was to Moses (ع)

It must be clarified that the background to this tradition is not limited only to the Battle of Tabūk. Rather, the relationship expressed by the tradition is a reality that was expressed from the beginning of Islām. ʹAllāmah Tehrānī has compiled a list of fourteen incidents in which ʹAlī (ع) was stated to have the same relationship to the Prophet (ص) as Aaron (ع) had to Moses (ع).[535] The following are a few examples:

1. In the Battle of Khaybar, when the Prophet (ص) told ʹAlī (ع) as part of a long tradition, "ʹAlī! If it were not that a group of my people would say regarding you what the Christians said regarding Jesus, I would have told you something so that you would not cross through any land of the Muslims without them taking the sand from under your feet and the water of your ablution for intercession (shafāʹah). However, it is enough for you that you are from me and I am from you. I inherit from you and you inherit from me. And you are to me as Aaron was to Moses except that there is no prophecy after me."[536]

2. When the doors of the Prophet's Mosque were closed, the Prophet (ص) said, "People have become angered because I have housed ʹAlī in my mosque. By Allāh, I have neither removed nor housed anyone. Allāh, the great and glorious, revealed to Moses and his brother, 'Take houses for your people in Egypt and set your houses as centers of worship.'[537] Then Moses ordered that no one should dwell in his mosque, approach their wives in it, or enter it in a state of sexual impurity, except for Aaron and his offspring. Indeed ʹAlī is to me as Aaron was to Moses. ʹAlī is my only brother in my family, and it is not permissible for anyone to approach women inside [the mosque] except for ʹAlī and his offspring. So whoever does not like this should go there," and he pointed to Syria.[538]

3. When ʹAlī (ع) was made the brother of the Prophet (ص) early after the emigration to Madīnah, ʹAlī (ع) asked the Prophet (ص) why everyone else had been assigned a brother except for him, and the Prophet (ص) replied, "By the One Who dispatched me on the truth! I have not put you aside except for myself. You are to me as Aaron was to Moses except that there is no prophet after me, and you are my brother and inheritor (wārith)."[539]

4. In the naming of Ḥasan (ع), Ḥusayn (ع), and Muḥsin, the Prophet (ص) named them after the sons of Aaron.[540]

5. During the Battle of Tabūk. This will be addressed in greater detail in chapter 30.

As one can see, ʹAlī's (ع) relationship to the Prophet (ص) was like that of Aaron's (ع) to Moses (ع) throughout the prophetic mission. Indeed, the Prophet (ص) imbued all of

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[535] Imām Shenāsī 10:406-431.

[536] Manāqib Ibn Mughāzilī #285; Manāqib Khwārazmī #188.

[537] Qurʹān 10:87.

[538] Manāqib Ibn Mughāzilī #303. A similar speech appears in Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, verse 10:87, again citing the tradition of manzilah in the context of the closing of the doors to the mosque except for the door of ʹAlī (ع).

[539] Kanz al-ʹUmmāl #25554. Similarly, Kanz al-ʹUmmāl #32935. The discussion of the brotherhood between ʹAlī (ع) and the Prophet (ص) will appear later in this chapter.

[540] Refer to chapter 7.

Aaron's (ع) qualities except for prophecy to ʿAlī (ع) from the onset of his prophetic mission. When he invited his closest relatives, he asked which of them would pledge allegiance to him so that he would be his brother, agent (wakīl), vizier (wazīr), executor (waṣī), inheritor (wārith), and successor (khalīf), as well as the master (walī) of the believers after him. Only ʿAlī (ع) stood, and the Prophet (ص) declared him to have all these qualities.[541] We can therefore conclude that the relationship of ʿAlī (ع) to the Prophet (ص) was indeed always like that of Aaron (ع) to Moses (ع). This relationship was not just for a few days, as some claim, but was something made known to the Muslims on many occasions throughout the Prophet's (ص) life.

The Relationship Between Aaron and Moses (ع)

Since the tradition of manzilah is clear that ʿAlī's (ع) relationship to the Prophet (ص) is like that of Aaron to Moses (ع), it is necessary to see what the Qur`ān says about this relationship:

1. "He [Moses] said, 'My Lord, ease my breast for me! Make my affair easier for me, and remove the impediment in my speech so they may understand what I say. Grant me a vizier from my people, Aaron, my brother. Back me up by means of him and make him my partner in my affair so that we may glorify You frequently and mention You often since You have been observant of us'. [Allāh] said, 'You have been granted your request, O Moses.'"[542]

2. "We gave Moses the Book and placed Aaron alongside him as a vizier. We said, 'Go off to a folk that have denied Our signs.' We utterly destroyed them."[543]

3. "Next we sent Moses and his brother Aaron with Our signs and a clear mandate."[544]

4. "Next We sent Moses and Aaron after them with Our signs to Pharaoh and his chiefs. Yet, they were arrogant and were a people in sin."[545]

5. "We bestowed his brother Aaron on him as a prophet through Our mercy."[546]

6. "We gave Moses and Aaron the standard (furqān), radiance, and a reminder for the heedful."[547]

7. "So your Lord summoned Moses, 'Go to the wrong-doing folk—Pharaoh's folk! Will they not heed?' He said, 'My Lord, I fear that they will reject me, and my breast feels cramped while my tongue will not loosen up. Send for Aaron! They have [laid] a charge against me, so I am concerned that they will kill me.' [Allāh] said, 'Indeed not; let both of you go off with Our signs. We will be listening along with you.'"[548]

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[541] Refer to chapter 2.
[542] Qur`ān 20:25-36.
[543] Qur`ān 25:35-6.
[544] Qur`ān 23:45.
[545] Qur`ān 10:75.
[546] Qur`ān 19:53.
[547] Qur`ān 21:48.
[548] Qur`ān 26:10-15.

8. "[Moses] said, 'O Lord, I have killed one of them, so I am concerned that they will slay me. And my brother Aaron is more convincing with his tongue, so send him along with me to back me up and to vouch for me. I fear they will reject me.' [Allāh] said, 'We shall strengthen your arm by means of your brother and grant both of you authority so they will not overtake either of you. Because of Our signs, you will both win, as will anyone who follows you.'"[549]

9. "We endowed Moses and Aaron and saved both of them and their people from serious distress. We supported them and they became victorious; and We gave them both the clarifying Book. We guided them along the straight path and left for them among later generations [the salutation], 'Peace be upon Moses and Aaron!'"[550]

10. "We appointed thirty nights for Moses and completed them with ten [more]; the appointment with his Lord was completed in forty nights. Moses told his brother Aaron, 'Be my caliph (akhlufnī) among the people and do good. Do not follow the path of the mischievous.'"[551]

11. "[Aaron] said, 'O son of my mother! The tribe has oppressed me and has conspired to kill me.'"[552]

Eight Deductions from the Verses Regarding Aaron and Moses (ع)

1. The Brotherhood of Moses and Aaron

Moses and Aaron (ع) were brothers and not cousins as the annotator of Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim indicated. The word brother is always used in the Qur`ān and there is no indication of Aaron (ع) being the cousin of Moses (ع) in the verses, "Aaron, my brother,"[553] "Moses and his brother Aaron,"[554] "My brother Aaron,"[555] and most clearly in the verse, "O son of my mother."[556]

2. Moses (ع) Pled to Allāh to Have Aaron (ع)

In a number of these verses, Moses (ع) clearly asked Allāh to be granted the help of Aaron (ع) as a vizier, a brother, a supporter, and a source of authority.[557]

3. Aaron (ع) was the Vizier and Helper of Moses (ع)

A vizier is a chief helper, a "right-hand man," or someone who bears much of the burden of carrying out one's tasks. As such, Moses (ع) pled to Allāh, "Grant me a vizier from my people, Aaron, my brother."[558] The Qur`ān also says, "We gave Moses the Book, and placed Aaron alongside him as a vizier."[559]

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[549] Qur`ān 28:33-35.
[550] Qur`ān 37:114-120.
[551] Qur`ān 7:142.
[552] Qur`ān 7:150.
[553] Qur`ān 20:30.
[554] Qur`ān 23:45.
[555] Qur`ān 28:34.
[556] Qur`ān 7:150.
[557] Qur`ān 20:25-35, 26:12-14, 28:33-34.
[558] Qur`ān 20:29-30.
[559] Qur`ān 25:35.

4. Moses and Aaron (ع) were Partners, Inseparable in Their Rendering of Guidance

The Qur`ān says:

1. "[We] placed Aaron alongside him (i.e. Moses)."[560]
2. "Next We sent Moses and Aaron."[561]
3. "We granted Moses and Aaron."[562]
4. "We sent Moses and his brother Aaron."[563]
5. "We gave Moses the Book and placed Aaron alongside him."[564]
6. "Let both of you go off with Our signs."[565]
7. "[We shall] grant both of you authority."[566]
8. "We endowed Moses and Aaron and saved both of them and their people from serious distress."[567]

This does not mean that both of them were equal in receiving messages from Allāh. We know that Moses (ع) was the bringer of the Book and knowledge for his people. However, Aaron and Moses (ع) were one and inseparable in delivering this divine message to the people. In fact, the Qur`ān refers to the Children of Israel as "their people,"[568] referring to both Moses and Aaron (ع). In fact, Moses and Aaron (ع) were partners, as it made clear by the Qur`ān, according to which Moses (ع) said, "Make him my partner in my affairs."[569]

5. Moses and Aaron (ع) are to be Blessed by Future Generations

The Qur`ān says, "[We] left for them among later generations [the salutation]: 'Peace be upon Moses and Aaron!'"[570]

6. The Houses of Moses, Aaron, and the Offspring of Aaron (ع) are Mosques

The Qur`ān says, "And we revealed to Moses and his brother: Take houses for your people in Egypt and set your houses as centers of worship."[571]

7. Aaron (ع) was the Designated Successor (Khalīf) of Moses (ع)

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[560] Qur`ān 25:35.
[561] Qur`ān 10:75.
[562] Qur`ān 21:48.
[563] Qur`ān 23:45.
[564] Qur`ān 25:35.
[565] Qur`ān 26:15.
[566] Qur`ān 28:35.
[567] Qur`ān 37:114-115.
[568] Qur`ān 37:115.
[569] Qur`ān 20:32.
[570] Qur`ān 37:120.
[571] Qur`ān 10:87.

The Qur`ān clearly states that Aaron (ع) was the khalīf of Moses (ع), as Moses told his brother Aaron, "Be my caliph (akhlufnī) among the people and do good. Do not follow the path of the mischievous."[572]

8. Aaron (ع) was Oppressed by the Children of Israel

According to the Qur`ān,

> [Aaron] said, "O son of my mother! The tribe has oppressed me and has conspired to kill me."[573]

We will now establish that ʻAlī (ع) had the same relationship to the Prophet (ص) as Aaron (ع) did to Moses (ع) in these eight respects. Many other virtues for ʻAlī (ع) can also be deduced from these and other verses, but for the sake of brevity we will limit our discussion to these eight topics.

1. The Brotherhood of the Prophet (ص) and ʻAlī (ع)

The designation of brotherhood between the Prophet (ص) and ʻAlī (ع) is among ʻAlī's (ع) undeniable virtues, as it has been related through innumerable chains of transmission. Some of these traditions as well as Sunnī sources citing the brotherhood between the Prophet (ص) and ʻAlī (ع) were presented and discussed in chapter 6. These traditions are best summarized by the words of the Prophet (ص), "O ʻAlī, you are my brother in this world and in the hereafter."[574]

2. The Prophet (ص) Pled to Allāh to Have ʻAlī (ع)

According to Abū Dharr,

> I was praying the noon prayers with the Messenger of Allāh (ص) one day. A beggar begged in the mosque, but no one gave him anything. So the beggar raised his hands to the heavens and said, "Allāh, bear witness that I have begged in the mosque of the Messenger of Allāh, and no one has given me anything."
>
> ʻAlī was bending in prayer (performing rukūʻ). He pointed to the little finger of his right hand, on which was a ring. The beggar went forward until he took the ring from ʻAlī's finger in front of the Prophet's (ص) eyes.
>
> The Prophet (ص) said, "O Allāh, indeed my brother Moses asked you, 'My Lord, ease my breast for me! Make my affair easier for me, and remove the impediment of my speech so they may understand what I say. Grant me a vizier from my people, Aaron, my brother. Back me up by means of him and make him a partner in my affair.'[575] And you revealed [a response that is found] in the Qur`ān, saying, 'We shall strengthen your arm by means of your brother and

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[572] Qur`ān 7:142.
[573] Qur`ān 7:150.
[574] Sunan Tirmidhī #3720; Mustadrak Ḥākim #4288-9; Usd al-Ghābah 3:294 #3789 (ʻAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib); Istīʻāb 3:202-3 #1875 (ʻAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib); Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:124; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:371; Tārīkh al-Khulafā` 152. Jāmiʻ al-Ṣaghīr Suyūṭī (#5589) and Kanz al-ʻUmmāl (#32879) cite only the last sentence.
[575] Qur`ān 20:26-32.

> grant both of you authority so they will not overtake anyone who follows you.'[576] O Allāh! I am Muḥammad, Your messenger and your selected one. My Lord! Ease my breast for me, make my affair easier for me, and grant me a vizier from my own people, ʿAlī, and back me up by means of him!"
>
> By Allāh, the words of the Messenger of Allāh (ص) had not yet ended when Gabriel was sent by Allāh and said, "O Muḥammad, Recite—'Your walī is only Allāh and His Messenger and those who believe—the believers who stand in prayer [and] pay zakāt while performing rukū.ʾ[577]"[578]

In addition, Asmāʾ bint ʿUmays said,

> I heard the Messenger of Allāh (ص) say, "O Allāh, I say the way my brother Moses said—O Allāh! Grant me a vizier from my family (ahl), my brother ʿAlī, strengthen me by him, and make him a partner in my affair so that we may glorify You a lot and remember You much. You are all-seeing towards us."[579]

According to Suyūṭī,

> When the verse, "Grant me a vizier from my people, Aaron, my brother. Back me up by means of him and make him a partner in my affair,"[580] was revealed, the Prophet (ص) was on a mountain. He then prayed to his Lord, saying, "O Allāh! Back me up by means of my brother ʿAlī." This [prayer] was answered.[581]

3. ʿAlī (ع) was the Vizier and Helper of the Prophet (ص)

The last tradition quoted states that ʿAlī (ع) was the Prophet's (ص) vizier. There are indeed numerous other traditions that state that ʿAlī (ع) was the Prophet's (ص) vizier and helper. The following are just a few such examples:

Tradition 1

> The Prophet (ص) told ʿAlī, "You are my brother, my vizier, and the best of those I leave behind after me."[582]

Tradition 2

> The Prophet (ص) said, "It is written on the throne, 'There is no god but Allāh, the One with no partner. Muḥammad is My servant and messenger and I have strengthened him with ʿAlī and have supported him by ʿAlī.'"[583] According to Abū Hurayrah, this fact is reflected in the Qurʾānic verse, "He is the One who

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[576] Qurʾān 28:35.
[577] Qurʾān 5:55.
[578] Tafsīr Rāzī and Tafsīr Nīsābūrī, verse 5:55. Similarly, Tafsīr Thaʿlabī, verse 5:55.
[579] Faḍāʾil Ḥanbal #1158; Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:118.
[580] Qurʾān 20:29-32.
[581] Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, verses 20:26-33.
[582] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 13:228.
[583] Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, verse 8:62; Tārīkh Damishq 42:360. Similarly, Tārīkh Baghdād #5876 (ʿĪsā ibn Muḥammad); Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #33040-1.

> aids you through His own support and by means of the believers,"[584] which was revealed regarding ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib (ع).[585]

Tradition 3

> The Messenger of Allāh (ص) said: Two thousand years before Allāh created the heavens and earth, it was written on the gate of paradise, "There is no god but Allāh; Muḥammad is a messenger of Allāh; I have strengthened him by ʿAlī."[586]

Tradition 4

> Abū Mūsā al-Ḥumaydī said: I was with the Messenger of Allāh (ص) and with him were Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, ʿUthmān, a number of other companions, and ʿAlī. [The Prophet (ص)] turned to Abū Bakr and said, "Abū Bakr! This whom you see (ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib) is my vizier in the heavens and on earth. So if you want to meet Allāh when He is content with you, make ʿAlī content with you, for his satisfaction is the satisfaction of Allāh and his wrath is the wrath of Allāh."[587]

Tradition 5

> ʿAlī looked in the faces of the crowds and said, "I am the brother of the Messenger of Allāh (ص) and his vizier. You know that I was the first among you to believe in Allāh and His Messenger (ص). You adopted Islām after me group by group. I am the son of the paternal uncle of the Messenger of Allāh (ص), his brother, his partner in his lineage, the father of his children, and the spouse of his daughter [who is] the chief of his offspring and the chief of the women of paradise. And you know that we never left on any mission except that we returned with my being the most beloved among you [to the Prophet (ص)], the one he [held as] the most trustworthy among you, the best among you in defeating the enemy, and the most influential among you in inflicting harm on the enemy. You verily saw [the Prophet (ص)] select me to deliver the [verses of] renunciation (barāʾah). When he set brotherhood among the Muslims, he did not select anyone for himself but me, and he told me, 'You are my brother and I am your brother in this world and in the hereafter.' And when he expelled the people from the mosque and left me [there], he told me, 'You are to me like Aaron was to Moses, except that there is no prophecy after me.'"[588]

4. The Prophet (ص) and ʿAlī (ع) were Partners, Inseparable in Their Rendering of Guidance

This topic will be addressed in the discussion of the Mubāhalah and the verses of renunciation (barāʾah) in chapters 29 and 32, respectively.

5. The Prophet (ص) and ʿAlī (ع) are to be Blessed by All Muslims Through the Ṣalawāt

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584. Qurʾān 8:62.
585. Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, verse 8:62; Tārīkh Damishq 42:360.
586. Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #33042; Tārīkh Damishq 42:336; Shawāhid al-Tanzīl #302, verse 8:62.
587. Yanābīʿ al-Mawaddah 2:288-9.
588. Manāqib Ibn Mughāzilī #154.

According to the Qur`ān, "[We] left for them among later generations [the salutation], 'Peace be upon Moses and Aaron!'"[589] As such, the Children of Israel are required to send blessings upon Moses and Aaron (ع). Similarly, Muslims are required to invoke blessings (ṣalawāt) for the Prophet (ص) in every prayer, saying, "Allāhumma ṣalli ʿalā Muḥammad-in wa āl-i Muḥammad," which means, "O Allāh, bless Muḥammad and his family."[590] This is similar to the blessings Allāh required to be invoked for Moses and Aaron (ع) in the Qur`ān. To highlight the similarities, it is necessary at this point to examine the verses and traditions regarding the ṣalawāt for the Prophet (ص) and his Ahl al-Bayt (ع).

Qur`ānic Verse 1: Peace be Upon Il Yāsīn

> Peace be upon Moses and Aaron! Thus do We reward the good. They were both among our believing servants... Peace be upon *il Yāsīn*! Thus do We reward the good.[591]

It has been claimed that "il Yāsīn" may be referring to the Prophet (ص) Ilyās (Elijah), but this is not correct because "il" would not be written as a separate word form "Yāsīn." Furthermore, if the verse were referring to Ilyās, it would simply say, "Peace be upon Ilyās," not "Ilyāsīn."

Another interpretation, according to several Sunnī commentators, is that it is properly pronounced as "āl-i Yāsīn," which would be written in the same way, and that it refers to the family (āl) of Muḥammad (ص).[592] The following traditions clarify that the āl-i Yāsīn are the family of (āl-i) Muḥammad (ص):

1. Ibn ʿAbbās said in regards to [Allāh's] word, "Peace be upon āl-i Yāsīn," "They are the āl-i Muḥammad (ص)."[593]
2. ʿAlī (ع) said in regards to this verse, "Yāsīn is Muḥammad (ص) and we [āl-i Muḥammad] are the āl-i Yāsīn."[594]
3. ʿAlī (ع) said, "The Messenger of Allāh (ص) is Yāsīn and we are his āl (family)."[595]
4. ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās said in regards to the verse, "It means [Peace be upon] āl-i Muḥammad (ص) (the family of Muḥammad). 'Yāsīn' in the Syriac (Siryānī) language means, 'O man, O Muḥammad.'"[596]
5. Kalbī said, "The meaning of āl-i Yāsīn (the family of Yāsīn is āl-i Muḥammad (the family of Muḥammad)."[597]

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[589] Qur`ān 37:119-120.

[590] For example, Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, book 4, chapter 15 is entitled, "Blessings on the Prophet after tashahhud."

[591] Qur`ān 37:120-122, 130-131.

[592] Tafsīr Rāzī, Tafsīr Ibn Kathīr, Tafsīr Shawkānī, Tafsīr Fīrūzābādī, Tafsīr Samarqandī, Tafsīr Māwardī, Tafsīr Baghawī, Tafsīr Ibn al-Jawzī, Tafsīr Khāzin, Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, and Tafsīr Thaʿlabī, verse 37:130.

[593] Shawāhid al-Tanzīl #791-2, verse 37:130. Similarly, Majmaʿ al-Zawā`id #15026.

[594] Shawāhid al-Tanzīl #793, verse 37:130. Similarly, Tafsir al-Durr al-Manthūr, verse 37:130.

[595] Shawāhid al-Tanzīl #794, verse 37:130.

[596] Shawāhid al-Tanzīl #796, verse 37:130.

[597] Tafsīr Shawkānī, verse 37:130.

In fact, it is evident that Yāsīn is Muḥammad (ص) because the Qur`ān says, "[O] Yāsīn, by the Qur`ān full of wisdom, you are among the messengers."[598] According to Ibn 'Abbās, Ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah, Ka'b al-Aḥbār, and Sa'īd ibn Jubayr, the Prophet (ص) is being addressed by the title Yāsīn in this verse.[599] Moreover, in the next sūrah, Sūrah Ṣāffāt,[600] the Qur`ān says, "Peace be upon Noah,"[601] and "Peace be upon Abraham,"[602] and "Peace be upon Moses and Aaron,"[603] and "Peace be upon āl-i Yāsīn (il-Yāsīn),"[604] and then ends the Sūrah with, "Peace upon the messengers and praise be to Allāh, the Lord of the worlds."[605] Clearly, this sūrah is sending peace unto the messengers and then places āl-i Yāsīn, which is the Ahl al-Bayt of Muḥammad (ص), alongside the messengers. It is noteworthy that the Qur`ān does not send peace on the families of any of the other messengers listed such as Noah, Abraham, Moses, and Aaron (ع). Listing the family of Yāsīn in this context is only explicable if the reference is to the family of Muḥammad (ع), who are equivalent and indeed superior to the prophets before and upon whom sending salutations of peace is mandatory.

Qur`ānic Verse 2: Believers Must Send Ṣalawāt to the Prophet

> Allāh and His angels send ṣalawāt upon the Prophet. You who believe, send ṣalawāt upon him and salute him with a proper salutation.[606]

This verse refers to the believers sending blessings (ṣalawāt) on the Prophet (ص). There are numerous traditions that clarify exactly how to send this ṣalawāt.

Proper Form of Ṣalawāt According to Sunnī Traditions

There is unanimity among Muslims that the proper basic salutation (ṣalawāt) for the Prophet (ص) is the phrase, "Allāhumma ṣalli 'alā Muḥammad-in wa āl-i Muḥammad." This means, "O Allāh, bless Muḥammad and the family of Muḥammad." There are some lengthier variations of this, but all of them include the salutation to Muḥammad (ص) and his family (ع). As the traditions in this regards are numerous and undoubted among Shī'ah and Sunnīs alike, just a few will be listed from Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī:

1. Narrated Ka'b ibn 'Ujrah: I said, "O Allāh's Apostle! We know how to greet you, but how do we invoke Allāh for you?" The Prophet said, "Say: Allāhumma ṣalli 'alā Muḥammad-in wa 'alā āl-i Muḥammad-in kamā ṣallayta 'alā Ibrāhīma wa 'alā āl-i Ibrāhīm, innaka ḥamīdun majīd. Allāhumma bārak 'alā Muḥammad-in wa 'alā āl-i Muḥammad-in kamā bārakta 'alā Ibrāhīma wa 'alā āl-i Ibrāhīm, innaka ḥamīdun majīd (O Allāh! Bless Muḥammad and the family of Muḥammad the way You blessed Abraham and the family of Abraham. Verily you are praiseworthy and glorious. O Allāh! Grant to Muḥammad and the family of

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[598] Qur`ān 36:1-3.

[599] Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr (Ibn 'Abbās, Ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah, and Ka'b al-Aḥbār) and Tafsīr Qurṭubī (Sa'īd ibn Jubayr), verse 36:1.

[600] Qur`ān, sūrah 37.

[601] Qur`ān 37:79.

[602] Qur`ān 37:109.

[603] Qur`ān 37:120.

[604] Qur`ān 37:130.

[605] Qur`ān 37:181-2.

[606] Qur`ān 33:56.

Muḥammad the way You granted to Abraham and the family of Abraham. Verily you are praiseworthy and glorious)."[607]

2. According to Abū Sa´īd al-Khudrī, the Prophet taught him the proper ṣalawāt as follows: "Allāhumma ṣalli ´alā Muḥammadin ´abdika wa rasūlika kamā ṣallayta ´alā Ibrāhīma wa bārak ´alā Muḥammad-in wa āl-i Muḥammad-in kamā bārakta ´alā Ibrāhīma wa āl-i Ibrāhīm (O Allāh, bless Muḥammad and the family of Muḥammad the way You blessed Abraham, and grant to Muḥammad and the family of Muḥammad the way You granted to Abraham and the family of Abraham)."[608]

3. Narrated ´Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Laylā: Ka´b ibn ´Ujrah met me and said: Shall I give you a present? Once the Prophet came to us and we said, "O Allāh's Apostle! We know how to greet you; but how do we send ṣalāt upon you?" He said, "Say: Allāhumma ṣalli ´alā Muḥammad-in wa ´alā āl-i Muḥammad-in kamā ṣallayta ´alā āl-i Ibrāhīm, innaka ḥamīdun majīd. Allāhumma bārak ´alā Muḥammad-in wa ´alā āl-i Muḥammad-in kamā bārakta ´alā āl-i Ibrāhīm, innaka ḥamīdun majīd (O Allāh! Bless Muḥammad and the family of Muḥammad the way You blessed the family of Abraham. Verily you are praiseworthy and glorious. O Allāh! Grant to Muḥammad and the family of Muḥammad the way You granted to the family of Abraham. Verily you are praiseworthy and glorious.)."[609]

4. Narrated Abū Sa´īd al-Khudrī: We said, "O Allāh's Apostle! This is (i.e. we know) the greeting to you; will you tell us how to send ṣalāt on you?" He said, "Say: Allāhumma ṣalli ´alā Muḥammad-in ´abdika wa rasūlika kamā ṣallayta ´alā Ibrāhīma wa bārak ´alā Muḥammad-in wa āl-i Muḥammad-in kamā bārakta ´alā Ibrāhīma wa āl-i Ibrāhīm (O Allāh! Bless Muḥammad, Your servant and messenger, the way You blessed Abraham. And grant to Muḥammad and the family of Muḥammad the way You granted to Abraham and the family of Abraham)."[610]

The Prophet (ص) Asked for Allāh's Blessings for His Ahl al-Bayt (ع)

Umm Salamah said that when the Messenger of Allāh (ص) had the five members of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) under his cloak,[611] he prayed for them, saying, "O Allāh! These are the family (āl) of Muḥammad. So set your ṣalawāt and blessings upon Muḥammad and the family of Muḥammad, for you are the praiseworthy, the glorious." Umm Salamah added, "I lifted the cloak to join them, but he drew it away from my hand and said, 'You are on a good [path].'"[612]

The Importance of Ṣalawāt According to the Prophet (ص)

Ṣalawāt is so important that the Messenger of Allāh (ص) said, "A prayer (du´ā`) is deprived of [the grace of] Allāh until the one who prays sends ṣalawāt upon Muḥammad and his Ahl al-Bayt."[613] It is noteworthy that all Sunnīs and Shī'ah alike believe that the formal prayers (ṣalāt) must include the ṣalawāt for Muḥammad (ص) and his family (ع).

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[607] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #6.60.320. Note that the translation was incomplete so the complete tradition was translated from the Arabic original #5996.

[608] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #6.60.321. Arabic original #5997.

[609] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #8.75.368.

[610] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #8.75.369.

[611] Refer to chapter 14 for further detail regarding this incident.

[612] Musnad Ḥanbal #26789.

Ṣalawāts that Leave Out the Family of Muḥammad (ص) are Worthless

The Messenger of Allāh (ص) said, "Do not send an incomplete ṣalawāt upon me." The people asked, "And what is an incomplete ṣalawāt, O Messenger of Allāh?" He replied, "[When] they say, 'O Allāh, bless Muḥammad,' and then they stop. They should [instead] say, 'O Allāh, bless Muḥammad and the family (āl) of Muḥammad.'"[614]

Even though Sunnīs perform the complete ṣalawāt during prayers (ṣalāt) for fear of otherwise nullifying their prayers, after references to the Prophet (ص), they typically say "ṣall Allāhu 'alayhi wa sallam (May Allāh's blessings and peace be upon him)." The Shī'ah typically follow references to the Prophet (ص) with the phrase "ṣall Allāhu 'alayhi wa ālihi wa sallam (May Allāh's blessings and peace be upon him and his family)." Of course, the Shī'ah version complies with the requirements for a proper salutation based on the Prophet's (ص) undisputed traditions. Indeed, it is not clear why anyone would omit the family of the Prophet (ص) in their salutations, when the traditions definitively state that family of the Prophet (ص) ought to be included. Indeed, some have felt compelled to add the Prophet's (ص) wives and companions to the mix, just so that they would not be blessing only the Prophet (ص) and his Ahl al-Bayt (ع). Thus, one often hears, "ṣall Allāhu 'alayhi wa 'alā ālihi wa aṣḥābihi wa azwājihi wa sallam (May Allāh's blessings and peace be upon him, his family, his companions, and his wives)." This is clearly a later innovation.

Proof of the Imāmate Based on the Ṣalawāt

In the ṣalawāt, one asks Allāh to bless the Prophet (ص) and his family (ع) the way Abraham and his family (ع) were blessed. One of the blessings of Abraham and his family was that they were chosen as imāms. According to the Qur'ān,

> When Abraham's Lord tested him by means of [certain] words and he fulfilled them, [Allāh] said, "I am going to make you into an imām for mankind." Abraham asked, "And my offspring [as well]?" [Allāh] replied, "My covenant does not apply to oppressors (ẓālimīn)."[615]

Therefore, the key blessing to Abraham (ع) and his family was that Allāh selected Abraham and the non-oppressors (i.e. non-sinners) from his family (ع) as specifically-designated and rightful imāms. Since sinning is an oppression of one's own soul according to the Qur'ān,[616] only non-sinners from Abraham's (ع) family were chosen by Allāh to be divinely-appointed imāms. Therefore, if Allāh were to bless Muḥammad (ص) and his family the way He blessed Abraham (ع) and his family, He would have to select the Prophet (ص) and the sinless ones from his family (ع) as imāms, as He did. Otherwise, Allāh would not be giving the Prophet (ص) and his family the blessings He gave Abraham (ع) and his family. Indeed, the insistence of the Prophet (ص) in all the traditions on including his family (ع) is proof of the importance of the fact that he and his

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[613] Jāmi' al-Ṣaghīr Suyūṭī #4266; Majma' al-Zawā'id #17278 (certifies those in the chain as trustworthy); Kanz al-'Ummāl #3215; Mu'jam al-Awsaṭ Ṭabarānī #725.

[614] Yanābī' al-Mawaddah 1:37.

[615] Qur'ān 2:124.

[616] Qur'ān 65:1.

Ahl al-Bayt (ع) are like the family of Abraham (ع) in that they are both blessed with the imāmate.

6. The Houses of the Prophet (ص), ʿAlī, and the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) were Designated as Mosques

This topic was discussed in chapter 9, where it was shown that all the doors to the Prophet's Mosque were shut except for the door of ʿAlī (ع). The Prophet (ص) explained that since ʿAlī (ع) was to him as Aaron (ع) was to Moses (ع), and since the Qur`ān made it clear that the houses of Moses, Aaron, and the offspring of Aaron (ع) were to be taken as mosques, the houses of the Prophet (ص), ʿAlī, Fāṭimah, Ḥasan, and Ḥusayn (ع) were also to be taken as mosques. As such, only these five individuals from among all the companions could live within a mosque, could have entrances from their houses to the mosque, and could enter the mosque during the state of sexual impurity (junub) or while menstruating.

7. ʿAlī (ع) was the Successor (Khalīf) of the Prophet (ص)

The Qur`ān says,

> We appointed thirty nights for Moses and completed them with ten; the appointment with his Lord was completed in forty nights. Moses told his brother Aaron, "Be my successor (khalīf) among the people and do good. Do not follow the path of the mischievous."[617]

This verse is clear that Aaron (ع) was the khalīf of Moses (ع). A khalīf is one who is chosen by an individual to take his place among the people. If he is not chosen by the individual, he is instead referred to as a khālif, which is one who happens to succeed an individual but who is not appointed.

Abū Bakr was Not the Prophet's (ص) Khalīf but His Khālif

Tradition 1

> A Bedouin asked Abū Bakr, "Are you the khalīf of the Messenger of Allāh (ص)?" Abū Bakr replied, "No." The Bedouin asked, "So what are you?" Abū Bakr said, "I am the khālif after him."[618]

Tradition 2

> ʿUmar told Abū Bakr, "Will you not get a pledge of allegiance from this refrainer (ʿAlī)?" Abū Bakr told his freedman, Qunfudh, "Go and call ʿAlī to come to me." Qunfudh went to ʿAlī. ʿAlī asked him, "What do you want?" Qunfudh said, "The khalīf of the Messenger of Allāh wants you." ʿAlī said, "How quickly you have appended lies to the Messenger of Allāh (ص)."[619]

What ʿAlī (ع) was saying was that Abū Bakr was by no means the khalīf of the Messenger of Allāh (ص) because the Prophet (ص) had not selected Abū Bakr as his khalīf

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[617] Qur`ān 7:142.
[618] Al-Nihāyah fī Gharīb al-Ḥadīth of Ibn Athīr 2:69.
[619] Imāmah wa Sīyāsah 22.

(successor), but that rather it was a small group of people at the Saqīfah of the Banū Sā'idah who had done so. It would, however, have been linguistically correct if Qunfudh had said, "The khālif of the Messenger of Allāh wants you." It is therefore clear that Abū Bakr was the Prophet's (ص) khālif, or non-appointed successor, while 'Alī (ع) was his khalīf, or appointed successor. There are numerous Sunnī traditions citing 'Alī (ع) as the khalīf of the Prophet (ص). For the sake of brevity, we will cite only a handful of these.

The Qur'ānic Verse, "Your Companion Has Neither Strayed nor is He Misguided," was Revealed Regarding the Appointment of 'Alī (ع) as the Prophet's (ص) Khalīf

According to Anas ibn Mālik,

> During the time of the Prophet (ص), a meteorite fell. The Messenger of Allāh (ص) said, "Look at this meteorite. Whoever's house it falls into, he will be the khalīf after me." We watched and saw it fall into the house of 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib. A group of people said, "Muḥammad is speaking nonsense out of his love for 'Alī." So Allāh, the oft-high, sent the verse, "By the star as it sets, your companion has neither strayed nor is he misguided. He does not speak from some whim; it is merely inspiration that is revealed."[620,621]

According to 'Alī,

> The Prophet (ص) said, "When this meteorite falls into the house of one of my companions, look at whose it is, for he will be my successor over you after me (khalīfatī 'alaykum ba'dī) and the one who will rise among you in accordance with my orders (al-qā'im fīkum bi-amrī)." When the meteorite fell into my house, the group said, "By Allāh, this man has strayed and he has spoken nonsense." So Allāh revealed the verse, "By the star as it sets, your companion has neither strayed nor is he misguided."[622]

Traditions Stating that 'Alī (ع) was the Prophet's (ص) Khalīf

Tradition 1

When the Prophet (ص) gathered his closest kinsmen, he told them,

> This is my brother, my agent (waṣī), and my successor (khalīfah) among you, so listen to him and obey him.[623]

Tradition 2

When leaving for the Battle of Tabūk, the Messenger of Allāh (ص) told 'Alī,

> It is impossible for me to leave without you being my khalīf.

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620. Qur'ān 53:1-4.
621. Shawāhid al-Tanzīl #910, verse 53:1-4; Manāqib Ibn Mughāzilī #313.
622. Shawāhid al-Tanzīl #914, verse 53:1-4. Similarly, Shawāhid al-Tanzīl #913. A similar tradition has also been related from Ibn 'Abbās (Shawāhid al-Tanzīl #912).
623. Tārīkh Ṭabarī 6:89-92. Refer to chapter 2 for the tradition of kinsmen and its numerous sources.

This widely narrated tradition appears in Mustadrak Ḥākim,[624] Musnad Ḥanbal,[625] Mu´jam al-Kabīr Ṭabarānī,[626] Tārīkh ibn Kathīr,[627] Faḍā‘il Ḥanbal,[628] Kanz al-´Ummāl,[629] Majma´ al-Zawā‘id,[630] Tārīkh Damishq,[631] Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah,[632] Dhakhā‘ir al-´Uqbā,[633] and Iṣābah.[634]

Tradition 3

> Ibn ´Abbās said: There will soon be wickedness and discord. If any of you are around when it comes, take two things—the Book of Allāh and ´Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib—because I heard the Messenger of Allāh (ص), while he was holding the hand of ´Alī, say, "This is the first who believed in me and the first who will give me his hand [on the Day of Judgment]. He is the divider (fārūq) of this nation as he separates between truth and falsehood. He is the chief (ya´sūb) of the believers, while the chief of the oppressors is the wealth [of this world]. He is the more truthful one (al-ṣiddīq al-akbar), he is the door through which I am reached, and he is my khalīf (successor) after me."[635]

Tradition 4

> Salmān al-Fārsī said: I heard the Messenger of Allāh (ص) say, "My waṣī (executor) and successor (khalīfah) and the best of those I leave behind after me and the one who will enact my promises and fulfill my obligations is ´Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib."[636]

Tradition 5

> The Prophet (ص) said, "´Alī and I were one light in the hand of Allāh, the great and glorious. This light praised Allāh in His purity and praised His greatness for one thousand years before Adam was created. When Allāh created Adam, He put this light in his loin. We were one until we separated in the loin of ´Abd al-Muṭṭalib. So for me is the prophecy and for ´Alī is the caliphate (khilāfah)."[637]

Tradition 6

> The Messenger of Allāh (ص) said, "O ´Alī! You will fulfill my obligations and you are my khalīf (successor) over my nation."[638]

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[624] Mustadrak Ḥākim #4652 (certifies the tradition as authentic).

[625] Musnad Ḥanbal #3062-3.

[626] Mu´jam al-Kabīr Ṭabarānī 12:78.

[627] Tārīkh ibn Kathīr 7:374.

[628] Faḍā‘il Ḥanbal #1168.

[629] Kanz al-´Ummāl #32931.

[630] Majma´ al-Zawā‘id #14696 (certifies those in the chain as trustworthy).

[631] Tārīkh Damishq 42:100, 42:102.

[632] Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 1:221, 3:175.

[633] Dhakhā‘ir al-´Uqbā 87.

[634] Iṣābah 2:1296 #5690 (´Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib).

[635] Tārīkh Damishq 42:42. Refer to chapter 1 for sources of similar traditions.

[636] Shawāhid al-Tanzīl #115, verse 2:30.

[637] Manāqib Ibn Mughāzilī #130. A very similar tradition in Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:120 and Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd (9:171) cites fourteen thousand years instead of one thousand years. Note that Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah states that this tradition appears in Faḍā‘il Ḥanbal, and Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd similarly states that Ḥanbal includes this tradition in both Musnad Ḥanbal and Faḍā‘il Ḥanbal, yet it appears in neither, making it likely that the tradition was deleted in later years in a process of deliberate textual corruption.

[638] Yanābī´ al-Mawaddah 2:280.

Tradition 7

> Umm Salamah told ʿĀʾishah at the beginning of the Battle of Jamal: Do you remember when you and I were with the Messenger of Allāh (ص) on a trip? ʿAlī pledged to take care of repairing the shoes of the Messenger of Allāh (ص) so he repaired them, and he pledged to take care of his clothes so he washed them. He was sewing a shoe while sitting under the shade of a tree. Your father (i.e. Abū Bakr) and ʿUmar came. They asked us permission [to enter], so we rose to cover. The two entered and asked the Prophet (ص) what they intended to ask. They then said, "O Messenger of Allāh! We will not know the value of your companionship with us until you tell us who will be made [your] khalīf (successor) over us, so that we will have a source of refuge after you." He told them, "If I do [tell you], you will disperse from around him the way the Children of Israel dispersed from around Aaron the son of ʿImrān." The two remained quiet and then left the Messenger of Allāh (ص). When we went to the Messenger of Allāh (ص)—and you were braver than the rest of us were—you asked him, "O Messenger of Allāh, who are you appointing [as your] successor (khalīf) over them?" He replied, "The sewer of the shoe." We came down and saw no one but ʿAlī. You said, "O Messenger of Allāh, we do not see anyone but ʿAlī." He said, "It is him!" ʿĀʾishah then said, "Yes, I remember this." I said, "Then what battle are you setting out for after [remembering] this [event]?" She said, "I am setting out for battle to bring good for the people and I see [some] reward in it, Allāh willing." I replied, "You and your opinion!"[639]

Tradition 8

> The Prophet (ص) said, "I leave among you two khalīfs (successors)—the Book of Allāh and my offspring, my Ahl al-Bayt."[640]

These traditions and many others citing ʿAlī as the successor (khalīf) of the Prophet (ص) are so explicit that they leave little room for denying the fact that ʿAlī (ع) was the designated successor of the Prophet (ص), as Aaron (ع) was the designated successor of Moses (ع).

8. ʿAlī and Aaron (ع) were Oppressed by Their Respective Nations

According to the Qurʾān,

> When Moses came back to his people, angry and grieved, he said, "You conducted my successorship after me so awfully (biʾsamā khalaftumūnī min baʿdī)! Did you hasten to bring on the judgment of your Lord?" He dropped the tablets, seized his brother by his head, and dragged him to him. [Aaron] said, "O son of my mother! The tribe has oppressed me and has conspired to kill me. Do not allow the enemies to rejoice over my [misfortune], and do not count me among the oppressors."[641]

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[639] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 6:218.

[640] Musnad Ḥanbal #21618, #21697; Faḍāʾil Ḥanbal #1032, #1403; Jāmiʿ al-Ṣaghīr Suyūṭī #2631; Majmaʿ al-Zawāʾid #784 (certifies those in the chain of transmission as trustworthy); Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #872, #947, #1667; Yanābīʿ al-Mawaddah 1:119, 1:120, 2:90.

[641] Qurʾān 7:150.

The background to this verse is that Moses (ع) left the Children of Israel for forty days as per the command of his Lord. Aaron (ع), who was the designated khalīf of Moses (ع), was left in charge of the people. In the meanwhile, Sāmirī made a calf out of gold and called the Children of Israel to its worship. They obeyed him en masse and started worshipping the calf, abandoning Aaron (ع) and his devotion to Allāh. When Aaron tried to prevent the nation from abandoning submission to Allāh in favor of idolatry, the Children of Israel oppressed him and conspired to kill him, so he was forced into a state of quietude and taqīyyah.

Moses (ع) returned after forty nights and was infuriated upon finding his people worshipping the calf. He dropped all the tablets on which the word of Allāh were inscribed and seized his brother by the head, pulling him towards himself. This is when Aaron (ع) explained that he had tried to tell the people not to worship the calf but that they would not listen. Rather, they oppressed him and even conspired to kill him. As such, he could not prevent the tribe from doing what they did.

The same is true regarding ʿAlī (ع). The Messenger of Allāh (ص) left ʿAlī (ع) behind for the Muslim community as his successor (khalīf). The Muslims, with few exceptions, not only did not listen to him but also oppressed him and even conspired to assassinate him. ʿAlī (ع) was therefore the oppressed one in the Muslim nation, just as Aaron (ع) was the oppressed one among the Children of Israel. Similarly, the subsequent imāms of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) called the people to the truth, but were repaid by imprisonment, poison, assassination, and open massacre.

This incident also proves that Aaron (ع) practiced taqīyyah to the point that to many observers he appeared content with what was happening with the worship of the calf. As such, the Jews and Christians to this day believe that Aaron (ع) was complicit in worshipping the calf. This is a clear example of taqīyyah, or hiding one's beliefs in order to save one's own life. This is what ʿAlī (ع) had to do after the Prophet's (ص) death when the nation strayed in order to protect his life and Islām from the deviation of the straying nation.

Of note, the comments of Moses (ع) in the Qurʾān, "You conducted my successorship after me so awfully (biʾsamā khalaftumūnī min baʿdī)!" has clear corollaries to what the Prophet (ص) will say to the Muslim nation. Indeed, the historical accounts in the Qurʾān are not mere stories from the past, but rather "a reminder to the believers,"[642] that what happened to the Jews and Christians will occur to the Muslim nation as well, as was guaranteed by the Prophet (ص).[643] Since the Jews conducted the successorship (khilāfah) of Moses (ع) awfully, there is no doubt that the Muslims would conduct the successorship (khilāfah) of Muḥammad (ص) awfully as well, a fact that history has borne out to be true.

There are numerous traditions according to which the Prophet (ص) predicted that ʿAlī (ع) would be oppressed by the Muslim nation just as Aaron (ع) was oppressed by the Children of Israel. The following are a few examples:

Tradition 1

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[642] Qurʾān 7:2.
[643] Refer to chapter 36.

ʹAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib said: When the Messenger of Allāh (ص) took my hand and we were walking in the streets of Madīnah, we reached an orchard. I said, "O Messenger of Allāh, what a beautiful orchard!" He said, "What is yours in the gardens [of paradise] is better than this." We reached another orchard. I said, "O Messenger of Allāh, what a beautiful orchard!" He said, "What is yours in the gardens [of paradise] is better than this." We went by seven orchards. Each time I said, "How beautiful!" [and each time] he replied, "What is yours in the gardens [of paradise] is better than this."

When [we got to a place where] there were no people on the road, he hugged me. Tears flowed down his eyes. I said, "O Messenger of Allāh, why are you crying?" He said, "The hatred in the hearts of the people will not be expressed until after me." I said, "O Messenger of Allāh, will my religion be secure then?" He replied, "Your religion will be secure."[644]

Tradition 2

Ibn ʹAbbās said: The Messenger of Allāh (ص) told ʹAlī, "Beware, for you will suffer after me." ʹAlī asked, "Will my religion be secure?" He replied, "Your religion will be secure."[645]

Tradition 3

ʹAlī (ع) said, "Among the things the Prophet (ص) promised me was the nation would betray me after him."[646]

Tradition 4

Anas ibn Mālik said: ʹAlī was sick and we went to visit him along with the Messenger of Allāh (ص). Abū Bakr and ʹUmar were with [ʹAlī]. They stood up until the Messenger of Allāh (ص) sat [down]. One of them told the other, "I cannot imagine that ʹAlī would survive this." The Messenger of Allāh (ص) said, "He will not die until he is killed and he will not die until he is filled with anger that he keeps hidden."[647]

Tradition 5

The Prophet (ص) said, "[ʹAlī] will not die until he is subject to such betrayal and oppression that it will serve as a lesson for later people."[648]

Tradition 6

ʹAlī said: The Messenger of Allāh (ص) told me, "The nation will betray you after me and you will subsist over my nation through this. You will fight over my

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[644] Kanz al-ʹUmmāl #36523; Tārīkh Baghdād #6859 (Faḍl Ibn Wathīq); Majmaʹ al-Zawāʾid #14690. Similarly, Faḍāʾil Ḥanbal #1109 relates a truncated version of this tradition.

[645] Mustadrak Ḥākim #4677 (certifies the tradition as authentic by the criteria of Bukhārī and Muslim); Kanz al-ʹUmmāl #32996; Khaṣāʾiṣ al-Kubrā Suyūṭī 2:209.

[646] Mustadrak Ḥākim #4676 (certifies the tradition as authentic); Tārīkh Baghdād #5928 (ʹUmar ibn Walīd); Tārīkh Bukhārī vol 2 #2103 (Thaʹlabah ibn Yazīd); Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 6:244; Khaṣāʾiṣ al-Kubrā Suyūṭī 2:208; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 4:107, 20:326.

[647] Mustadrak Ḥākim #4673; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:101.

[648] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 4:106.

> Sunnah. Whoever loves you loves me and whoever despises you despises me. And this (i.e. your beard) will be drenched with the blood of this (i.e. your head)."[649]

These are just a few examples of the many traditions predicting the oppression of ʿAlī (ع) after the death of the Prophet (ص). In totality, these traditions reach the level of tawātur (proof by multiplicity). Indeed, the oppression of ʿAlī and the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) by the nation after the passing away of the Prophet (ص) is apparent to anyone who studies Islāmic history. This should come as no surprise, as the Prophet (ص) said that the events of the Muslim nation would mirror those of the Children of Israel. Among what happened to the Children of Israel were their abandonment and oppression of Aaron (ع) in the absence of Moses (ع), their conspiring to kill Aaron (ع), and their straying from Allāh's straight path. In Islām, the usurpation of the caliphate from ʿAlī (ع), his oppression by the nation, and his being forced to practice taqīyyah given the attempts to kill him are nearly identical to what happened to Aaron (ع).

Conclusions

The tradition of manzilah is one of the clearest proofs of the imāmate of ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib (ع). As an undisputed tradition with numerous significant implications, it makes it clear that ʿAlī (ع) was the Aaron (ع) of the Muslim nation. This means that he was the Prophet's (ص) brother, partner (sharīk), vizier (wazīr), executor (waṣī), and successor (khalīf), as well as the foremost of the Prophet's (ص) nation in faith and knowledge. Yet, he was abandoned by the nation in the Prophet's (ص) absence. It is impossible for an open-minded individual to fully consider this tradition and related verses from the Qurʾān and related prophetic traditions and not be convinced of the undeniable right of ʿAlī (ع) to the imāmate and caliphate. Indeed, the Prophet (ص) could not have been any more specific in selecting ʿAlī (ع) as his khalīf than saying that ʿAlī (ع) was like Aaron (ع)—he was the specifically designated khalīf but would be abandoned by the nation in an act deserving of the Prophet's (ص) utmost outrage and the punishment of Allāh in this world and the hereafter. Indeed, Moses (ع) told the Children of Israel, "O my people! You have indeed wronged yourselves by your worship of the calf, so turn [in repentance] to your creator, and kill yourselves [for this sin you committed]; that will be better for you in the sight of your creator."[650]

Not surprisingly given the implications of this tradition, a weak and rarely cited tradition has been invented claiming that the Prophet (ص) said, "Abū Bakr and ʿUmar are in relation to me as Aaron was in relation to Moses."[651] This is completely absurd for a number of reasons: (1) Abū Bakr and ʿUmar were not the Prophet's (ص) brothers; (2) the Prophet (ص) did not plead to have Abū Bakr and ʿUmar; (3) Abū Bakr and ʿUmar were not the Prophet's (ص) viziers; (4) Abū Bakr and ʿUmar were not inseparable from the Prophet (ص) in his rendering of guidance. In fact, Abū Bakr was absolutely banned from rendering the Prophet's (ص) guidance with respect to delivering the verses of renunciation.[652] (5) Abū Bakr and ʿUmar are not part of the ṣalawāt; (6) Abū Bakr's and ʿUmar's houses were not designated as mosques; and (7) Abū Bakr and ʿUmar were not oppressed by the nation. The only similarity to Aaron (ع) that is claimed is that they were the khalīfs of the Prophet (ص). However, according to Sunnī beliefs, the Prophet (ص) did not designate them as his successors as Moses (ع) had selected Aaron (ع), so this analogy falls short. Furthermore, the Prophet (ص) was absolutely clear on numerous occasions that only ʿAlī (ع) would be his khalīf, and during the Battle of Tabūk, the Prophet (ص) explicitly proclaimed that it would be absolutely impossible and impermissible for anyone but ʿAlī (ع) to be his khalīf.[653] As such, Abū Bakr was merely the Prophet's (ص) khālif, or non-appointed successor, who rose to power through treachery, usurping political power from the Prophet's specifically designated successor.

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[649] Mustadrak Ḥākim #4686 (certifies the tradition as authentic); Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #31562, #32997.

[650] Qurʾān 2:54.

[651] Tārīkh Baghdād #6257 (ʿAlī ibn Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī ibn Zakariyyā); Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #32682.

[652] Refer to chapter 32.

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653. Refer to chapter 30.

Chapter 11
The Battle of Uḥud: Heroism, Cowardice, and Mourning

The Companions Abandoned the Messenger of Allāh (ص)

After the defeat of the pagans in the Battle of Badr, the Meccans decided to attack the Muslims to avenge the blood of their lost ones. The expense for the battle was provided from the profits of Abū Sufyān's caravan.[654] They raised an army of three thousand men and a cavalry of two hundred horses. The Muslims raised an army of a thousand men, but three hundred of them heeded the call of ʿAbd Allāh ibn Ubayy ibn Salūl, the leader of the hypocrites, and abandoned the battle en route to Uḥud, leaving seven hundred Muslim soldiers.[655] The battle occurred on the seventh of Shawwāl of the year 3 A.H.[656]

The Prophet (ص) stationed around fifty archers under the authority of ʿAbd Allāh ibn Jubayr at the rear of the field to prevent a surprise attack from the back-side. The Prophet (ص) told them not to move from their position under any circumstances unless they received direct orders from him. The battle started with an initial victory for the Muslims, due mostly to the valiant efforts of ʿAlī (ع) and Ḥamzah. According to Ṭabarī,

> When ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib had killed the [Meccan] standard-bearers, the Messenger of Allāh saw a group of the disbelievers of the Quraysh and said to ʿAlī, "Attack them." So ʿAlī attacked them, dispersed them, and killed ʿAmr ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Jumaḥī. Then the Messenger of Allāh saw another group of the disbelievers of the Quraysh and said to ʿAlī, "Attack them." So ʿAlī attacked them, dispersed them, and killed Shaybah ibn Mālik, one of the Banū ʿĀmir ibn Luʿayy. Then Gabriel said, "O Messenger of Allāh, this is for consolation." The Messenger of Allāh said, "Verily he (i.e. ʿAlī) is of me and I am of him," and Gabriel said, "And I am of both of you." And they heard a voice saying, "There is no sword but Dhū al-Faqār and no brave young man but ʿAlī."[657]

The traditions regarding the Prophet (ص) being from ʿAlī (ع) and ʿAlī (ع) being from him will be discussed later in chapter 29. However, the fact that a voice was heard from the sky at Badr or Uḥud saying, "There is no sword but Dhū al-Faqār and no brave young man but ʿAlī," is widely transmitted in Sunnī sources.[658] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd said, "This event has been transmitted by a group (jamāʿah) of the transmitters of traditions (muḥaddithīn) and is a famous event."[659]

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[654] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 7:105-6.

[655] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 7:110.

[656] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 7:105.

[657] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 7:119-120.

[658] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 7:119-120; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 1:295; Sīrah Ibn Hishām 615; Tārīkh Damishq 42:71; Manāqib Ibn Mughāzilī #234; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 1:29, 7:219, 10:182, 14:251.

[659] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 14:251.

Due to the initial Muslim victory, the pagans fled from their positions, and left behind their supplies. Many of the Muslims rushed towards the abandoned goods in their greed for booty. Even the archers who had been specifically ordered to protect the rear side of the battleground decided to leave their position in their quest for booty. This was done despite the clear orders of the Prophet (ص) and their commander, ʹAbd Allāh ibn Jubayr, who ordered them to maintain their positions until told otherwise. According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī,

> The Prophet appointed ʹAbd Allāh ibn Jubayr as the commander of the infantry men (archers) who were fifty on the day [of the Battle] of Uḥud. He instructed them, "Stick to your place and don't leave it—even if you see birds snatching us—until I send for you; and if you see that we have defeated the infidels and made them flee, even then you should not leave your place until I send for you." Then the infidels were defeated. By Allāh, I saw the women fleeing lifting up their clothes revealing their leg-bangles and their legs. So the companions of ʹAbd Allāh ibn Jubayr said, "The booty! O people, the booty! Your companions have become victorious, what are you waiting for now?" ʹAbd Allāh ibn Jubayr said, "Have you forgotten what Allāh's Apostle said to you?" They replied, "By Allāh! We will go to the people (i.e. the enemy) and collect our share from the war booty." But when they went to them, they were forced to turn back defeated. At that time, Allāh's Apostle was in their rear, calling them back. Only twelve men remained with the Prophet and the infidels martyred seventy men from us.[660]

When the archers in the rear abandoned their positions, the Meccans suddenly attacked from the back, quickly dominating the battlefield. The Muslim troops fled in fear, leaving only a handful of loyal companions who remained to fight for Islām and to protect the Messenger of Allāh (ص). According to Ṭabarī,

> The rumor spread among the army that the Messenger of Allāh had been killed. Some of the people on the rock began to say, "Would that we had an envoy to ʹAbd Allāh ibn Ubayy[661], so that he could secure our safety from Abū Sufyān! Muḥammad has been killed, so go back to your people before the Meccans come and kill you." Anas ibn Naḍr, however, called out, "Men, if Muḥammad has been killed, the Lord of Muḥammad has not been killed, so fight as Muḥammad fought. O Allāh! I apologize to You for what these people are saying, and I disavow before You what they have done." Then he rushed at the enemy with his sword and fought until he was killed.[662]

Of note, Anas ibn Naḍr was found martyred with seventy stab wounds that mutilated him so badly that no one but his sister could recognize him.[663] The Prophet (ص) himself was injured during this battle. According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī,

> The face of the Prophet was wounded and one of his front teeth was broken and the helmet over his head was smashed. Fāṭimah washed off the blood while ʹAlī held water. When she saw that the bleeding was increasing continuously, she

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[660] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #4.52.276.
[661] The leader of the hypocrites of Madīnah.
[662] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 7:125. Similarly, Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 1:296.
[663] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 7:122.

burnt a mat [of date-palm leaves] till it turned into ashes which she put over the wound and thus the bleeding ceased.[664]

The Shameful Conduct of Abū Bakr, ʹUmar, and ʹUthmān at Uḥud

In contrast to true believers such as ʹAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib (ع), Ḥamzah, Anas ibn Naḍr, and a handful of others who continued to fight the pagans, nearly all of the Prophet's (ص) companions fled the battlefield. This is despite the fact that the Prophet (ص) listed fleeing from the battlefield at the time of fighting among "the seven great destructive sins."[665] Among those who fled, giving up the fight in fear of their lives, were Abū Bakr, ʹUmar, and ʹUthmān. According to Haykal, "Those who thought Muḥammad had perished, including Abū Bakr and ʹUmar, went toward the mountain and sat down."[666] Even Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī states that ʹUthmān fled in the Battle of Uḥud.[667] Indeed, ʹUthmān apparently fled the farthest of any companion. According to Ṭabarī,

> ʹUthmān ibn ʹAffān, together with ʹUqbah ibn ʹUthmān and Saʹd ibn ʹUthmān, two men of the Anṣār, fled as far as Jalʹab, a mountain in the neighborhood of Madīnah, near Aʹwaṣ. They stayed there for three days, and then came back to the Messenger of Allāh. They claimed that he said to them, "On that day you were scattered far and wide."[668]

As far as ʹUmar goes, Ṭabarī said,

> Anas ibn Naḍr, the paternal uncle of Anas ibn Mālik, went to ʹUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb and Ṭalḥah ibn ʹUbayd Allāh who were with some of the Emigrants and the Anṣār who had given up the fight. "Why have you stopped fighting?" he asked. "Muḥammad, the Messenger of Allāh, has been killed," they replied. "What will you do with life after him?" he asked. "Rise up and die as the Messenger of Allāh has died!" Then he went towards the enemy and fought until he was killed.[669]

While Anas picked the path of honor, courage, faith and martyrdom, ʹUmar and Ṭalḥah picked the path of cowardice and flight from battle, disregarding the sincere advice provided to them by Anas ibn Naḍr and giving up their chance to die as martyrs fighting for Islām. The following verse was revealed about those who turned their backs on the day of Uḥud:

> Muḥammad is but a messenger; there have indeed been messengers before him. Will it be that if he dies or is killed you will turn back on your heels? And he who turns back on his heels does not hurt Allāh.[670]

The Qurʾān also says, "It was Satan who caused those of you who turned back on the day the two groups met (i.e. Uḥud) to fail because of some of what they had done. Allāh has now forgiven them."[671] It is therefore clear that those who fled did so for no other reason than the fact that their sins had granted Satan the power to sway them. This is in contrast to the true believers over whom Satan has no power. This is evident because, according to the Qur`ān, Satan said, "I will lead them all astray except for Your sincere (mukhlaṣ) servants among them."[672] Therefore, while ʿAlī (ع) could not be led astray by Satan because he was a sincere servant of Allāh, Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, and ʿUthmān were led astray by Satan on that day for one and only one reason—they were not sincere servants of Allāh. It is absurd for those who could be led astray by Satan to lead the Muslim nation in the presence of a sincere servant of Allāh who was immune to being misled by Satan.

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[664] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #4.52.159. Similarly, Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #4.52.274, #5.59.402, #7.62.175, #7.71.618; Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #19.4414.
[665] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #4.51.28.
[666] Haykal 266.
[667] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.57.48, #5.59.395.
[668] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 7:127.
[669] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 7:122.
[670] Qurʾān 3:144.
[671] Qurʾān 3:155.

Lessons from the Battle of Uḥud

The Prophet (ص) was eventually able to call some of his companions back. A number of companions, including Abū Bakr and Zubayr,[673] re-grouped around the Prophet (ص) as the battle more or less ended, leaving about seventy Muslims dead and many more injured. There were twenty-two pagan casualties during this battle,[674] and it is apparent that ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib (ع) killed more pagans than anyone else did on that day. According to Ibn Athīr, "[ʿAlī] struck his sword sixteen times on the Day of Uḥud, with each strike piercing into the ground such that no one could lift [the sword out of the ground] but Gabriel."[675]

The Battle of Uḥud shows us that many of the companions, including the first three caliphs, fled out of their fear of martyrdom. This is only a sign of their lack of divinely-granted serenity due to their lack of faith. The Battle of Uḥud clearly shows the superiority of ʿAlī's (ع) faith over that of the other companions. While Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, ʿUthmān, and hundreds of other companions fled in fear of meeting their Lord, ʿAlī (ع) stood fearless with his sword, fighting for Islām. His fearlessness was due to his being a true believer, as the Qur`ān says, "Anyone who follows My guidance will have no fear and will not worry."[676]

The fleeing from battle of the first three caliphs is a sign of their lack of faith and their doubts regarding the promises Allāh makes in the Qur`ān to the martyrs. The Qur`ān revealed in regards to those who fled, "Will it be that if he dies or is killed you will turn back on your heels? And he who turns back on his heels does not hurt Allāh."[677] This is not merely a rhetorical question by which Allāh vainly takes up space in the Qur`ān. Rather, this verse shows that the companions could turn their backs on Islām when the Prophet (ص) dies. In fact, the claim that the companions could not and would not turn their backs on Islām when the Prophet (ص) died is in clear contradiction to this verse that states that this is a distinct possibility. Indeed, according to Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, the Prophet (ص) guaranteed that his companions would for sure turn back on their heels:

> The Messenger of Allāh said: I will be at the Fount [of Kawthar] waiting for those who would be coming to me from amongst you. By Allāh, some people would be prevented from coming to me, and I will say, "My Lord, they are my followers

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672. Qur`ān 15:39-40.
673. Sahīh Bukhārī #5.59.404.
674. Sīrah Ibn Hishām 641.
675. Usd al-Ghābah 3:286 #3789 (ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib).
676. Qur`ān 2:38.
677. Qur`ān 3:144.

> and people of my nation (ummah)," and He will say, "You don't know what they did after you; they were constantly turning back on their heels."[678]

The verse of the Qur`ān also shows that the companions' turning back on their heels at Uḥud was an act of defying and indeed of leaving Islām. Although Allāh later forgave them for their shameful conduct at Uḥud, this verse still proves that the companions can and in fact did defy Islām. This fact is cited by ʿAlī (ع) in the following tradition:

> Ibn ʿAbbās said: ʿAlī said during the Prophet's (ص) life, "Allāh, the great and glorious, said, 'Will it be that if he dies or is killed you will turn back on your heels?'[679] By Allāh! We will not turn back on our heels after Allāh has guided us. And if [the Prophet (ص)] dies or is killed, I will fight over what he fought until I die. By Allāh! I am [the Prophet's (ص)] brother, devotee (walī), cousin, and inheritor (wārith). Who has more rights to him than I do?"[680]

ʿUmar and Abū Sufyān Met at the End of the Battle

According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, after the Battle of Uḥud,

> Abū Sufyān said [to ʿUmar], "Our victory today is a counterbalance to yours in the Battle of Badr. In war, [victory] is always undecided and is shared in turns by the belligerents. You will find some of your [killed] men mutilated, but I did not urge my men to do so. Yet, I do not feel sorry for their deed." After that, he started reciting cheerfully, "O Hubal (an idol), be high!" He then said, "We have ʿUzzā (an idol), and you have no ʿUzzā." The Prophet asked, "Why don't you answer him back?" He was asked, "O Allāh's Apostle, what shall we say?" He said, "Say, Allāh is higher and more sublime; Allāh is our helper and you have no helper."[681]

This event shows that ʿUmar had no knowledge of Islām, not even enough to answer a pagan who was bragging about the power of his worthless idols!

The Mourning for Ḥamzah

The greatest martyr at Uḥud was Ḥamzah ibn ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, the Prophet's (ص) paternal uncle. He was killed by a slave called Waḥshī. According to Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd,

> Jubayr ibn Muṭʿim ibn ʿAdī ibn Nawfal ibn ʿAbd Manāf told his slave Waḥshī on the Day of Uḥud, "Woe be to you! ʿAlī killed my uncle Ṭuʿaymah on the Day of Badr. If you kill him today, you will be free; and if you kill Muḥammad, you will be free; and if you kill Ḥamzah, you will be free. No one will equal my uncle but these three." Waḥshī said, "Muḥammad's companions are in front of him and won't leave him, and I don't see myself getting to him. ʿAlī is a cautious and agile man and is well-aware of what goes on around him in battle. However, I will kill Ḥamzah for you, for he is a man who does not see beyond himself in

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678. Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #30.5685.

679. Qur`ān 3:144.

680. Faḍā`il Ḥanbal #1110; Khaṣā`iṣ Nasā`ī 85-6; Majmaʿ al-Zawā`id #14765; Mustadrak Ḥākim #4635; Sunan al-Kubrā Nasā`ī #8450; Ṭabarānī Kabīr 1:107; Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:206.

681. Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #4.52.276, #5.59.375. This account is a composite of both accounts that appear in Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī.

> battle." He stationed himself for Ḥamzah until he faced him. He [then] threw a spear at him and killed him.[682]

According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, Waḥshī, who later moved to Ḥimṣ in Syria, described the event as follows:

> I hid myself under a rock, and when [Ḥamzah] came near me, I threw my spear at him, driving it into his umbilicus so that it came out through his buttocks, causing him to die. When all the people returned to Mecca, I too returned with them. I stayed in [Mecca] until Islām spread there. Then I left for Ṭā`if, and when the people [of Ṭā`if] sent their messengers to Allāh's Apostle, I was told that the Prophet did not harm the messengers. So I too went out with them until I reached Allāh's Apostle. When he saw me, he said, "Are you Waḥshī?" I said, "Yes." He said, "Was it you who killed Ḥamzah?" I replied, "What happened is what you have been told of." He said, "Can you hide your face from me?"[683]

According to Ibn Sa´d, "Waḥshī killed [Ḥamzah] and split open his abdomen. He removed his liver and took it to Hind bint ´Utbah ibn Rabī´ah (the wife of Abū Sufyān and the mother of Mu´āwīyah). She chewed on it and then spit it out. She then went and mutilated [the corpse of] Ḥamzah... She then returned to Mecca with his liver."[684] As she was unable to swallow Ḥamzah's liver, the Prophet (ص), referring to the immense status of his uncle, said, "Had it entered her stomach, the fire would not touch her."[685]

The martyrs of Uḥud were buried with their blood still on their bodies without being washed and without funeral prayers being offered for them.[686] Among those lost, none was more beloved to the Prophet (ص) than Ḥamzah. The Prophet (ص) said, "Take the glad tidings! Gabriel has come to me and informed me that Ḥamzah has been listed among the people of the seven heavens as, 'Ḥamzah ibn ´Abd al-Muṭṭalib, the lion of Allāh and the lion of His Messenger.'"[687] In addition to his title, "Lion of Allāh (Asad Allāh)," he also bore the title, "Chief of the Martyrs (Sayyid al-Shuhadā`)."[688] According to Ḥanbal, Ibn Sa´d, and Ibn Athīr,

> When the Messenger of Allāh (ص) returned from Uḥud, he saw the wives of the Anṣār crying for their dead spouses. He said, "But Ḥamzah has no one to cry for him." No woman of the Anṣār has cried for a dead person since that day without crying for Ḥamzah first and then crying for their own dead.[689]

Mourning in Islām

Recently, some have claimed that mourning is essentially forbidden in Islām. However, it is widely accepted and indeed related by all six of the ṣiḥāḥ sittah that the Prophet (ص) set the period women are to devote to mourning to three days for other than their spouses and, in accordance with the Qurʾān, to "four months and ten days,"[690] for their spouses.[691] Moreover, a look at the Sunnah of the Prophet (ص) will reveal that mourning was both allowed and practiced by the Prophet (ص) himself.[692] The following are a few incidents demonstrating that it is permissible to cry for the dead:

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[682] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 1:243.

[683] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.59.399.

[684] Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 3:10. Similarly, Usd al-Ghābah 2:51 #1251 (Ḥamzah ibn ´Abd al-Muṭṭalib); Istī´āb 1:425-6 #559 (Ḥamzah ibn ´Abd al-Muṭṭalib).

[685] Usd al-Ghābah 2:51 #1251 (Ḥamzah ibn ´Abd al-Muṭṭalib); Istī´āb 1:426 #559 (Ḥamzah ibn ´Abd al-Muṭṭalib).

[686] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #2.23.427, #2.23.431.

[687] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 15:17.

[688] Iṣābah 1:402 #1828 (Ḥamzah ibn ´Abd al-Muṭṭalib).

[689] Musnad Ḥanbal #4984; Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 3:11; Usd al-Ghābah 2:52 #1251 (Ḥamzah ibn ´Abd al-Muṭṭalib). Note that slight textual differences exist among the accounts.

1. The Prophet (ص) Cried for Hamzah

It is related that, "When the Prophet (ص) saw that Ḥamzah was killed, he cried. And when he saw that he had been disfigured, he broke out into loud weeping (shahaqa)."[693]

2. The Prophet (ص) Cried for the Death of His Son Ibrāhīm

According to the three of the ṣiḥāḥ sittah, including both Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī and Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, the Prophet (ص) cried when his son Ibrāhīm died.[694] According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī,

> Narrated Anas ibn Mālik: We went with Allāh's Messenger to the blacksmith Abū Sayf, and he was the husband of Ibrāhīm's wet-nurse. Allāh's Apostle took Ibrāhīm and kissed him and smelled him and later we entered Abū Sayf's house. At that time Ibrāhīm was in his last breaths and the eyes of Allāh's Apostle started shedding tears. ´Abd al-Raḥmān ibn ´Awf said, "O Allāh's Apostle, even you are weeping!" He said, "O Ibn ´Awf, this is mercy." Then he wept more and said, "The eyes are shedding tears and the heart is grieved, and we will not say except what pleases our Lord. O Ibrāhīm! Indeed we are grieved by your separation."[695]

3. The Prophet (ص) Cried at the Tomb of His Mother

It is related in three of the ṣiḥāḥ sittah as well as by Ḥanbal and Ḥākim that, "The Messenger of Allāh (ص) visited the tomb of his mother. He cried and so did those around him."[696]

4. The Prophet (ص) Cried at the Funeral of His Adoptive Daughter

According to Bukhārī, the Prophet (ص) cried during the funeral of Ruqayyah. Anas said, "I saw his eyes shedding tears."[697]

5. The Prophet (ص) Allowed Mourning for the Death of Ja´far ibn Abī Ṭālib

When the news of the death of Ja´far arrived, the Prophet (ص) said, "Make the family of Ja´far food, for indeed something has come them that will keep them occupied (i.e. mourning for Ja´far)."[698]

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[690] Qurʾān 2:234.

[691] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #1.6.310, #7.63.254-5, #7.63.257; Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #9.3552; Sunan Abū Dāwūd #2299, #2302; Sunan Tirmidhī #1195-7; Sunan Nasāʾī #3500-5; Sunan Ibn Mājah #2085-7.

[692] For a more detailed discussion, refer to Ma´ālim al-Madrasatayn 1:75-81.

[693] Istī´āb 1:426 #559 (Ḥamzah ibn ´Abd al-Muṭṭalib); Kanz al-´Ummāl #36938-9.

[694] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #2.23.390; Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #30.5733; Sunan Ibn Mājah #1475.

[695] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #2.23.390. Similarly, Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #30.5733.

[696] Sunan Nasāʾī #2034; Sunan Abū Dāwūd #3234; Sunan Ibn Mājah #1572; Musnad Ḥanbal #9686; Mustadrak Ḥākim #1390 (certifies the tradition as authentic by the criteria of Muslim).

[697] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #2.23.374.

[698] Sunan Ibn Mājah #1610, #1611; Sunan Tirmidhī #998; Sunan Abū Dāwūd #3132; Musnad Ḥanbal #1751.

6. The Prophet (ص) Allowed Mourning for the Death of ´Abd Allāh ibn ´Amr

According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, Jābir ibn ´Abd Allāh said, "When my father was martyred, I lifted the sheet from his face and wept and the people forbade me to do so but the Prophet did not forbid me. Then my aunt Fāṭimah began weeping and the Prophet said, 'It is all the same whether you weep or not. The angels were shading him continuously with their wings till you shifted him [from the field].'"[699]

The Mourning of Jacob (ع) for Joseph (ع) According to the Qur`ān

According to the Qur`ān,

> And [Jacob] turned away from them and said, "How great is my grief for Joseph!" His eyes became white with sorrow and he fell into silent melancholy.[700]

The fact that Jacob (ع) turned blind from this is clear in another verse of the Qur`ān, according to which his son Joseph (ع) told someone, "Go with this shirt of mine and lay it over my father's face; he will [again] be able to see."[701] Subsequently, the Qur`ān says, "Then when the bearer of the good news came, he cast [the shirt] over [Jacob's] face, and he regained his sight."[702] With such clear verses, it is not clear how anyone could claim that mourning is prohibited. Crying for the dead could not be a sin if Jacob (ع) cried to the point of going blind.

´Umar Would Punish Mourners

As we can see, the Messenger of Allāh (ص) cried for the dead, told his companions to cry for the dead, had food prepared for the family of the dead, set specific periods dedicated for mourning for the dead, and even referred to crying for the dead as "mercy". ´Umar was the one who, against the Sunnah of the Prophet (ص), did not believe in crying for the dead. According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, "´Umar used to beat with a stick and throw stones at and put dust over the faces of those who used to wail (bakā) over the dead."[703] Note that the word "bakā" which means "to cry" has been translated into "wail" by the translators of Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī. Yet, the same word bakā appears throughout the traditions stating that the Prophet (ص) himself cried for and allowed others to cry for the dead. Therefore, ´Umar was the one who forbade crying for the dead, not the Prophet (ص). This issue will be discussed in greater detail in chapter 58.

The Permissibility of Taking Burial Sites as Places of Worship and Visiting Them

The permissibility of taking burial sites as places of worship is evident in that all Muslims perform pilgrimages to the Masjid al-Ḥarām, in which the graves of Ishmael (ع) and his mother Hājar (Hagar) are located.[704] Moreover, there are many Sunnī traditions claiming the permissibility of the visitation of graves. ´Allāmah Amīnī has cited twenty-two such traditions from Sunnī sources that explicitly allow and recommend the visitation of the gravesite of the Prophet (ص).[705] The following are a few such examples:

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[699] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #2.23.336.

[700] Qur`ān 12:84.

[701] Qur`ān 12:93.

[702] Qur`ān 12:96.

[703] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #2.23.391.

[704] Mu´jam al-Buldān 2:221; Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 1:52. For a more detailed discussion of this topic, refer to Ma´ālim al-Madrasatayn 1:70-74.

1. The Prophet (ص) said, "My intercession (shafā´ah) becomes incumbent on whoever visits my grave,"[706] and similarly, "I will be an intercessor or witness for whoever visits my grave."[707]

2. The Prophet (ص) said, "Whoever comes to me in a pilgrimage, and has no purpose other than a pilgrimage to my [grave], it is befitting for me to be his intercessor (shafī´) on the Day of Judgment."[708]

3. The Prophet (ص) said, "Whoever performs the ḥajj and then visits my grave, it will be as if he has visited me in his life." In some traditions, he added, "and has spoken to me."[709]

4. The Prophet (ص) said, "Whoever visits my grave after my death, it is as though he has visited me during my lifetime."[710]

5. The Prophet (ص) said, "Whoever performs the ḥajj and does not visit me has indeed betrayed me."[711]

Of note, according to ´Allāmah Amīnī, "The chapter [entitled], 'He who visits [the Prophet's (ص)] grave,' has been dropped by the editor from the printed version [of Tārīkh Damishq of Ibn ´Asākir]. Allāh knows the secret behind its censorship (taḥrīf) and what the hidden purposes were."[712]

Despite these clear traditions, there are people calling themselves Muslim who label as pagans all those who visit graves, cry for the dead, or who build mosques near burial sites; they go to no end to bury the truth of the Prophet's (ص) Sunnah. Such individuals particularly consider all those who seek any blessing from the Prophet (ص) as pagans. However, we shall see that none of their claims are true.

The Permissibility of Visiting the Graves of Holy People

Some Wahhābīs condemn the Shī´ah for visiting the graves of the Prophet (ص), the rightful imāms and pious believers from his family, and their righteous followers. However, there are numerous Sunnī traditions that allow the visitation of graves. For the sake of brevity, we will list only a few traditions from Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, whose traditions are widely accepted by Sunnīs as authentic.

Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim Tradition 1

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[705] Refer to al-Ghadīr 5:93-108 for twenty-two traditions in this regards.

[706] Tafsīr al Durr al-Manthūr, verse 2:203; Majma´ al-Zawā`id #5841; Kanz al-´Ummāl #42583.

[707] Sunan al-Kubrā Bayhaqī #10053; Kanz al-´Ummāl #12371.

[708] Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, verse 2:203; Majma´ al-Zawā`id #5842; Kanz al-´Ummāl #34928.

[709] Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, verse 2:203; Majma´ al-Zawā`id #5843-4; Kanz al-´Ummāl #12368, #42582; Sunan al-Kubrā Bayhaqī #10054.

[710] Mu´jam al-Kabīr Ṭabarānī 12:310; Mu´jam al-Awsaṭ Ṭabarānī #289; Tafsīr al Durr al-Manthūr, verse 2:203.

[711] Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, verse 2:203; Kanz al-´Ummāl #12369.

[712] Al-Ghadīr 5:94.

Abū Hurayrah said, "The Apostle of Allāh visited the grave of his mother and he wept, and moved others around him to tears."[713]

Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim Tradition 2

The Prophet said, "It was granted to me [to visit the graves], so visit the graves, for that makes you mindful of death."[714]

Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim Tradition 3

The Messenger of Allāh said, "I prohibited you from visiting graves, but you may now visit them."[715]

Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim Tradition 4

ʿĀʾishah reported [that the Prophet] would go out towards the end of the night to the Baqīʿ [cemetery] and say, "Peace be upon you, O abode of a people who are believers. What you were promised would come to you tomorrow, [with] you receiving it after some delay. Allāh willing, we shall join you. O Allāh, grant forgiveness to the inhabitants of the Baqīʿ al-Gharqad cemetery."[716]

Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim Tradition 5

ʿĀʾishah narrates: [The Prophet told me that] Gabriel said, "Your Lord has commanded you to go to the inhabitants of the Baqīʿ [cemetery] and beg pardon for them." ʿĀʾishah said, "Messenger of Allāh, how should I pray for them?" The Prophet said, "Say, 'Peace be upon the inhabitants of this city (graveyard) from among the believers and the Muslims, and may Allāh have mercy on those who have gone ahead of us and those who come later on, and we shall, Allāh willing, join you.'"[717]

Discussion

These traditions are explicit in allowing: (1) the visitation of graves; (2) crying at gravesites; (3) moving others to tears at gravesites; and (4) visiting the cemetery of Baqīʿ. Wahhābī occupiers of the holy lands of Ḥijāz have destroyed and flattened Baqīʿ, claiming that visiting it amounts to idolatry. According to that belief, the Prophet (ص) himself must have, Allāh forbid, been an idolater.

ʿAllāmah Amīnī has listed a total of twenty-six Sunnī traditions showing that the Prophet (ص) explicitly allowed and even recommended the visitation of graves.[718] Companions narrating the permissibility of visiting graves include ʿAlī (ع), Buraydah, ʿAbd Allāh ibn Masʿūd, Anas ibn Mālik, Ibn ʿAbbās, Zayd ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, Abū Hurayrah, Zayd ibn Thābit, Abū Dharr, Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī, Ṭalḥah, Umm Salamah, ʿĀʾishah and others. Sunnī sources citing these traditions include Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim,[719] Sunan Abū Dāwūd,[720] Sunan Ibn

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713. Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #4.2130.
714. Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #4.2130.
715. Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #4.2131-2, #22.4866.
716. Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #4.2126.
717. Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #4.2127.
718. Refer to al-Ghadīr 5:166-169.
719. Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #4.2129-32.

Mājah,[721] Sunan Nasā'ī,[722] Mustadrak Ḥākim,[723] Musnad Ḥanbal,[724] Majma' al-Zawā'id,[725] Sunan al-Kubrā Bayhaqī,[726] Mu'jam al-Kabīr Ṭabarānī,[727] and many others.

One interesting fact is that in a number of these traditions the Prophet (ص) said, "I prohibited you from visiting graves, but you may now visit them." This implies that the visitation of graves was initially not permissible, likely because people were visiting the graves of their pagan ancestors. However, with the increasing number of Muslim martyrs and dead, the visitation of graves became not only permissible but recommended. The previous ban on visiting graves was thus abrogated.

The prohibition of visiting the Prophet's (ص) gravesite was among Mu'āwīyah's plan for putting an end to his memories.[728] One can see why in the following tradition certified as authentic by Ḥākim:

> Marwān [ibn Ḥakam] (Mu'āwīyah's governor in Madīnah) came one day and found a man placing his face over the grave [of the Prophet (ص)]. He said, "Do you know what you are doing?" [The man] replied, "Yes." [Marwān] approached him and [found him] to be Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī. He said, "The Messenger of Allāh (ص) came and I have not come to [worship] stones. [But] I did hear the Messenger of Allāh (ص) saying, 'Do not cry for religion when the worthy are in charge of it, but do cry for it when the unworthy (i.e. Umayyads) are in charge of it.'"[729]

Indeed, it was very common for the companions to seek the Prophet's (ص) gravesite for prayers, for mourning, for visitation of the Prophet (ص), and for blessings. Those interested in further accounts should refer to al-Ghadīr, where twenty Sunnī traditions in this regards are listed.[730] Furthermore, according to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, when the Prophet (ص) died, "Abū Bakr came and uncovered the face of Allāh's Apostle [and] kissed him," and "the people wept loudly."[731]

Fāṭimah (ع) Would Pray at the Grave of Ḥamzah and the Muslims Turned the Gravesite of the Prophet (ص) into a Mosque

According to Ḥākim and Bayhaqī,

> Fāṭimah the daughter of the Prophet (ص) would visit the grave of her uncle Ḥamzah every Friday. She would pray and cry by him.[732]

Bayhaqī said in regards to this tradition, "It is not included in any tradition that he (the Prophet [ص]) forbade her from leaving [home to go] to the gravesite."[733] Yet, if the

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720. Sunan Abū Dāwūd #3234.
721. Sunan Ibn Mājah #1572.
722. Sunan Nasā'ī #2034.
723. Mustadrak Ḥākim #1390 (certifies the tradition as authentic by the criteria of Muslim).
724. Musnad Ḥanbal #9686.
725. Majma' al-Zawā'id #5841-4.
726. Sunan al-Kubrā Bayhaqī #10054.
727. Mu'jam al-Kabīr Ṭabarānī 12:310.
728. Refer to chapter 75.
729. Mustadrak Ḥākim #8571 (certifies the tradition as authentic).
730. Al-Ghadīr 5:146-156.
731. Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.57.19. Similarly, Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #2.23.333.
732. Mustadrak Ḥākim #1396; Sunan al-Kubrā Bayhaqī #7000.
733. Sunan al-Kubrā Bayhaqī #7000.

Wahhābīs of today were around, they would have beaten Fāṭimah (ع), called her an idolatress, and completely effaced the gravesite of her uncle, as they indeed have done. This tradition is rather explicit that Fāṭimah (ع) took the gravesite of Ḥamzah as a place of worship, and the permissibility of this act is thereby established. Indeed, the Prophet (ص) himself would stand by the graves of his companions, as is explicitly stated in the verse, "And do not offer prayers for any one of [the hypocrites] who dies and do not stand by his grave."[734] Clearly, the Prophet (ص) would offer funeral prayers for the Muslims and would later stand by their graves in Baqī῾, presumably to pray for them. If the Wahhābīs were to find him doing so today, they would attack him and renounce him as an idolater.

This permissibility is in fact made evident by the Qur`ān when the believers wanted to build a mosque over the gravesite of the Companions of the Cave (Aṣḥāb al-Kahf):

> "They said, 'Let us erect a building over them.'"[735]
>
> "Those who prevailed over their affair said, 'Let us raise a mosque over them.'"[736]

Clearly, the Qur`ān has no objection to their building either a building or a mosque over the gravesite, and it is clear that this building and mosque would be devoted to the worship of Allāh, and not of the Companions of the Cave. Furthermore, the Qur`ān orders us to take the Station of Abraham as a place of prayer,[737] and says that Allāh told Moses and Aaron (ع) to make their homes places of payer.[738] Despite the clarity of the Qur`ānic verses, a number of traditions have been related claiming that it is impermissible to take the gravesite of a prophet as a mosque. The following is one such example in Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim:

> ῾Ā`ishah reported: Umm Ḥabībah and Umm Salamah made a mention before the Messenger of Allāh of a church that they had seen in Abyssinia that had pictures in it. The Messenger of Allāh said, "When a pious person amongst them dies, they build a place of worship on his grave, and then decorate it with such pictures. They would be the worst of creatures on the Day of Judgment in the sight of Allāh."[739]

If true, this tradition is explicit that what the Prophet (ص) was cursing was a church in Abyssinia in which human portraits were placed for human worship, as is common in churches to this day, where figures of Jesus and Mary (ع) are commonplace, and they are the true objects of worship along with Allāh. Indeed, in other traditions, he chastised the Jews for the same, as the Jews were also worshipping their prophets. The Qur`ān says, "The Jews say that ῾Uzayr is the son of Allāh and the Christians say that the Messiah is the son of Allāh."[740] Clearly, the issue was that the gravesites had turned into true idols—people were worshipping those buried in the graves instead of or as partners along with Allāh. This is clear in the tradition by Mālik and Ḥanbal, according to which the

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[734] Qur`ān 9:84.
[735] Qur`ān 18:21.
[736] Qur`ān 18:21.
[737] Qur`ān 2:125.
[738] Qur`ān 10:87.
[739] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #4.1076.
[740] Qur`ān 9:30.

Prophet (ص) said, "O Allāh! Do not make my grave an idol that is worshipped."[741] His prayer was answered, as no Muslim has taken his gravesite as an idol. It should also be noted that the Prophet (ص) cursed anyone who makes pictures,[742] so the entire issue could easily have been the fact that the presence of pictures in those churches and synagogues would incur the curse or wrath of Allāh. It appears that the Christians would erect statues or figures and perform their prayers towards those as opposed to towards the qiblah that was mandated to them, making this a most despicable act.

In fact, the Prophet (ص) also said, "Do not pray facing towards the graves."[743] As such, the act of the Jews and Christians that was reprehensible was that they were offering their prayers facing human figures and human graves. No Shī´ah prays towards the grave of any prophet, imām, or anyone else, but rather only towards the Ka´bah.

Of note, there are traditions stating that the Prophet (ص) told his companions not to take the burial place of their prophets as mosques.[744] Yet, the only prophet for his companions and subsequent generations of Muslims to bury was Muḥammad (ص) himself, and they buried him in his own house in the mosque, where they continued to pray. Not a single companion found this act objectionable, showing that either the traditions in this regards are all forgeries, or that the companions did not see his burial site in his home in the mosque as being objectionable by the terms of this tradition. As such, the Shī´ah act of building mosques adjacent to the gravesites of their imāms is not objectionable either, as the mosques are not built over or towards the gravesite where one would prostrate over them or offers prayers towards them, but rather adjacent to their gravesites in such a manner that people can pray in the mosque towards the Masjid al-Ḥarām separately from their act of visiting their gravesites.

Of note, the Prophet's Mosque was subsequently enlarged during the lifetime of his companions in such a way that his gravesite ended up inside the part of the mosque where prayers were offered. The fact that the Prophet's Mosque was demolished and expanded and rebuilt several times also shows that construction over a gravesite was considered permissible. However, the companions were forced to cordon off his gravesite so that people would not see it while praying and not end up prostrating upon it or worshipping directly towards it.[745]

Traditions Cited Regarding Banning Buildings from Being Erected over Gravesites

It should be noted that the Wahhābīs have misinterpreted a number of traditions in order to forbid building over burial sites.

Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim's Tradition from ´Alī (ع)

It is claimed that according to ´Alī (ع), the Prophet (ص) told him, "Do not leave an image without obliterating it, or a high grave without leveling it."[746] This tradition is awfully weak in its chain of transmission. Muslim relates it through two chains, both of which contain three individuals who are weak: (1) Sufyān al-Thawrī, (2) Ḥabīb ibn Abī Thābit, and (3) Abū al-Hayyāj al-Asadī.[747] As for Sufyān al-Thawrī, Ibn Mubarak said, "Sufyān was relating a tradition and I arrived while he was performing tadlīs with it (i.e. corrupting its chain of transmission). When he saw me, he was embarrassed and said, 'We relate it from you.'"[748] As for Ḥabīb ibn Abī Thābit, Ibn Ḥajar summarized him as being "full of chainless traditions and traditions with tampered chains (tadlīs)."[749] Indeed, he was criticized by a number of scholars for performing tadlīs (i.e. attributing his traditions to other than those from whom he had obtained them).[750] As for Abū al-Hayyāj al-Asadī, this is the only mention of him according to Ibn Ḥajar,[751] thus making it impossible to truly judge his reliability. Furthermore, this tradition may merely be referring to the fact that a gravesite should be made flat on the surface, as is clear from the following tradition that Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim cites just before this one:

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[741] Muwaṭṭa' Mālik #9.24.88. Similarly, Musnad Ḥanbal #7352.

[742] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #7.63.259.

[743] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #4.2122. Similarly, Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #4.2121.

[744] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #4.1082.

[745] Refer to Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #5.59.725, in which ´Ā`ishah said, "Had it not been for that [statement of the Prophet], his grave would have been made conspicuous," which refers to the fact that his gravesite had to be hidden from sight and thereby made inconspicuous when the mosque was expanded and it ended up in the center of the mosque.

[746] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #4.2115.

> When we were with Faḍālah ibn ʿUbayd in the country of the Romans at a place [known as] Rūdas, a friend of ours died. Faḍālah ibn ʿUbayd ordered to prepare a grave for him and then it was leveled. He then said, "I heard the Messenger of Allāh commanding [us] to level the graves."[752]

Clearly, the reference is to making the earth on top of a grave level as opposed to irregular, sloped, or curved, as there was no building built upon the grave to be flattened. Rather, the dirt was flattened over the gravesite. If it were referring to flattening a building, it would make sense for them not to build the building in the first place rather than to build it and then tear it down.

Traditions from Jābir

There are a number of traditions in Sunnī sources from Jābir stating that the Prophet (ص) said that it is impermissible to build over gravesites. These traditions appear in Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim,[753] Sunan Ibn Mājah,[754] Sunan Nasā`ī,[755] Musnad Ḥanbal,[756] and Mustadrak Ḥākim.[757] However, all these traditions share a single transmitter named Abū Zubayr. According to Ibn Ḥajar:[758] (1) Shuʿbah said, "There was no one I wanted to meet in Mecca more than Abū Zubayr, until I met him." Then he was quiet. (2) Shuʿbah was asked why he abandoned the traditions of Abū Zubayr, and he replied, "Because I saw him cheating [while] weighing with a scale." (3) Ibn Abī Ḥātim said, "I asked my father about Abū Zubayr and he replied that they would write his traditions but not reason based on them (i.e. they were too unreliable to follow)." (4) Ayyūb considered him weak (ḍaʿīf). As such, these traditions are āḥād (singular) and weak (ḍaʿīf), as they all appear through a chain including a single unreliable person.

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747. Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim Arabic original #969.
748. Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb vol 4 #199 (Sufyān ibn Saʿīd).
749. Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb #1084 (Ḥabīb ibn Abī Thābit).
750. Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb vol 2 #323 (Ḥabīb ibn Abī Thābit).
751. Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb vol 3 #129 (Hāyyān ibn Ḥuṣayn Abū al-Hayyāj al-Asadī).
752. Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #4.2114.
753. Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #4.2116-8 (Arabic original #970).
754. Sunan Ibn Mājah #1562.
755. Saunan Nasā`ī #2027-9.
756. Musnad Ḥanbal #14181, #14688.
757. Mustadrak Ḥākim #1369.
758. Taḥdhīb al-Taḥdhīb vol 9 #729 (Muḥammad ibn Muslim... Abū Zubayr al-Makkī).

Furthermore, even if these traditions are true, they would merely show that building over graves is undesirable. It cannot be further adduced that it would be mandatory to destroy a grave, to completely level a cemetery, or to flood a cemetery to the point that gravesites can no longer be identified. This is evident because the early caliphs did not destroy the structures built over the gravesites of previous prophets in Syria, Iraq, Egypt, or other lands that came under their control. Furthermore, the Prophet (ص) clearly allowed for gravesites to be identifiable, as he placed a stone over the grave of ʿUthmān ibn Maẓʿūn.[759] According to Abū Dāwūd, he said, "By this [stone], I can know the site of my brother's grave, and I will bury those of my family who die next to him."[760] Finally, destroying one's gravesite is an act of utmost disrespect, and to destroy the gravesites of the Prophet's (ص) companions and family members is inexcusable.

The Claim that Those in the Grave Cannot Hear

Wahhābīs also claim that it is futile to pray at the gravesite of the Prophet (ص), as he is dead, and the dead cannot hear because the Qurʾān says, "You cannot make the dead hear,"[761] and "You cannot make those in the graves hear."[762] However, these are distorted presentations of these verses, which read, "Surely you cannot make the dead hear, and you cannot cause the deaf to hear the call,"[763] and "The dead and the living are not alike. Allāh makes whom He wants hear, and you cannot make those in the graves hear."[764]

Clearly, in both verses the dead are the disbelievers whose hearts are dead and therefore do not hear the truth; the verses are not referring to the believers who have left us. Furthermore, for the Wahhābīs to claim that the martyrs of Islām, such as Ḥamzah and Ḥusayn (ع), are dead is clearly in opposition to the Qurʾān, which says, "Do not think of those who are killed in Allāh's way as dead. Nay, they are living. With their Lord they have provision."[765]

The Claim that Only Allāh Can be Invoked

The Qurʾān says, "Do not call (tadʿū) anyone along with Allāh."[766] Wahhābīs claim that this means that we cannot call upon the Prophet (ص) and others. However, this act of calling referred to in this verse is clearly referring to worship, as the Qurʾān says, "Call upon me (i.e. pray to me), and I will answer you."[767] The Qurʾān is therefore saying, "Do not worship anyone along with Allāh." No Muslim believes that worshipping other than Allāh is permissible. Indeed, the verse says, "Do not call anyone along with Allāh," as opposed to, "Do not call anyone other than Allāh." That means that no one can be held as an equal to Allāh or worshipped along with Allāh. No Muslim considers anyone as being equal to Allāh, nor does any Muslim consider it permissible to worship other than Allāh.

Furthermore, the Qurʾān explicitly allows us to call upon (duʿāʾ) the Prophet (ص) and others when it says, "Do not set the calling (duʿāʾ) of the Prophet amongst yourselves like the way some of you call others."[768] If the act of calling upon (du'ā') anyone other than Allāh were strictly forbidden, then this verse could not define how one should call upon the Prophet (ص), but would rather forbid doing so outright. As such, the question is how those other than Allāh can be talked to or called upon. Indeed, the Prophet (ص) instructed people to invoke Allāh by mentioning him. According to Ibn Mājah, Tirmidhī, Ḥanbal, and Ḥākim, the Prophet (ص) taught a blind person to pray by saying,

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[759] Sunan Ibn Mājah #1561.
[760] Sunan Abū Dāwūd #3206.
[761] Qurʾān 27:80.
[762] Qurʾān 35:22.
[763] Qurʾān 27:80.
[764] Qurʾān 35:22.
[765] Qurʾān 3:169.
[766] Qurʾān 72:18.
[767] Qurʾān 40:60.

> O Allāh! I ask You and seek Your attention through Your Prophet Muḥammad, the prophet of mercy. O Muḥammad! I have turned to you, seeking my Lord in [addressing] this need of mine, so that you may fulfill it. O Allāh! Cure me through him and him through me.[769]

Ḥākim certified this tradition as authentic by the criteria of Bukhārī and Muslim.[770] Clearly, Ibn Mājah, Ḥanbal, Ḥākim, and all the narrators of this tradition did not consider calling upon the Prophet (ص) to be an act of worshipping him. Furthermore, this tradition clearly shows that the Prophet (ص) instructed his companions to use him as an intermediary in seeking Allāh's blessings and forgiveness. Many Wahhābī propagandists claim that any intermediary between an individual and Allāh constitutes idolatry, but they are clearly contradicted by the Sunnah of the Prophet (ص). What is forbidden in Islām is the belief that anything other than Allāh has the power to bring good or evil. However, seeking the blessings of Allāh both directly as well as indirectly through those who are closest to Him is not only permissible but clearly recommended, as will be demonstrated shortly based on numerous verses and Sunnī traditions. In fact, seeking Allāh indirectly is enjoined in the Qur'ān when it says, "And take towards your Lord the wasīlah (the tool for closeness to Allāh)."[771] The Qur'ān similarly says, "They take towards their Lord the wasīlah."[772] Thus, we must adopt the wasīlah in order to attain closeness to Allāh. The Shī'ah believe that the wasīlah is comprised of the two weighty items (thaqalayn), the Ahl al-Bayt of the Prophet (ص) and the Qur'ān, which are indeed inseparable according to the tradition of thaqalayn.[773] Even if the Wahhābīs claim that the wasīlah is something else, it still proves that something other than Allāh can be taken as a means of closeness to Him. If, as the Wahhābīs claim, the Book of Allāh can be a means of closeness to Allāh, then the Messenger of Allāh (ص) can also be such a means.

Adam (ع) Asked for Allāh's Forgiveness by Invoking the Prophet (ص)

According to a widely narrated Sunnī tradition that Ḥākim certified as authentic,

> When Adam erred, he said, "O Allāh, I ask you, by the right of Muḥammad, to forgive me." Allāh said, "O Adam, how did you know Muḥammad when I have not yet created him?" He said, "O Lord, when You created me and breathed in me of Your spirit, I raised my head and saw written on the pillars of Your throne, 'There is no god but Allāh. Muḥammad is a messenger of Allāh.' I knew that you would not add any [name] to Your name but [that of] the most beloved of Your creation to you." Allāh said, "You have spoken the truth, O Adam. He is

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[768] Qur'ān 24:63.

[769] Sunan Ibn Mājah #1385; Sunan Tirmidhī #3578; Musnad Ḥanbal #17279-80; Mustadrak Ḥākim #1180 (certifies the tradition as authentic by the criteria of Bukhārī and Muslim). Minor variations in wording appear in the different accounts.

[770] Mustadrak Ḥākim #1180.

[771] Qur'ān 5:35.

[772] Qur'ān 17:57.

[773] Refer to chapter 15.

> the most beloved of creation to Me. Since you called upon me by his right, I have forgiven you. Had Muḥammad not existed, I would not have created you."[774]

According to a similar tradition, Adam's (ع) exact words were,

> O Allāh! I ask You, by the right of Muḥammad and the family (āl) of Muḥammad, as You are the one worthy of praise and as no god exists other than You, that since I have erred and oppressed my own self, accept my repentance, as you are the grantor of repentance and full of mercy. O Allāh! I ask you by the right of Muḥammad and the family of Muḥammad, as I have erred and oppressed my own self, to accept my repentance, as you are the grantor of repentance and full of mercy.[775]

These traditions are referring to the verse, "Adam took words from his Lord, so He forgave him."[776] According to Suyūṭī, when the Prophet (ص) was asked about the exact words Adam (ع) had used to invoke Allāh, he said, "He asked Him, 'By the right of Muḥammad and ʻAlī and Fāṭimah and Ḥasan and Ḥusayn, forgive me,' so Allāh forgave him."[777]

This is evidence for the imāmate of the Ahl al-Bayt of the Prophet (ص) because when a prophet such as Adam (ع) seeks forgiveness through invoking their names, they must be superior to the prophet himself.

Seeking the Prophet (ص) and His Belongings as Blessings is Permitted by the Qur`ān and Sunnah

The Qur`ān says:

1. "And take the station of Abraham as a place for prayers."[778]
2. "The month of Ramaḍān is when the Qur`ān was revealed as a guide for mankind, so whoever of you is present [at his home] during that month should fast it."[779]
3. "We revealed in the Night of Qadr. And who knows what the Night of Qadr is? The Night of Qadr is better than a thousand months."[780]
4. "Verily Ṣafā and Marwah are among the symbols of Allāh. So whoever performs the [pilgrimage of] ḥajj or ʻumrah to the House [of Kaʻbah], there is no fear for him to walk around the two."[781]

These verses of the Qur`ān show that places and times become sacred due to what occurred in those places and at those times. Nights and months in which the Qur`ān was revealed are sacred, as are locations such as the station of Abraham (ع), where Abraham (ع) stood or offered prayers. According to Bukhārī, the significance of Ṣafā and Marwah, the two symbols of Allāh, is that Ishmael's (ع) mother ran between the two places seven times.[782] Thus, the sanctity of locations such as the Tree of Riḍwān, which was chopped down by ʻUmar, and the cemetery of Baqīʻ, which was flattened by the Wahhābīs, is established by principles expounded in the Qurʼān. Similarly, the sanctity of the birthday of the Prophet (ص) and the day of ʻĀshūrāʼ, in which Ḥusayn ibn ʻAlī (ع) was martyred, are guaranteed by the events that occurred on those two dates.

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[774] Mustadrak Ḥākim #4228 (certifies the tradition as authentic); Majmaʻ al-Zawā`id #13917; Kanz al-ʻUmmāl #32138; Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, verse 2:37; Tārikh Ibn Kathīr 1:91, 2:393, 6:316.

[775] Kanz al-ʻUmmāl #4237. A shortened version appears in Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, verse 2:37.

[776] Qur`ān 2:37.

[777] Tafsir al-Durr al-Manthūr, verse 2:37.

[778] Qur`ān 2:125.

[779] Qur`ān 2:185.

[780] Qur`ān 97:1-3.

[781] Qur`ān 2:158.

Indeed, the Qurʼān is explicit that the possessions of a prophet can be taken as blessings. According to the Qurʼān, Joseph (ع) said, "Go with this shirt of mine and lay it over my father's face; he will [again] be able to see."[783] Clearly, the shirt of Joseph (ع) had an ability to cure Jacob's (ع) blindness, by Allāh's permission. Indeed, Sunnī traditions are filled with examples of the companions taking the Prophet's (ص) belongings as sacred objects. The following are a few examples from Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī and Muslim:

Tradition 1: According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī and Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, the saliva of the Prophet (ص) provided a blessing for ʻAlī (ع):

> Sahl ibn Saʻd said: They said, "Allāh's Messenger, [ʻAlī's] eyes are sore." He then sent for him and he was brought and Allāh's Messenger applied saliva to his eyes and invoked blessings and he was alright, as if he had no ailment at all.[784]

Tradition 2: According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, the companions took water from the ablution (wuḍūʼ) of the Prophet (ص) as a blessing:

> Narrated Jābir ibn ʻAbd Allāh: I was with the Prophet and the time for the afternoon (ʻaṣr) prayer became due. We had no water with us except for a little that was put in a vessel and was brought to the Prophet. He put his hand into it and spread out his fingers and then said, "Come along! Hurry up! All those who want to perform ablution (wuḍūʼ)! The blessing is from Allāh!" I saw the water gushing out from his fingers. So the people performed the ablution and drank, and I tried to drink more of that water [beyond my thirst and capacity], for I knew that it was a blessing." The sub-narrator said: I asked Jābir, "How many persons were you then?" He replied, "We were one thousand four hundred men." Sālim said: Jābir said, "One thousand five hundred."[785]

Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī also states that,

> I saw Bilāl taking the remaining water with which the Prophet had performed ablution. I saw the people taking the utilized water impatiently and whoever got some of it rubbed it on his body, and those who could not get any took the moisture from the others' hands.[786]

Tradition 3: According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, the Prophet (ص) did his companions a favor by spitting out his used water and ordering them to drink it and rub it over themselves as a blessing:

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[782] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #4.55.583.
[783] Qurʼān 12:93.
[784] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #31.5918; Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #4.52.253.
[785] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #7.69.543.
[786] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #1.8.373.

> The Prophet asked for a tumbler containing water and washed both his hands and face in it and then threw a mouthful of water in the tumbler and said to both of us (Abū Mūsā and Bilāl), "Drink from the tumbler and pour some of its water on your faces and chests."[787]

Tradition 4: According to Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, the shirt of the Prophet (ص) was taken as a blessing by the companions:

> When ʿAbd Allāh ibn Ubayy [ibn Salūl] died, his son came to Allāh's Apostle and said, "O Allāh's Apostle, give me your shirt so that I may shroud my father's body in it..." The Prophet gave him his shirt.[788]

Tradition 5: According to Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, the companions took the Prophet's (ص) hair as a blessing:

> Anas reported: I saw when the Messenger of Allāh got his hair cut by the barber, his companions came round him and they eagerly wanted no hair to fall but in the hand of a person.[789]

Tradition 6: According to Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, the Prophet (ص) prayed over a grave and then said,

> Verily, these graves are full of darkness for their dwellers. Verily, the mighty and glorious Allāh illuminates them for their occupants by reason of my prayer over them.[790]

Tradition 7: According to Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, the Prophet (ص) mitigated the torment of the grave by placing a twig over a gravesite:

> Ibn ʿAbbās reported: The Messenger of Allāh happened to pass by two graves and said, "They (i.e. their occupants) are being tormented, but they are not tormented for a grievous sin. One of them carried tales and the other did not keep himself safe from being defiled by urine." He then called for a fresh twig and split it into two parts, and planted them on each grave and then said, "Perhaps, their punishment may be mitigated as long as these twigs remain fresh."[791]

Tradition 8: According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, during the caliphate of ʿUmar, whenever drought threatened the Muslims, ʿUmar would ask ʿAbbās ibn ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib to invoke Allāh for rain:

> [ʿUmar] used to say, "O Allāh! We used to ask our Prophet to invoke You for rain, and You would bless us with rain, and now we ask his uncle to invoke You for rain. O Allāh! Bless us with rain." And so it would rain.[792]

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[787] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #1.4.187.
[788] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #7.72.688.
[789] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #30.5750.
[790] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #4.2088.
[791] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #2.575-6.
[792] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #2.17.123.

Indeed, traditions like these abound in authentic Sunnī sources and, if compiled, would create a book onto itself, but these few suffice to demonstrate the fact that the Prophet and his possessions may be taken as blessings.

The Ka´bah and the Ḥajar al-Aswad (Black Stone)

The claim that no physical object can be taken as holy is clearly wrong, as the Ka´bah is a physical structure towards which all Muslims pray and to which every Muslim who meets the criteria is obligated to make a pilgrimage. If one does not seek the Ka´bah as one's qiblah, one's prayer is completely nullified. Yet, this by no means implies that one worships the Ka´bah itself.

Furthermore, the Ḥajar al-Aswad is a black stone inside the Ka´bah, and it is highly recommended to touch or kiss it. According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, "[The Prophet] kissed the Black Stone corner first while performing circumambulation (ṭawāf)."[793] Indeed, his companions felt very strongly about this. According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, Zubayr would pass his hands over the Black Stone,[794] and Ibn ´Umar said, "I have never missed the touching of these two stones of the Ka´bah (the Black Stone and the Yemenite Corner), both in the presence and the absence of crowds, since I saw the Prophet touching them."[795] Ibn ´Umar even got angry when someone came up with excuses for not touching the Black Stone:

> A man asked Ibn ´Umar about the touching of the Black Stone. Ibn ´Umar said, "I saw Allāh's Apostle touching and kissing it." The questioner said, "But if there were a throng (much rush) round the Ka´bah and the people overpowered me, [what would I do]?" He replied angrily, "Stay in Yemen (as that man was from Yemen). I saw Allāh's Apostle touching and kissing it."[796]

Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī states that,

> ´Umar came near the Black Stone and kissed it and said, "No doubt, I know that you are a stone and can neither benefit anyone nor harm anyone. Had I not seen Allāh's Apostle kissing you, I would not have kissed you."[797]

This statement of ´Umar shows that he had thoughts similar to those of the Wahhābīs, thinking that objects cannot be holy, but having seen the Sunnah of the Prophet (ص), he knew that these ideas were false and to be disregarded because they contradicted the Qur`ān and Sunnah of the Prophet (ص).

The Permissibility of Asking the Prophet (ص) to Pray for Us

Some people today consider Muslims who ask the Prophet (ص) to seek Allāh's forgiveness for them to be idolaters. However, the Qur`ān contains verses ordering us to take the Prophet (ص) as an intermediary with Allāh. The Qur`ān says,

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[793] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #2.26.673.
[794] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #2.26.683, #2.26.705.
[795] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #2.26.676.
[796] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #2.26.680.
[797] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #2.26.667. Similarly, Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #2.26.675, #2.26.679.

> And had they, when they oppressed themselves (i.e. sinned), come to you, asking Allāh for forgiveness and [having] the Messenger ask for their forgiveness, they would have found Allāh oft-forgiving, most merciful.[798]

The Qur`ān also says,

> And when you tell them (i.e. the hypocrites) to come so that the Messenger of Allāh may ask for your forgiveness, they turn away their heads.[799]

Clearly, those who turn away from asking the Prophet (ص) to pray for their forgiveness are acting in the same way the hypocrites did according to the Qur`ān. In fact, having intermediaries ask for forgiveness did not start with the Prophet (ص). According to the Qur`ān, "Abraham told his father: I will ask for your forgiveness, though I have no control for you over Allāh,"[800] and the sons of Jacob (ع) told him, "Our father, ask for forgiveness for our sins, for we surely were sinners."[801] Of note, Allāh has forbidden the Prophet (ص) and the believers from praying for forgiveness for the pagans, as the Qur`ān says, "And it is not for the Prophet and those who believe to ask forgiveness for the pagans even if they are [their] kin."[802] The fact that the believers are cited in this verse shows that it is permissible for Muslims to have other believers pray for their forgiveness as well. Indeed, the Qur`ān orders the Prophet (ص) to "ask forgiveness for them,"[803] and to "pray for them, for your prayer is surely a relief to them."[804] The Qur`ān also makes it clear that for the hypocrites and disbelievers, it makes no difference whether the Prophet (ص) asks for their forgiveness or not:

> It is the same for them whether you ask for their forgiveness or do not ask for their forgiveness; if you ask for their forgiveness seventy times, Allāh will not forgive them because they have rejected Allāh and His Messenger.[805]

The Qur`ān also says,

> Ask for their forgiveness or do not ask for their forgiveness. If you ask for their forgiveness seventy times, Allāh will not forgive them for they disbelieve in Allāh and His Messenger.[806]

As such, the Qur`ān is very clear that the believers who sin should go to the Prophet (ص) and ask him to pray for their forgiveness, even though this act would be futile for the hypocrites and disbelievers who will never be forgiven by Allāh regardless of who prays for them.

The Prophet (ص) will Intercede for the Believers on the Day of Judgment

Today, there are those who insist that the Prophet (ص), his Ahl al-Bayt (ع), and the sincere believers cannot intercede on our behalf on the Day of Judgment because the

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[798] Qur`ān 4:64.
[799] Qur`ān 63:5.
[800] Qur`ān 60:4.
[801] Qur`ān 12:97.
[802] Qur`ān 9:113.
[803] Qur`ān 3:159.
[804] Qur`ān 9:103.
[805] Qur`ān 63:6.
[806] Qur`ān 9:80.

Qur`ān says, "For Allāh is all intercession (shafā'ah)."[807] However, the Qur`ān also makes it clear that there are intercessors who act by Allāh's permission:

1. "There is no intercessor (shafī') except by His permission."[808]
2. "Who is it that performs intercession (shafā'ah) with Him except by His permission?"[809]
3. "And they do not perform intercession (shafā'ah) except for whomever He is content with."[810]
4. "That day no intercession (shafā'ah) will benefit [anyone] but whom Allāh has allowed and whose words Allāh has become content with."[811]

It is therefore amply clear that Allāh will allow those whom He permits to intercede on behalf of the believers. The pagans who believed that their idols would intercede on their behalf, declaring, "These are our intercessors with Allāh!"[812] were deluded, as their idols have no power to intercede, as Allāh has not granted them such power. This is, in fact, the main error of the pagans, as they chose intercessors and intermediaries with no divinely-mandated role whatsoever, and then granted those man-made objects powers granted only by Allāh.

There are innumerable Sunnī traditions establishing the fact that the Prophet (ص) will intercede for the believers on the Day of Judgment. These traditions are numerous and widely narrated in Sunnī books of tradition. For the sake of brevity, I will quote only a few traditions from Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, the most eminent Sunnī collection of traditions, to show that the belief that the Prophet (ص) will not provide intercession has no place in Islām.

Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī Tradition 1

> Allāh's Apostle said, "Whoever after listening to the adhān says, 'O Allāh! Lord of this perfect call and of the regular prayer which is going to be established! Kindly give Muḥammad the right of intercession and superiority and send him to the best and the highest place in paradise which You promised him,' then my intercession will be permitted for him on the Day of Judgment."[813]

Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī Tradition 2

> Allāh's Apostle said... "I have been given the right of intercession [on the Day of Judgment]."[814]

Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī Tradition 3

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[807] Qur`ān 39:44.
[808] Qur`ān 10:3.
[809] Qur`ān 2:255.
[810] Qur`ān 21:28.
[811] Qur`ān 20:109.
[812] Qur`ān 10:18.
[813] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #1.11.588.
[814] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #1.8.429.

> The Prophet said: I will be the chief of all the people on the Day of Judgment... Some people will say, "Don't you see what condition you are in and the state that you have reached? Why don't you look for a person who can intercede for you with your Lord?" ...The people will come to me, and I will prostrate myself beneath Allāh's throne. Then I will be addressed: "O Muḥammad! Raise your head. Intercede, for your intercession will be accepted, and ask, for you will be given."[815]

Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī Tradition 4

> The Prophet said: On the Day of Judgment the believers will assemble and say, "Let us ask somebody to intercede for us with our Lord." ...So they will come to me and I will proceed until I ask my Lord's permission and I will be given permission. When I see my Lord, I will fall down in prostration and He will let me remain in that state as long as He wishes, and then I will be addressed, "Raise your head. Ask, and your request will be granted; say, and your saying will be listened to; intercede, and your intercession will be accepted." I will raise my head and praise Allāh with an invocation that He will teach me, and then I will intercede. He will fix a limit for me [of how many] I will admit into paradise. Then I will come back again to Allāh, and when I see my Lord, the same thing will happen to me. And then I will intercede and Allāh will fix a limit for me to intercede [for a certain number of believers] whom I will let into paradise; then I will come back for a third time; and then I will come back for a fourth time, and will say, "None remains in hell but those whom the Qur`ān has imprisoned [in hell] and who have been destined to an eternal stay in hell."[816]

Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī Tradition 5

> The Prophet said: I will be the chief of all the people on the Day of Judgment... So they will come to me and say, "O Muḥammad! ...Intercede for us with your Lord. Don't you see what state we are in?" The Prophet added, "Then I will go beneath Allāh's throne and fall in prostration before my Lord. And then Allāh will guide me to praises and glorifications of Him that He has never guided anyone else to before me. Then it will be said, "O Muḥammad, raise your head. Ask, and it will be granted; intercede for it will be accepted." So I will raise my head and say, "My followers, O my Lord! My followers, O my Lord!" It will be said, "O Muḥammad! Let those of your followers who have no accounts enter through such [and such] a gate of the gates of paradise as lies on the right; and they will share the other gates with the people."[817]

Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī Tradition 6

> On the Day of Judgment the people will fall on their knees and every nation will follow their prophet and they will say, "O so-and-so! Intercede [for us with Allāh]," until [the right of] intercession is given to the Prophet and that will be the day when Allāh will raise him into a station of praise and glory (al-maqām al-maḥmūd).[818]

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[815] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #4.55.556.
[816] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #6.60.3. Similarly, Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #8.76.570, #9.93.507, #9.93.532c, #9.93.601.
[817] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #6.60.236.
[818] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #6.60.242.

Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī Tradition 7

> The Prophet said: The luckiest person who will have my intercession on the Day of Judgment will be the one who said, "None has the right to be worshipped but Allāh," sincerely from the bottom of his heart.[819]

Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī Tradition 8

> The Prophet said: You [Muslims] cannot be more pressing in claiming from me a right that has been clearly proved to be yours than the believers [will be] in interceding with the Almighty for their [Muslim] brothers on that day, when they see themselves safe. They will say, "O Allāh! [Save] our brothers [for they] used to pray with us, fast with us, and also do good deeds with us." Allāh will say, "Go and take out [of hell] anyone in whose heart you find faith equal to the weight of one dīnār." Allāh will forbid the fire to burn the faces of those sinners. They will go to them and find some of them in hell up to their feet, and some up to the middle of their legs. So they will take out those whom they will recognize and then they will return, and Allāh will say [to them], "Go and take out [of hell] anyone in whose heart you find faith equal to the weight of one half dīnār." They will take out whomever they will recognize and return, and then Allāh will say, "Go and take out [of hell] anyone in whose heart you find faith equal to the weight of an atom (or a smallest ant), and so they will take out all those whom they will recognize." Abū Sa´īd (the narrator) said: If you do not believe me then read the holy verse, "Surely! Allāh wrongs not even of the weight of an atom (or a smallest ant) but if there is any good [done], He doubles it."[820] The Prophet added, "Then the prophets and angels and the believers will intercede, and [last of all] the Almighty [Allāh] will say, 'Now remains My Intercession.'"[821]

Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī Tradition 9

> Allāh's Apostle said, "For every prophet there is one invocation which is definitely fulfilled by Allāh, and I wish, if Allāh will, to reserve that invocation to be my intercession for my followers on the Day of Judgment."[822]

The Claim that the Prophet (ص) was an Ordinary Person

Wahhābīs claim that the Prophet (ص) was none but an ordinary human being like the rest of us. Indeed, they say what the disbelievers would say. According to the Qur`ān, the disbelievers told Noah, "We do not see you as anything but a person like us... We do not see any superiority in you above us."[823] They also said, "He is nothing but a person like you; he [just] wants to make himself superior to you."[824] And they told Noah, Ṣāliḥ, and Hūd, "You are not but people like us."[825] They even argued that, "This is not but a person like you. He eats of what you eat and drinks of what you drink."[826]

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[819] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #8.76.574.
[820] Qur`ān 4:40.
[821] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #9.93.532s.
[822] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #9.93.566.
[823] Qur`ān 11:27.
[824] Qur`ān 23:24.
[825] Qur`ān 14:10.
[826] Qur`ān 23:33.

In response, "The prophets told them: We are not but human like you, but Allāh bestows His favor upon whom He wishes from among His servants."[827] As such, the prophets were not the same as the rest of people because they were favored by Allāh. Indeed, beyond the word of the Qur`ān, proof of the Wahhābīs being wrong in this regards lies in the fact that the consensus (ijmā´) of all Muslims, both Sunnī and Shī´ah, from the time of the Prophet (ص) until the development of Wahhābīsm was that the Prophet (ص) was not an ordinary person, and that he and other sincere believers would intercede on the Day of Judgment with Allāh's permission.

The Permissibility of Seeking ´Alī (ع) and His Belongings as Blessings

In the Battle of Khaybar, the Prophet (ص) told ´Alī (ع), "Were it not [for the fact] that a group of my people would say regarding you what the Christians said regarding Jesus the son of Mary, I would have told you something so that you would not cross through any land of the Muslims without them taking the sand from under your feet and the water of your ablution as a blessing."[828] This tradition clearly shows that it would be permissible to take the sand under ´Alī's (ع) feet and the water of his ablution as a blessings, as long as one does not attribute divine qualities to ´Alī (ع).

Uways al-Qaranī Demonstrates the Permissibility of Asking Holy Muslims to Pray on One's Behalf

Indeed, the Prophet (ص) told his companions to ask pious Muslims to pray for their forgiveness from Allāh. Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim includes three traditions in which the Prophet (ص) told his companions to ask Uways al-Qaranī to pray for them if they were to ever meet him. Uways was a pious believer from among the people of Yemen who was an ardent supporter of ´Alī (ع), but who spent most of his time in seclusion, taking care of his old mother. He never personally met the Prophet (ص), but the Prophet (ص) told his companions about the sanctity of this man. After the Prophet's (ص) death, Uways remained in seclusion until ´Alī (ع) became the caliph. At that point, Uways joined ´Alī's (ع) army and was martyred by Mu´āwīyah's forces in the Battle of Ṣiffīn.[829]

Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim Tradition 1

> ´Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb reported: I heard Allāh's Messenger say, "Worthy amongst the successors would be a person who would be called Uways. He would have his mother [living with him] and he would have a sign of leprosy. Ask him to beg pardon for you [from Allāh]."[830]

Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim Tradition 2

> Allāh's Messenger said, "There would come to you a person from Yemen who would be called Uways and he would leave none in Yemen [behind] except his mother, and he would have the whiteness [of leprosy]. He supplicated Allāh and it was cured except for the size of a dīnār or dirham. He amongst you who meets him should ask him to supplicate for forgiveness [from Allāh] for you."[831]

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[827] Qur`ān 14:11.

[828] Mu´jam al-Kabīr Ṭabarānī 1:320; Majma´ al-Zawā`id #14752; Manāqib Khwārazmī #188, #310; Kifāyah al-Ṭālib 264, chapter 62; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 5:4, 9:168, 18:282..

[829] Refer to Iṣābah 1:129-131 #500 (Uways ibn ´Āmir).

[830] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #31.6171.

[831] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #31.6170.

Sahīh Muslim Tradition 3

> [Someone who had just performed ḥajj] came to Uways and said, "Beg forgiveness [from Allāh] for me." [Uways] said, "You have just come from the sacred journey [of ḥajj]; you therefore ask forgiveness for me." [The person who had performed ḥajj] said, "Ask [for] forgiveness for me [from Allāh]." Uways again said, "You have just come from the sacred journey, so you ask forgiveness for me." [Uways further] said, "Did you meet ʿUmar [who told you to ask me for forgiveness]?" He said, "Yes." [Uways] then begged forgiveness for him [from Allāh]. So the people came to know about [the status of religious piety] of Uways [and the need to ask him to pray for one]... His clothing consisted of a mantle, and whosoever saw him said, "From where did Uways get this mantle?"[832]

These traditions are clear in showing that Muslims can and even should ask pious believers to pray for them. There are many more traditions in this regards, but these three traditions are clear and widely accepted among Sunnīs and suffice for our proof that asking others to pray on one's behalf or to intercede with Allāh on one's behalf is permissible.

Allāh Orders the Believers to Pray for the Prophet (ص)

The Qur`ān says,

> Allāh and His angels send blessings on the Prophet. O believers! Send blessings onto him and salute him with a proper salutation.[833]

This verse clearly orders the believers to send blessings onto the Prophet (ص). This verse refers to the ṣalawāt, which we have already discussed in chapter 10. In the ṣalawāt, one says, "O Allāh! Bless Muḥammad and the family of Muḥammad." If it is permissible for the believers to ask Allāh to bless the Prophet (ص), how is it forbidden for the believers to ask Allāh to bless and forgive the sins of their fellow believers? And if this is permissible, then it becomes permissible for the Shīʿah to ask their imāms from the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) to pray for their forgiveness.

The Permissibility of Celebrating the Birth of the Prophet (ص)

Wahhābīs criticize Muslims for celebrating the birth of the Prophet (ص), claiming that such celebrations amount to idolatry and innovation. Yet, honoring the Prophet (ص) is commanded in the Qur`ān:

> So it is those who believe in him, *honor him*, help him, and follow the light that is sent down with him—it is they who will prosper.[834]

Clearly, celebrating his birth is a form of honoring him and is therefore explicitly allowed. Moreover, the purpose of these gatherings is to worship Allāh and to remember the services of the Prophet (ص) and his pious followers. This is obviously not forbidden, as the Qur`ān asks, "[Have we not] exalted your remembrance?"[835] Clearly, the remembrance of the Prophet (ص) is a holy act enjoined by this verse. The Qur`ān also says, "And those who come after them say: Our Lord! Forgive us and our brethren who have preceded us in faith, and put not in our hearts any hatred towards those who have believed."[836] As such, the Qur`ān expects us to gather and remember those who preceded us in faith and to pray for them. Indeed, the Prophet (ص) said, "Mentioning ʿAlī is worship."[837] Therefore, gatherings to remember the leaders of Islām before us are not only not an act of idolatry, but rather an act of worship.

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[832] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #31.6172.
[833] Qur`ān 33:56.
[834] Qur`ān 7:157.

Furthermore, the Qur`ān says, "[O Prophet], say: I do not ask of you any reward for it (i.e. the guidance I brought you), except for affection to the close ones."[838] A discussion of this verse is deferred to chapter 22, but it is rather obvious from this verse that we are commanded to show our affection to the Ahl al-Bayt (ع). For anyone to prohibit a display of this affection is equivalent to prohibiting Muslims from granting the Prophet (ص) his one and only reward that he is to receive from us.

Finally, Jesus (ع) said, "Our Lord! Send down upon us a table spread from heaven so that it could be a celebration (ʿīd) for the first of us and the last of us and a sign from You."[839] If a table of food appearing for Jesus (ع) is sufficient to turn that day into celebration for the first and last of us, how is it that celebrating Allāh's creation of His Messenger (ص) and His appointing him to prophecy would be equivalent to idolatry?

The Death of Fāṭimah bint Asad

In the year 4 A.H., ʿAlī's (ع) mother, Fāṭimah bint Asad ibn Hāshim, passed away. She was the eleventh person to accept Islām,[840] and the second woman to do. She had served as a mother figure to the Prophet (ص), caring for him as her own son during his youth. The Prophet (ص) said, "After Abū Ṭālib, she was the kindest of Allāh's creation to me."[841] The Qur`ān reminds the Prophet (ص) of his life as an orphan and his being taken care of by ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, Abū Ṭālib, and Fāṭimah bint Asad when it says, "Did He (Allāh) not find you an orphan and shelter you?"[842] The Prophet (ص) returned Fāṭimah bint Asad's kindness by using his shirt as her burial shroud (kafan). It is related,

> When Fāṭimah bint Asad, the mother of ʿAlī, died in Madīnah, the Messenger of Allāh (ص) removed his shirt and ordered that it be used to drape her. She was draped in it. He went into her grave with her and lay in it. The people exclaimed, "O Messenger of Allāh! We saw you doing something with her that you have not done with anyone before her!" The Prophet (ص) said, "I placed my shirt over her so that Allāh may dress her with the clothing of heaven, and I slept in her grave so that the pressures of the grave would be relieved from her because she was the kindest person to me after Abū Ṭālib."[843]

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835. Qur`ān 94:4.
836. Qur`ān 59:10.
837. Jāmiʿ al-Ṣaghīr Suyūṭī #4332; Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #32894; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:394.
838. Qur`ān 42:23.
839. Qur`ān 5:114.
840. Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 1:14.
841. Riyāḍ al-Nadirah 3:104. Similarly, Iṣābah 4:2600 #11580 (Fāṭimah bint Asad); Usd al-Ghābah 5:361 #7177 (Fāṭimah bint Asad).
842. Qur`ān 93:6.
843. Manāqib Ibn Mughāzilī #115. Similarly, Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #34424, #37608; Majmaʿ al-Zawā`id #15400; Istīʿāb 4:446 #3486 (Fāṭimah bint Asad); Usd al-Ghābah 5:361 #7177 (Fāṭimah bint Asad); Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 1:14; Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:104.

This tradition not only shows the love the Prophet (ص) had for Fāṭimah bint Asad, but also that he considered his shirt to be of value both in the grave and in the hereafter.

Chapter 12
The Piety of ʿAlī (ع) Proves His Superiority and Imāmate

Feeding the Indigent, the Orphan, and the Captive

The Qur`ān says:

> As to the righteous, they shall drink of a cup mixed with camphor [at] a fountain where the devotees of Allāh drink, making it flow in unstinted abundance. They fulfill [their] vows and they fear a day whose evil flies far and wide. *And they feed, out of their love for Him, the indigent, the orphan, and the captive,* [saying], "We feed you for the sake of Allāh alone. No reward do we desire from you, nor thanks. We only fear a day of distressful wrath from our Lord." But Allāh will deliver them from the vile of that day and will shed over them a light of beauty and joy. And because they were patient and constant, He will reward them with a garden and [garments of] silk. Reclining therein on raised thrones, they will see neither the sun's [excessive heat] nor excessive cold. And the shades of the [garden] will come low over them and bunches [of fruit] will hang low in humility. And amongst them will be passed round vessels of silver and goblets of clear crystal—crystal-clear, made of silver; they will determine the measure thereof. And there they will be given to drink of a cup mixed with ginger (zanjabīl), [from] a fount there called Salsabīl. And round about them will [serve] perpetual youths; if you see them, you would perceive them as scattered pearls. And when you look, you will see a blissful and a magnificent realm. Upon them will be green garments of fine silk and heavy brocade, and they will be adorned with bracelets of silver, and their Lord will give to them to drink of a wine, pure and holy. Surely this is a reward for you as your endeavors [on earth] are accepted and recognized.[844]

The verse, "And they feed, out of their love for Him (Allāh), the indigent, the orphan, and the captive,"[845] refers to ʿAlī, Fāṭimah, Ḥasan, and Ḥusayn (ع). According to Tafsīr Rāzī, Ibn ʿAbbās said,

> Ḥasan and Ḥusayn were sick. The Messenger of Allāh (ص) visited them along with some people. They said, "O Abū al-Ḥasan (i.e. ʿAlī, why don't you make a nadhr[846] for your sons?" ʿAlī and Fāṭimah and Fiḍḍah, their servant, made a nadhr that, if Ḥasan and Ḥusayn were to recover from what had afflicted them, they would fast for three days. The two boys recovered [and ʿAlī and Fāṭimah and Fiḍḍah fasted as promised]. But [when it came to preparing Ifṭār], they had nothing [to eat]. ʿAlī borrowed three scoops of barley from Shamʿūn al-

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[844] Qur`ān 76:5-22.

[845] Qur`ān 76:8.

[846] A nadhr is a vow to Allāh that one would perform a specific deed if one's wish comes true.

> Khaybarī al-Yahūdī. Fāṭimah grinded one scoop of it into flour and made five loaves of barley bread, one for each of them. They put [the loaves] in front of themselves to break their fast, but a beggar stopped by and said, "Peace be upon you, O Ahl al-Bayt of Muḥammad! [I am] an indigent man among the indigent Muslims. Feed me so that Allāh may feed you from the table spreads of paradise." They gave him the loaves, slept without having anything but water, and fasted the next morning. When they were about to break their fast [on the second day], as [they were] setting out their food in front of themselves, an orphan stopped by, and they gave him the food. On the third evening, a prisoner stopped by, and they did the same. When they woke up the next morning, ʿAlī took the hands of Ḥasan and Ḥusayn and went to the Messenger of Allāh (ص). When he saw them shaking from the severity of their hunger like fledgling birds, he said, "What would sadden me more than [the condition in which] I am seeing in you?" He got up and went with them [to ʿAlī's house]. He saw Fāṭimah in her prayer niche (miḥrāb) with her stomach stuck to her back [from hunger] and her eyes sunken in [from starvation]. He was saddened by this sight. Gabriel then came and said, "Take it, O Muḥammad! Allāh has given you this in regards to your Ahl al-Bayt." He then recited the sūrah.[847]

The fact that the verse, "And they feed, out of their love for Him (Allāh), the indigent, the orphan, and the captive,"[848] was revealed in regards to ʿAlī, Fāṭimah, Ḥasan, and Ḥusayn (ع), is widely cited by Sunnī scholars, particularly in their books of Qurʾānic commentary.[849]

Other Qurʾānic Verses Regarding the Piety (Zuhd) of ʿAlī (ع)

Verse 1: ʿAlī (ع) Would Spend in Charity by Day and Night, Privately and Publicly

The verse, "Those who spend their wealth [in charity] by night and day, privately and publicly will receive their rewards from their Lord; there is neither fear for them nor do they worry,"[850] was revealed in regards to ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib (ع) who, when he had nothing but four dirhams, gave one away in private, one in public, one at daytime, and one at nighttime.[851]

Verse 2: ʿAlī (ع) Gave Charity While Bending in Prayer

It was ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib (ع) in regards to whom the verse, "Your walī is only Allāh and His Messenger and those who believe, the believers who stand in prayer and pay charity while bending in prayer (rukūʿ),"[852] was revealed when he gave his ring in charity to a beggar while bending in prayer.[853]

Traditions Regarding the Piety of ʿAlī (ع)

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[847] Tafsīr Rāzī, verse 76:8.

[848] Qurʾān 76:8.

[849] Tafsīr Rāzī, Tafsīr Qurṭubī, Tafsīr Bayḍāwī, Tafsīr Thaʿlabī, Tafsīr Nīsābūrī, Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, Tafsīr Shawkānī, Tafsīr Baghawī, and Tafsīr Thaʿlabī, verse 76:8. Also refer to Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:180, 3:208-9.

[850] Qurʾān 2:274.

[851] Usd al-Ghābah 3:291 #3789 (ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib); Majmaʿ al-Zawāʾid #10884; Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:178; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 1:21-22; Tārīkh Damishq 42:358; Tafsīr Ibn Kathīr, Tafsīr Rāzī, Tafsīr Zamakhsharī, Tafsīr Bayḍāwī, Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, and Tafsīr Thaʿlabī, verse 2:274.

[852] Qurʾān 5:55.

[853] Refer to chapter 31 which is devoted to this verse.

Since traditions regarding the piety of ʿAlī (ع) are innumerable and undisputed, just a small selection will be cited here:

Tradition 1

> ʿAlī (would say, "O worldly life (dunyā), fool someone other than me."[854]

Tradition 2

> ʿAlī said, "I would tie a rock to my belly from hunger, even if I were to give away forty thousand dīnārs a day in charity."[855]

Tradition 3

It is narrated through many traditions that ʿAlī (ع) would wear the simplest of clothing and the harshest of fabrics.[856]

Tradition 4

When ʿAlī died, his son Ḥasan said,

> "He has not left but eight hundred dirhams, by which he wanted to obtain a servant [to help with his large family]."[857]

Tradition 5

> The Messenger of Allāh (ص) told ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib, "O ʿAlī! Verily Allāh has decorated you with a decoration more beloved than which He has not decorated any of His servants—piety (zuhd) in the world. He has made you needless of this world and has granted you the love of the poor. You are pleased with having them as your followers, and they are pleased with having you as their leader (imām)."[858]

Tradition 6

> The Messenger of Allāh (ص) told ʿAlī, "Verily Allāh has made you the lover of the poor. You are pleased with them as followers and they are pleased with you as their leader (imām). So blessed is the one who follows you and tells the truth in [regards to] you. And woe unto the one who despises you and who renounces you."[859]

Tradition 7

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[854] Istīʿāb 3:211 #1875 (ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib). Similarly, Istīʿāb 3:212 #1875 (ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib); Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 1:22; Tārīkh Damishq 42:478.

[855] Musnad Ḥanbal #1367-8; Faḍāʾil Ḥanbal #899, #927, #1217, #1218; Usd al-Ghābah 3:289 #3789 (ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib); Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:207-8; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:368; Tārīkh Damishq 42:375 (two traditions).

[856] Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 3:27-30 (several traditions); Istīʿāb 3:211 #1875 (ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib); Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:211-3 (several traditions).

[857] Refer to chapter 88.

[858] Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:210; Majmaʿ al-Zawāʾid #14703, #14756; Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #33053; Usd al-Ghābah 3:289 #3789 (ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib); Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 9:166. Slight differences in phrasing exist among the various traditions.

[859] Manāqib Ibn Mughāzilī #159.

According to Ibn ´Abd al-Barr,

> When any property would come to him [as caliph], he would divide all of it [among the people]; he would not leave anything in the treasury except that property which he was unable to divide on that day.[860]

Tradition 8

According to Muḥibb Ṭabarī and Ḥanbal, when ´Alī (ع) was caliph,

> Ibn al-Tayyāḥ went to him and said, "O Commander of the Faithful, fill the treasury with gold and silver." ´Alī exclaimed, "Allāh is greater!" He stood, using Ibn al-Tayyāḥ as support, and went to the treasury. ´Alī called the people of Kūfah and divided among them everything contained in the treasury. He said, "O gold! O silver! Fool someone other than me." He gave it [all] away until neither one dīnār nor one dirham remained in [the treasury]. He [then] asked for the room to be washed, and prayed two rak´ahs in it."[861]

Tradition 9

When ´Alī (ع) was caliph, he needed money, so he went to the pulpit and asked, "Who would buy this sword from me?"[862] ´Abd al-Razzāq commented, "At that time, the entire [Muslim] world was in his control except for Syria."[863] In fact, that sword was one that he had used to fight with in front of the Messenger of Allāh (ص), and he said, "Were there any wage for my leadership, I would not have sold it."[864]

Tradition 10

Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd has recounted an exchange between ´Aqīl ibn Abī Ṭālib, ´Alī's (ع) blind brother, and Mu´āwīyah as follows:

> Mu´āwīyah told [´Aqīl], "You mentioned one (i.e. ´Alī) whose qualities are undeniable. May Allāh have mercy on Abū al-Ḥasan! He surpassed those before him and made it impossible for those who come after him [to match him in merit]."
>
> [´Aqīl] said, "I became poor and was struck by great hunger. I asked [´Alī for money from the treasury]. ´Alī's kindness had not been affected [by his being at the helm of political power]. I went to him with much hope. My suffering and loss were evident to him. He said, 'Come to me at night so I may give you something.' I went to him, [taking] one of my children to guide me. I ordered [my child] to leave. [´Alī] said, 'Take it.' I stretched my hand out avariciously, as greed had taken over me. I imagined it to be a package of money, but instead I set my hand on a blazing hot stone. The moment I grabbed it, I pulled my hand away and made the sound a bull makes at the hands of the butcher. He said, 'May your mother lose you! This is a stone upon which the fire of this

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[860] Istī´āb 3:211#1875 (´Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib).

[861] Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:210-1; Faḍā`il Ḥanbal #884. Summarily, Istī´āb 3:211 #1875 (´Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib)

[862] Istī´āb 3:212 #1875 (´Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib); Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:220; Faḍā`il Ḥanbal #897, #925

[863] Istī´āb 3:212 #1875 (´Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib).

[864] Istī´āb 3:212 #1875 (´Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib); Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:220.

> world has been lit. How would it be for you and me tomorrow if we are dragged into the chains of hell?' He then recited, 'When the chains and yokes are on their necks, they shall be dragged.'[865] He then said, 'Any right you claim from my [treasury] above that which Allāh has mandated for you will be none other than what you saw. So return to your family.'" Mu'āwīyah was amazed and said, "Wow! Wow! Women are barren [when it comes to] bearing one like him."[866]

These traditions clearly show that 'Alī's (ع) piety surpassed that of the other caliphs, who gave away the Muslim nation's property to their family and friends even though many of them were wealthy to begin with. 'Alī (ع) would not even feed his starving brother an iota from the treasury that was not rightfully his. This is a clear condemnation of the caliphs who filled the coffers of their family and friends at the expense of the Muslim nation.

Fāṭimah's (ع) Blistered Hands

According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, Fāṭimah developed blisters on her hands from using a hand-mill to make bread for her family:

> Narrated 'Alī: Fāṭimah complained about the blisters on her hand because of using a mill-stone. She went to ask the Prophet for a servant, but she did not find him [at home] and had to inform 'Ā'ishah of her need. When he came, 'Ā'ishah told him about it. The Prophet came to us when we had gone to our beds. When I was going to get up, he said, "'Stay in your places," and sat between us, till I felt the coolness of the feet on my chest. The Prophet then said, "Shall I not tell you of a thing which is better for you than a servant? When you go to your beds, say, 'Allāhu Akbar' thirty-four times, and 'Alḥamdu lillāh' thirty-three times, and 'Subḥān Allāh' thirty-three times, for that is better for you than a servant.[867]

Only 'Alī (ع) was Willing to Spend in Charity to Speak to the Prophet (ص)

According to a tradition Ḥākim has certified as authentic by the criteria of both Bukhārī and Muslim, 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib said,

> There is a verse in the Qur'ān that no one acted upon before me or after me—the verse of private counsel (najwā): "O you who believe, when you seek private counsel with the Messenger, spend something in charity before your private counsel. This is better for you."[868] I had a dīnār, so I exchanged it for ten dirhams. I would converse privately with the Prophet (ص), so each time I conversed with the Prophet (ص) privately, I would give away a dirham beforehand. This [verse] was then abrogated as no one [else] acted upon it, so it was revealed, "Did you fear giving charity before your private counsel?"[869,870]

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[865] Qur'ān 40:71.

[866] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 11:253-254.

[867] This is a composite of very similar accounts in Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #4.53.344, #5.57.55, #7.64.274, #7.64.275, #8.75.330.

[868] Qur'ān 58:12.

[869] Qur'ān 58:13.

[870] Mustadrak Ḥākim #3794 (certifies the tradition as authentic by the criteria of Bukhārī and Muslim).

This and similar accounts from ʹAlī (ع) have been widely recounted in Sunnī commentaries, including Tafsīr Ṭabarī, Tafsīr Rāzī, Tafsīr Ibn Kathīr, Tafsīr Zamakhsharī, Tafsīr Qurṭubī, Tafsīr Shawkānī, Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, Tafsīr Māwardī, Tafsīr Ibn ʹAṭiyyah, Tafsīr Nīsābūrī, Tafsīr Ibn ʹĀdil, and Tafsīr Baqāʹī.[871] Abū Bakr, despite his worldly wealth and despite the fact that ʹĀʹishah said that he emigrated to Madīnah with 5,000[872] or 10,000[873] dirhams, did not spend anything in charity to speak privately with the Prophet (ص), and neither did any of the other companions. The Qurʹān criticized the Muslims in this regards, when it said,

> Did you fear giving charity before your private counsel [with the Prophet]? You did not do it, yet Allāh has forgiven you.[874]

Ibn Kathīr, in his Tafsīr, said,

> Allāh commanded His believing servants, when any of them wanted to speak with Allāh's Messenger in secret, to give away charity beforehand so that his charity would cleanse and purify him and make him worthy of having private counsel with the Prophet. This is why Allāh, the exalted, said, "That will be better and purer for you." Then He said, "But if you find not," meaning if one is unable to do so due to poverty, "then verily, Allāh is oft-forgiving, most merciful." He only commanded those who are financially able to give this type of charity...
>
> Allāh abrogated the obligation of giving this charity. It was said that no one implemented this command before its abrogation except ʹAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib. ʹAlī ibn Abī Ṭalḥah reported from Ibn ʹAbbās, "The Muslims kept asking Allāh's Messenger questions until it became difficult on him. Allāh wanted to lighten the burden from His Prophet. So when He said this, many Muslims were afraid to pay this charity and stopped asking. Afterwards, Allāh sent down the verse, 'Are you afraid of spending in charity before your private consultation? If then you do it not, and Allāh has forgiven you, then perform prayers (ṣalāt) and give charity (zakāt).' Thus Allāh made things easy and lenient for them."
>
> ...Saʹīd ibn Abī ʹArūbah reported from Qatādah and Muqātil ibn Ḥayyān, "People kept questioning Allāh's Messenger until they made things difficult for him. Allāh provided a way to stop their behavior by this verse. One of them would need to speak to Allāh's Prophet about a real matter, but could not do so until he gave in charity. This became hard on people and Allāh sent down relief from this requirement afterwards."[875]

Some Sunnī commentaries claim that this verse was in effect for only one hour.[876] This, however, goes against ʹAlī's (ع) claim in widely cited traditions that he gave away ten dirhams on separate occasions to have ten separate private conversations with the Prophet (ص). Moreover, it would not make sense for the Qurʹān to rebuke the Muslims for not giving charity when they only had one hour of one day in which to do so, a time so short that presumably most of them would not even have had the chance to become aware of the revelation of the verse.

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[871] Tafsīr Ṭabarī, Tafsīr Rāzī, Tafsīr Ibn Kathīr, Tafsīr Zamakhsharī, Tafsīr Qurṭubī, Tafsīr Shawkānī, Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, Tafsīr Māwardī, Tafsīr Ibn ʹAṭiyyah, Tafsīr Nīsābūrī, Tafsīr Ibn ʹĀdil, and Tafsir Baqāʹī, verses 58:12-13.

[872] Tārīkh al-Khulafāʹ 40.

[873] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 13:274.

[874] Qurʹān 58:13.

[875] Tafsīr Ibn Kathīr, verses 58:12-13.

[876] For example, Tafsīr Ibn Kathīr and Tafsīr Shawkānī, verse 58:12.

The fact that Allāh forgave the Muslims proves that they either sinned or that they lost a benefit that Allāh had granted them. In the first case, the Muslims sinned by not paying charity and still seeking private counsel with the Prophet (ص). In the second case, they gave up the benefit of conversing with the Prophet (ص) because they did not want to pay any charity. In either case, it proves the superiority of ʿAlī (ع) over all the other companions, as he was the only one who followed the command of Allāh either by being the only one who did not sin or by being the only one who did not give up the benefit of private counsel with the Prophet (ص). It also proves that the companions had such low regard for the Prophet's (ص) private counsel that, as long as it was free, they would abuse it to the point of annoying the Prophet (ص), but would not be willing to give away a grain of wheat in charity to enjoy its benefit.

According to the Shīʿah scholar ʿAllāmah Majlisī,

> From this it becomes evident that the false traditions the Sunnīs have invented claiming that their tyrannical caliphs spent huge sums in the path of Islām are pure lies. It is clear that if they cared about Islām at all, they wouldn't have found it impossible to give one dirham or even a single date as charity during those ten days in order to avoid such rebuke.[877]

Yet, even though Abū Bakr would not spend a penny on charity to meet with the Prophet (ص), there are those who claim that Abū Bakr was the most charitable of all the companions![878] In fact, ʿUmar's stinginess with regards to charity was truly stunning. According to Suyūṭī, "ʿUmar performed the ḥajj in the year 23 [A.H.] and gave away sixteen dīnārs in charity. He then said [to his son], 'O ʿAbd Allāh! We have spent this wealth extravagantly (isrāf)!'"[879]

These events make it clear that ʿAlī (ع) was the one person who gave the highest value to the Prophet's (ص) private counsel. As we shall see later, he was the one who received the most private counsel from the Prophet (ص), and was thereby granted the most thorough knowledge of Islām.[880] This is clear proof of the superiority of ʿAlī (ع) over all the other companions. Indeed, it also shows that ʿAlī (ع) valued the Prophet (ص) more than worldly goods, whereas other companions valued their worldly goods more than the Prophet's (ص) private counsel. It is no surprise that the Prophet (ص) said, "[ʿAlī is] the leader (yaʿsūb) of the believers, while [worldly] wealth is the leader of the oppressors."[881]

Proof of ʿAlī's (ع) Imāmate and Caliphate Based on His Piety

These verses and traditions clearly show that ʿAlī (ع) had a right to the imāmate and caliphate that no other companion could lay a claim to. He was the most pious and charitable of the companions, and the only one willing to give the goods of this world to attain the bounties of the Prophet's (ص) private counsel. Moreover, the political leadership of Muslims requires an individual who has divorced the possessions of this world so that he can safeguard the interests of the Muslim nation instead of the personal wealth of the caliph himself, as well as that of his family, tribesmen, and circle of cronies. The entire history of the Islāmic caliphate is that of the accumulation of worldly wealth and engagement in sinful earthly pleasures by corrupt rulers, with rare and very short-lived exceptions. It is impossible for such rulers to be the "Caliph of Allāh on Earth," as they reflected no Islāmic values in the way they governed. Clearly, ʹAlī (ع) stood out from among the caliphs in regards to his piety and his management of the Islāmic treasury in accordance with the precepts of Islām. While he can rightly claim to be the representative of Allāh and His Prophet (ص), the others can, at best, claim to be the rulers of the worldly masses.

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[877] Ḥaqq al-Yaqīn 89.

[878] Tārīkh al-Khulafāʾ 40.

[879] Tārīkh al-Khulafāʾ 128.

[880] Refer to chapters 17 and 26.

[881] Tārīkh Damishq 42:41-3; Jāmiʿ al-Ṣaghīr Suyūṭī #5600; Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #32990, #36381, #36382; Majmaʿ al-Zawāʾid #14597; Muʿjam al-Kabīr Ṭabarānī 6:269. Some traditions substitute "oppressors" with "hypocrites" (Jāmiʿ al-Ṣaghīr Suyūṭī #5600, Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #36382) or "disbelievers" (Tārīkh Damishq 42:43).

Furthermore, ʹAlī (ع) was most strict on his governors, not allowing them any freedom to steal from the property of the Muslim nation.[882] This is in sharp contrast to the caliphs before him, specifically ʹUthmān, as well as those after him, who allowed their governors to indulge themselves in property that belonged to the Muslim nation. Unfortunately, these illegitimate caliphs set examples for lack of piety and greed that have persisted to this day among the majority of the leaders of the Muslim world. Their behavior has to be contrasted with ʹAlī (ع) who said, "O world! Fool other than me. Do you try to present yourself to me? Or do you try to get me excited about you? How preposterous! How preposterous! I have divorced you three times, a divorce after which there is no return."[883]

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882. Istīʹāb 3:211 #1875 (ʹAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib).
883. Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:187.

Chapter 13
The Battle of Aḥzāb: Faith Versus Hypocrisy

In the year 5 A.H. several Jewish tribes around Madīnah and the pagans of the Quraysh unified their forces to attack Madīnah. According to Ibn Kathīr,

> The reason why the Confederates came was that a group of the leaders of the Jews of Banū Naḍīr, whom the Messenger of Allāh had expelled from Madīnah to Khaybar... went to Mecca where they met with the leaders of the Quraysh and incited them to wage war against the Prophet. They promised that they would give them help and support, and the Quraysh agreed to that. Then they went to the Ghaṭafān tribe with the same call, and they responded too. The Quraysh came out with their company of men from various tribes and their followers, under the leadership of Abū Sufyān Ṣakhr ibn Ḥarb... In all, they numbered nearly ten thousand. When the Messenger of Allāh heard that they had set out, he commanded the Muslims to dig a trench (khandaq) around Madīnah from the east. This was on the advice of Salmān al-Fārsī. So the Muslims did this, working hard, and the Messenger of Allāh worked with them, carrying earth away and digging, in the process of which there occurred many miracles and clear signs...
>
> They besieged the Prophet and his companions for almost a month, but they did not reach them and there was no fighting between them, except for when ʿAmr ibn ʿAbd Wudd al-ʿĀmirī, who was one of the most famous and bravest of horsemen of the Days of Ignorance, came with some other horsemen and crossed the ditch to the Muslim side. The Messenger of Allāh called for the Muslim cavalry, and it was said that no one came forward. Then he called ʿAlī, who came forward and they fought in single combat until ʿAlī killed him and this was a sign of imminent victory. Then Allāh sent an intensely cold wind with strong gusts against the Confederates, and they were left with no tents or anything else, [so they abandoned their siege of Madīnah].[884]

This narrative summarizes the events of the battle, except for one major omission. By brushing over the events, Ibn Kathīr made it appear that ʿAlī (ع) was called to battle, as opposed to volunteering for battle. The reality according to the books of history is that ʿAlī (ع) was ready to go out and fight against ʿAmr ibn ʿAbd Wudd the entire time. The Messenger of Allāh (ص) ordered ʿAlī (ع) to sit and wait so that someone else might take action. However, on that day, not a single other Muslim would rise out of fear of ʿAmr ibn ʿAbd Wudd because of his reputation as being the most ferocious of fighters.

ʿAlī (ع) Saved the Muslim Nation While Other Companions Avoided Battle

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[884] Tafsīr Ibn Kathīr, verse 33:10.

According to Ibn Isḥāq,

> When ʹAmr [ibn ʹAbd Wudd] issued his challenge to single combat, ʹAlī got up clad in armor and asked the Prophet's permission to fight him, but he told him to sit down, for it was ʹAmr. Then ʹAmr repeated his challenge, taunting them and saying, "Where is your garden of which you say that those you lose in battle will enter it? Can't you send a man to fight me?" Again ʹAlī asked the Prophet's permission to go out, and again he told him to sit down. Then ʹAmr called out the third time,
>
> I've become hoarse from shouting
> Isn't there one among the lot of you who'll answer my challenge?
> I've stood here like a fighting champion
> While the so-called brave are cowards.
> I've always been hastened to the front
> Before the fight begins
> Bravery and generosity are in truth
> The best qualities of a warrior.
>
> ʹAlī asked the Prophet's permission to fight him, even if it was ʹAmr, and he let him go. He marched towards him saying the while,
>
> Don't be in a hurry. No weakling
> Has come to answer your challenge.
> A man of resolution and foresight.
> Truth is the refuge of the successful.
> I hope to make the keening women
> Busy over your corpse
> Through the blow of a spear
> Whose memory will last while fights are talked of.
>
> ʹAmr asked him who he was and, when he told him, he said, "Let it be one of your uncles who is older than you, my nephew, for I don't want to shed your blood." ʹAlī answered, "But I do want to shed your blood." He became angry, and drew his sword which flashed like fire, and advanced in his anger. ʹAlī said to him, "How can I fight you when you are on a horse? Dismount and be on a level with me." So he got off his horse and came at him and ʹAlī advanced with his shield. ʹAmr aimed a blow which cut deeply into the shield so that the sword stuck in it and struck his head. ʹAlī gave him a blow on the vein at the base of his neck and ʹAmr fell to the ground. The dust rose and the Apostle heard the cry, "Allāhu Akbar!" and knew that ʹAlī had killed him.
>
> As [ʹAlī] came towards the Apostle smiling with joy, ʹUmar asked him if he had stripped him of his armor, for it was the best that could be found among the Arabs. He answered, "When I had struck him down, he turned his private parts towards me and I felt ashamed to despoil him and moreover he had said that he did not want to shed my blood because my father was a friend of his."[885]

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[885] Sīrah Ibn Isḥāq 455-456.

Similar accounts appear in numerous Sunnī sources.[886] Since ʿAlī (ع) killed ʿAmr ibn ʿAbd Wudd, and also because of the dark winds sent by Allāh, the Meccans decided to leave in utter frustration. In this battle, six Muslims were martyred.[887]

According to Sunnī sources, the Prophet (ص) said, "The fight between ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib and ʿAmr ibn ʿAbd Wudd is superior to the deeds of my people until the Day of Judgment."[888] Indeed, the killing of ʿAmr ibn ʿAbd Wudd secured the religion of Islām from what otherwise may have been its complete destruction at the hands of the allied pagan and Jewish tribes. Yaḥyā ibn Ādam said, "ʿAlī's killing ʿAmr resembles nothing but the word of Allāh, 'By Allāh's will they routed them, and David slew Goliath.'[889]"[890] This shows the gravity of the situation, the weakness of the outnumbered Muslim army, and the fact that ʿAlī (ع) brought the Muslims victory just as David (ع) had brought victory to the Children of Israel.

This event further demonstrates the lack of fear of ʿAlī (ع) in his struggle for Allāh as well as his superiority over the rest of the companions. While the companions froze in fear of ʿAmr ibn ʿAbd Wudd, ʿAlī (ع) stood up with his sword, ready to struggle for Islām, in much the same way that he had remained in place to protect the Prophet (ص) in Uḥud while the vast majority of the companions were fleeing. It is amazing that none of the companions would answer ʿAmr's challenge so that they might in fact become martyred and go to heaven. Some traditions indicate that the reason the Prophet (ص) insisted on ʿAlī (ع) not fighting ʿAmr was that he had recently lost his uncle Ḥamzah in the Battle of Uḥud and did not want to risk losing ʿAlī (ع) in this battle. Thus he said, "O Allāh! You took away from me ʿUbaydah ibn Ḥārith on the day of Badr and Ḥamzah ibn ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib on the day of Uḥud and here is ʿAlī, so do not leave me alone."[891] It may have also been to test his companions to see which ones would be willing to give up their lives for Islām.

The Qur`ān Revealed the Hypocrisy of Some Companions During this Battle

During Battle of Aḥzāb, the hypocrisy of some of the companions became evident. They told each other, "Muḥammad promises that the palaces of Madā`in [in Persia] and the [palaces of] Caesar [in Rome will be] yours, though you cannot win [even this battle]."[892] Some complained that, "We do not even feel safe going to defecate. What the Prophet promised us was just empty words."[893] In response, the following verse was revealed: "The hypocrites and those in whose hearts is a disease, said, 'Allāh and His Messenger have promised us nothing but delusions.'"[894,895] Indeed, Sūrah Aḥzāb[896] was named after this battle and addresses the hypocrisy of certain companions in some detail. According to verses 9 through 20 of this sūrah,

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[886] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 8:18-19; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 1:305; Sīrah Ibn Kathīr 3:202-5; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 4:120-1; Sīrah Ibn Hishām 708-9; Mustadrak Ḥākim #4326-31.

[887] Sīrah Ibn Hishām 731.

[888] Mustadrak Ḥākim #4327; Tārīkh Baghdād #6978 (Lu`lu` ibn ʿAbd Allāh); Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #33035.

[889] Qur`ān 2:251.

[890] Mustadrak Ḥākim #4330.

[891] Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #30105, #33034.

[892] Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 1:304; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 3:292. Similarly, Sīrah Ḥalabīyyah 2:640; Sīrah Ibn Hishām 365.

[893] Sīrah Ḥalabīyyah 2:640; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 3:292; Sīrah Ibn Hishām 365.

[894] Qur`ān 33:12.

[895] Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 1:304; Sīrah Ḥalabīyyah 2:640; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 3:292; Tārīkh Ṭabarī 8:12-13.

[896] Qur`ān, sūrah 33.

9. You who believe! Remember the grace of Allāh when there came to you the armies. But We sent against them strong winds and armies [of angels] that you could not see. And Allāh sees all that you do.

10. When they came to you from above you and below you, and when the eyes swerved and the eyes became dim and the hearts rose up to the throats and you began to think diverse thoughts about Allāh.

11. In that situation were the believers tried and they were shaken by a tremendous shaking.

12. And behold the hypocrites and those in whose hearts is a disease, said, "Allāh and His Messenger have promised us nothing but delusions."

13. When a group from among them said, "O people of Yathrib (Madīnah)! You cannot withstand [the attack], so return." And a band of them asked the Prophet for permission [to leave], saying "Our houses are exposed," even though they were not exposed. They intended nothing but to flee.

14. And if the enemy had entered from the sidelines and invited them to treason, they certainly would have done so with little hesitation.

15. Even though they had already pledged a covenant with Allāh beforehand not to turn their backs, and the oath to Allāh must be answered for.

16. Say, "Running away will not profit you. Even if you run away from death or slaughter, you will enjoy yourselves for only a little while."

17. Say, "Who is it who will protect you from Allāh if He intends to harm you or wishes to give you blessings?" And they will not find for themselves besides Allāh any guardian or helper.

18. Allāh knows indeed those among you who hold back others [from fighting] and those who say to their brethren, "Come to us," and they come not to fight but a little.

19. They hold back from you. When fear comes, you see them looking at you, their eyes rolling like one fainting from death; but when the fear is gone, they smite you with sharp tongues, coveting the spoils [of war]. These have not believed. Therefore Allāh has made their deeds naught; and this is easy for Allāh.

20. They think the allies are not gone, and if the allies return they would rather be in the desert with the Bedouins asking for news about you [from afar]. And if they were in your midst, they would not fight but a little.[897]

These verses make it abundantly clear that many of the companions doubted Islām during that battle. Some spoke out openly, saying "Allāh and His Messenger have promised us nothing but delusions." Others held back from battle and encouraged their friends to avoid joining the Muslim army. Others who were already on the battlefield came up with excuses to flee, claiming that their homes were exposed when they were, in reality, not.

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[897] Qur'ān 33:9-20.

Yet others who had not openly expressed their hypocrisy and treachery would have readily committed treason with little hesitation, breaking their covenant with Allāh, had any of the city's defenses, even the most peripheral ones, been breached and had the enemy invited them to treason. And this was the status of the majority of Muslims during that battle. Of course, there was a small faction of believers who held true to their beliefs:

> 22. And when the believers saw the Confederate forces (aḥzāb), they said, "This is what Allāh and His Messenger have promised us, and what Allāh and His Messenger have told us is true." And it only added to their faith and zeal in obedience.[898]

As indicated by this verse, it is no surprise that ʿAlī (ع) was not at all frightened during this battle. According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, in the Battle of Aḥzāb, the Prophet (ص) said to Allāh, "Without You, we would not have been guided, nor would we have given in charity, nor would we have prayed. So please send tranquility (sakīnah) upon us as they have rebelled against us."[899] Of course, as we have discussed earlier, this sakīnah (tranquility, serenity) only blesses the true believers such as ʿAlī (ع), as so many of the companions expressed outright fear of battle, a sheer desire for life over martyrdom, signs of treachery, and even explicitly-stated doubts in Islām. Indeed, ʿAlī (ع) was the only one calm enough to have no fear of fighting ʿAmr ibn ʿAbd Wudd. This battle and the associated verses and traditions show us that while many of the companions were outright hypocrites and others were so weak in faith as to be easily induced to abandon the Prophet (ص), ʿAlī (ع) had firm belief with no fear of the enemies of Islām, as he was blessed with the serenity of Allāh. Since the events of Battle of Aḥzāb prove lack of fear and true belief only for ʿAlī (ع), the qualification for the imāmate is established only for ʿAlī (ع) and for no one else, as the imām must be one who has sufficient faith and who is not afraid to remain loyal to Islām. This is positive proof of the fact that ʿAlī (ع) qualifies to be an imām, while such proof is lacking for any other specific companion. These events also explicitly demonstrate that the companions could not all be fully trusted to defend Islām and uphold its values, as many of them would readily give up their religion despite their covenant with Allāh.

The Prophet's (ص) Main Battles were Won by ʿAlī (ع), Ḥamzah, and the Angels

Despite the hypocrisy of some of the companions and their unwillingness to fight, the Battle of Aḥzāb ended in a victory for the Muslims because of the bravery of ʿAlī (ع) and the divine miracle of sending strong winds and angels to scare off the enemy.[900] In this battle, as in all battles fought by the Prophet (ص), the bulk of the companions were not interested in fighting. Allāh says,

> Warfare is ordained for you, though you despise it; but it may happen that you hate something that is good for you, and it may happen that you love something that is bad for you. Allāh knows and you know not.[901]

Yet, they were the most eager when it came to receiving spoils of war:

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[898] Qurʾān 33:22.

[899] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #9.90.342.

[900] Qurʾān 33:9 refers to the angels sent by Allāh as well as the winds sent miraculously to demoralize the enemy. According to Ṭabari 8:25, these winds blew away their tents at night.

[901] Qurʾān 2:216.

> When fear comes, you see them looking at you, their eyes rolling like one fainting from death; but when the fear is gone, they smite you with sharp tongues, coveting the spoils [of war].[902]

Thus the Qur`ān makes it clear that many of the companions had no interest in fighting, even though they would show utmost greed for booty when victory came their way. The Battle of Badr was won by 'Alī (ع), Ḥamzah, and the angels that Allāh sent to help the badly outnumbered Muslim army. The majority of the pagans who were killed either met their doom at the hands of 'Alī (ع) and Ḥamzah or were beheaded by the angels. Uḥud was lost because Ḥamzah was killed and 'Alī (ع) was left with only a handful of others to defend the Prophet (ص), while the angels were not ordered to directly engage in battle.[903] Even in Uḥud, the majority of pagan deaths were at the hand of 'Alī (ع), as he struck his sword sixteen times, killing a pagan with each strike.[904] The Battle of Aḥzāb was won because of the bravery of 'Alī (ع) and the intervention of Allāh through sending strong winds.[905] In subsequent battles, as we shall see, the companions did not fare much better.[906] Thus, the bulk of the companions played only a minor supportive role on the battlefield.

Claims of the immense bravery of the bulk of the companions in battle not only are unsupported by historical reality but also are contradicted by the most explicit verses of Qur`ān. Indeed, the Qur`ān makes it clear that many of these companions avoided battle to the extent possible, despised the Prophet (ص) for making them fight, and rolled their eyes at him when he called them to the battlefield. Yet, when time came for booty, they all had "sharp tongues, coveting spoils of war."[907] Indeed, greed for spoils of war was the prime motivator for most Muslim fighters both during the lifetime of the Prophet (ص) and afterwards in the many conquests that followed. It was this greed for booty that made the companions disobey the Prophet (ص) at Uḥud and caused them not only to lose the battle but also seventy of the most devout believers who stood firmly to fight the pagans while the hypocrites and the weak of faith fled. It was thus the greed of the companions that killed Ḥamzah, and unfortunately this greed had no end. 'Uthmān had such greed for coveting the spoils of war for his relatives that the believers rose in rebellion and executed him. And when Ṭalḥah and Zubayr found out that they would get no more than their fair share of the treasury with 'Alī (ع) as caliph, they decided to rise up against 'Alī (ع) and kill thousands of innocent Muslims, getting themselves killed in the process.

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902. Qur`ān 33:19.
903. According to Tārīkh Ṭabarī 7:61, "The angels did not fight on any day except the day of Badr; on the other days they were assistants and helpers, but they struck no blows."
904. Usd al-Ghābah 3:286 #3789 ('Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib).
905. Tafsīr Ibn Kathīr, verse 33:10.
906. Refer to chapter 35.
907. Qur`ān 33:19.

Chapter 14
The Verse of Purification (Taṭhīr) of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع)

The following verses of Sūrah Aḥzāb, the thirty-third Sūrah, were revealed regarding the Prophet's (ص) wives and Ahl al-Bayt (ع):

28. O Prophet! Tell your wives, "If you seek the life of this world and its adornment, come! I will let you enjoy them and will divorce you in a generous fashion.
29. But if you seek Allāh, His Messenger and the abode of the hereafter, then indeed Allāh has prepared for the virtuous among you a great reward!"
30. O wives of the Prophet! Whichever of you who commits manifest lewdness (fāḥishatin mubayyinah) shall have her punishment doubled. That is easy for Allāh to do.
31. And We will give whichever of you who is devoted to Allāh and His Messenger and who acts honorably her reward doubled; We have reserved a generous provision for her.
32. O wives of the Prophet! You are not like any other women if you are pious. So do not act too deferential when talking, lest someone whose heart contains malice be encouraged thereby. Employ suitable speech.
33. Remain in your homes and do not appear [in public] the way you would appear during the Days of Ignorance (Jāhilīyyah). Uphold your prayer, pay charity, and obey Allāh and His Messenger. Allāh intends to remove filth (rijs) only from you, Ahl al-Bayt, and to purify you a thorough purification."[908]

The latter part of the last verse, "Allāh intends to remove filth (rijs) only from you, Ahl al-Bayt, and to purify you a thorough purification," is referred to as the verse of purification (āyah al-taṭhīr) and pertains to Muḥammad (ص), 'Alī, Fāṭimah, Ḥasan, and Ḥusayn (ع). These quoted verses offer clear proof of the imāmate of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع), as will be discussed in this chapter. First, the definition of Ahl al-Bayt will be addressed and it will be proved that the Prophet's (ص) Ahl al-Bayt did not include his wives. Second, it will be shown that the "Ahl al-Bayt" in this verse referred specifically to five individuals—Muḥammad (ص), 'Alī, Fāṭimah, Ḥasan, and Ḥusayn (ع). Third, the purity of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) from sin will be proved based on this verse. Fourth, a number of virtues that can be deduced based on their purity from sin will be presented. Fifth, it will be proved that complete access to the inner meaning of the Qur`ān and true inheritance of the Book is limited to the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) as a result of their purity.

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908. Qur`ān 33:28-33.

The Wives of the Prophet (ص) were Susceptible to Sin

The fact that the wives of the Prophet (ص) were susceptible to sin can be deduced from several parts of the quoted verses. First, verses 28 and 29 gave the wives of the Prophet (ص) a choice between the benefits of this worldly life and those of the hereafter. If they were pure from sin, it would have been meaningless to give them the choice between this world and the hereafter, as they would have naturally chosen the latter.

Second, verse 30 told the wives that if they were to commit manifest lewdness, their punishment would be doubled. This means that the wives of the Prophet (ص) were not even immune to the greatest of sins and worst of conducts, even openly manifest lewd acts.

Third, Allāh said, "O wives of the Prophet! You are not like any other women *if you are pious.*" Accordingly, their superiority over the other Muslim women would derive only from any piety (taqwā) that they may have had. This is a general concept in Islām that does not simply pertain to the wives of the Prophet (ص), as the Qur`ān says, "The noblest among you with Allāh is the most pious of you."[909] However, if pious, the wives of the Prophet (ص) would receive a double reward. But if the wives of the Prophet (ص) were to break the laws of Islām, they would in no way be any better than any of the other women. In fact, they would be punished twice as harshly for their infractions. Furthermore, the double reward promised to the pious wives of the Prophet (ص) was the same as what has been promised to the rest of the believers because Allāh says, "If there is any good done, He will double it."[910] Apparently, all believers receive a double reward.

Fourth, the Qur`ān says, "Indeed Allāh has prepared for the virtuous among you a great reward."[911] This is explicitly clear that the reward of paradise is only reserved for the virtuous ones among the Prophet's (ص) wives. If all his wives were destined to go to paradise, the Qur`ān would say, "Indeed Allāh has prepared for all of you a great reward." The verse makes it clear that the Prophet's (ص) wives were not necessarily virtuous. This topic is further examined in chapter 27 in our discussion of the verses of taḥrīm.

Fifth, the statement, "Remain in your homes and do not appear [in public] the way you would appear during the Days of Ignorance (Jāhilīyyah)," is rather problematic for ʿĀ`ishah, who abandoned her home to attract followers to fight ʿAlī (ع) in the Battle of Jamal. If the wives of the Prophet (ص) were to not act in accordance with this verse and the other laws of Islām, it would prove that they lacked piety for the simple reason that the pious do not disobey Allāh. Since the Qur`ān says, "You are not like any other women if you are pious," if the wives of the Prophet (ص) lacked piety, they would lose their superiority over other women, and in fact they would become inferior to pious Muslim women. So, during the Battle of Jamal, when ʿĀ`ishah violated the order of Allāh in this verse to stay at home and avoid publicity, she lost her status above the rest of the Muslim women. Some may even argue that she became the worst of them, as she caused the deaths of thousands of Muslims in an uprising she was banned from being part of in the first place. Indeed, according to the Qur`ān, her punishment for this would be doubled on the Day of Judgment.

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[909] Qur`ān 49:13.
[910] Qur`ān 4:40.
[911] Qur`ān 33:29.

Sixth, the sinfulness of the wives of other prophets can be clearly seen in the Qur`ān, most notably with respect to the wife of the prophet Lot (ع),[912] but also with respect to the wife of Noah. The Qur`ān says,

> Allāh sets forth an example for those who disbelieve—the wife of Noah and the wife of Lot, both of whom were under two of our righteous servants, but they betrayed them and they profited not before Allāh. It was said [to them], "Enter the fire along with those who enter."[913]

If the wives of Noah and Lot (ع) could sin, so can the wives of the Prophet Muḥammad (ص).

The Reason for the Revelation of the Verse of Choice

The Qur`ān says, "O Prophet! Tell your wives, 'If you seek the life of this world and its adornment, come! I will let you enjoy them and will divorce you in a generous fashion.'"[914] This verse makes it apparent that it was very well possible for the wives of the Prophet (ص) to choose the life of this world over the hereafter. According to Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, this verse was revealed because certain wives of the Prophet (ص) were asking him for more material possessions and that even their fathers could not get them to desist:

> Allāh's Messenger said, "They are around me as you see, asking for extra money." Abū Bakr then got up, went to ´Ā`ishah, and slapped her on the neck, and ´Umar stood up before Ḥafṣah and slapped her, saying, "You ask Allāh's Messenger for that which he does not possess." They said, "By Allāh, we do not ask Allāh's Messenger for anything he does not possess." Then [the Prophet] withdrew from them for a month or for twenty-nine days. Then this verse was revealed to him, "O Prophet! Tell your wives, '[If you seek the life of this world and its adornment, come! I will let you enjoy them and will divorce you in a generous fashion. But if you seek Allāh, His Messenger and the abode of the hereafter, then indeed Allāh has prepared for the virtuous among you] a great reward!'"[915,916]

Note that the entirety of the central part of the two verses that are critical of the wives has been deleted in the Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim tradition, turning the verse into, "Prophet: Say to thy wives... for a mighty reward," so it has been added parenthetically.

Three Meanings of the Word Ahl (Family)

It is important to clarify the meaning of the word "ahl" in the verse, "Allāh intends to remove filth (rijs) only from you, Ahl al-Bayt, and to purify you a thorough purification."[917] There are three definitions of the word "ahl" one has to keep in mind:

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[912] Qur`ān 7:83, 15:60, 27:57, 29:32.
[913] Qur`ān 66:10.
[914] Qur`ān 33:28.
[915] Qur`ān 33:28-29.
[916] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #9.3506.
[917] Qur`ān 33:33.

1. Only blood relatives are part of one's ahl. As Zayd ibn Arqam said in a tradition we will examine shortly, a wife is easily divorced and sent back to her own family and is therefore not part of one's "ahl".

2. Any family member is part of one's "ahl," including one's wives. An example of this is the statement to Lot (ع), "We will save you and your family (ahl) except your wife."[918]

3. Only non-sinners from a prophet's family are part of his ahl. This definition is used in the Qur`ān when Noah was told, "Surely he (i.e. your son) is not of your family (ahl), as he is [the doer of] other than good deeds."[919]

The Ahl al-Bayt (ع) Does Not Include the Prophet's (ص) Extended Family

The fact that the Ahl al-Bayt in the verse of purification is not intended with the first meaning is very clear. Since the Prophet (ص) had blood relatives who were pagans, they would not be included in the verse of purification. If mere blood ties were sufficient for purification, then the likes of Abū Lahab would have had to be among those purified by Allāh.

Furthermore, the word used by the Qur`ān is not simply "ahl" which may include an extended family but rather "Ahl al-Bayt" which means that the individuals intended must have also lived in the house (bayt) of the Prophet (ص). As we saw in chapters 9 and 10, the Prophet's Mosque (Masjid al-Nabī) was the rightful house of only the Prophet (ص), 'Alī, Fāṭimah, Ḥasan, and Ḥusayn (ع). Indeed, according to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, 'Alī's (ع) house was "in the midst of the houses of the Prophet,"[920] which is the reason the word "Ahl al-Bayt" applied only to the Prophet (ص) and those living in 'Alī's (ع) house to the exclusion of the other blood relatives of the Prophet (ص) who were not permitted to live in the mosque. In fact, only these particular individuals could be called the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) because they were the only ones with a natural right to live in the Prophet's (ص) house, which was to be taken as a mosque.[921]

The Ahl al-Bayt (ع) Does Not Include the Prophet's (ص) Wives

It is clear that the verse, "Allāh intends to remove filth (rijs) only from you, Ahl al-Bayt, and to purify you a thorough purification,"[922] was not revealed about the wives of the Prophet (ص) but rather about the Ahl al-Bayt—Muḥammad (ص), 'Alī, Fāṭimah, Ḥasan, and Ḥusayn (ع). To some, this may sound surprising because this verse appears in the midst of verses discussing the wives of the Prophet (ص). However, it is grammatically very clear that the verse is not referring to the Prophet's (ص) wives. Moreover, as is typical of the Qur`ān, the exact position of a verse does not indicate that it was revealed along with or that it pertains to the same subject matter as the verses around it. The order in which the sūrahs appear in the Qur`ān have no correlation with the order in which they were revealed. For example, Sūrah Baqarah, the second sūrah of the Qur`ān was revealed when the Prophet (ص) was in Madīnah, while Sūrah 'Alaq, the first sūrah to be revealed, is the ninety-sixth sūrah in the Qur`ān. Even the order of verses within a specific sūrah does not indicate that they were revealed in that order. For example, the verse "Today I have completed for you your religion," which was the last verse of the Qur`ān to be revealed, is the third verse of the fifth sūrah, but was revealed after the revelation of other verses in the same sūrah.[923] Furthermore, the verse of completion appears in the midst of discussion of permissible and impermissible meats, which hardly meet the definition of the completion of Islām. Therefore, the fact that the verse pertaining the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) appears in the midst of verses discussing the Prophet's (ص) wives does not indicate that they were all revealed at the same time.

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[918] Qur`ān 29:33.
[919] Qur`ān 11:46.
[920] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.57.54.
[921] Refer to chapter 9.
[922] Qur`ān 33:33.

In this case, the part of the verse on the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) was placed by the Prophet (ص) in its specific position to clarify the fact that the members of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع), unlike the wives of the Prophet (ص), were pure. If this had not been included, people might have thought that the members of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) were like the wives of the Prophet (ص) and therefore susceptible to sin. In fact, it will be shown later in this chapter that this verse was not revealed along with the ones before and after it, but rather at a distinct point in time.

One clear indication that the verse of purification is not referring to the Prophet's (ص) wives is that the words ʹankum (from you), and yuṭahhirakum (to cleanse you) are both in the masculine plural form. In all the quoted verses preceding this one and even the first half of the same verse, the feminine plural form of the verbs and pronouns are used exclusively to refer to the wives of the Prophet (ص). If the Prophet's (ص) wives were intended, the feminine plural form, ʹankunna, and yuṭahhirakunna would have been used instead. The inconsistency in verb and pronoun usage indicates that the verse of purification is not referring to the people referred to in the previous and subsequent verses. The sudden change in grammatical gender in the verse of purification as compared to the verses before and after it leave no doubt that the subject of the verse and the individuals being referred to are different from the wives of the Prophet (ص) who are discussed before and after this phrase.

Another indication that this verse does not pertain to the wives of the Prophet (ص) is that this verse removes all filth and impurities from those to whom it is referring. The filth referred to is the filth of sin and misconduct. The word used for filth is "rijs", which throughout the Qur`ān refers to the sinfulness of either false beliefs or sinful acts:

1. "O you who believe! Intoxicants, gambling, [dedication of] stones, and [divination by] arrows are filthy (rijs)."[924]
2. "He casts filth (rijs) on those who do not understand."[925]
3. "So avoid the filth of idols."[926]
4. "Turn away from them (i.e. the hypocrites), for they are filthy (rijs)."[927]
5. "And those in whose hearts is a disease—it just adds filth (rijs) to their filth."[928]

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923. Refer to chapter 34 for a discussion of the verse of completion.
924. Qur`ān 5:90.
925. Qur`ān 10:100.
926. Qur`ān 22:30.
927. Qur`ān 9:95.
928. Qur`ān 9:125.

If Allāh purifies one by sending away all the impurities of false beliefs and sinful acts, it would be inconceivable for that individual to commit any sins. However, it was proved that the wives of the Prophet (ص) were not purified from sin, and the Qur`ān even indicates that they might perform the most flagrant of them. Therefore, the conclusion must be that the wives of the Prophet (ص) were not purified from sin; otherwise the Qur`ān would not have indicated the possibility of them committing flagrant acts of misconduct.[929] Therefore, the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) purified according to the verse could not include the Prophet's (ص) wives.

Finally, the traditions regarding this verse, which have reached the highest levels of tawātur (proof by multiplicity) and which are widely accepted by both Sunnī and Shī´ah scholars, indicate that the members of the Ahl al-Bayt that are referred to in this verse include only Muḥammad (ص), ´Alī, Fāṭimah, Ḥasan, and Ḥusayn (ع). A few of these traditions will be reviewed shortly. However, the following tradition in Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim explicitly shows that the wives of the Prophet (ص) were specifically excluded from being part of his ahl (family). Of note, this tradition is not specifically about the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) as referred to in the verse of purification, which specifically addressed five individuals, but rather about the meaning of one's ahl (family) in general:

> Ḥuṣayn ibn Sabrah asked Zayd ibn Arqam, "Who are the members of his household? Aren't his wives the members of his family?" Thereupon Zayd said, "His wives are members of his family [in a general sense], but [Islāmically], the members of his family are those for whom acceptance of zakāt is forbidden." Ḥuṣayn said, "Who are they?" Thereupon he said, "´Alī and the offspring of ´Alī, ´Aqīl and the offspring of ´Aqīl, the offspring of Ja´far, and the offspring of ´Abbās." Ḥuṣayn said, "These are those for whom the acceptance of zakāt is forbidden?" Zayd said, "Yes."[930]

According to Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, Zayd ibn Arqam further expounded on this topic as follows:

> "Aren't the wives [of the holy Prophet] included amongst the members of his household?" He said, "No, by Allāh, a woman lives with a man [as his wife] for a certain period; he then divorces her, and she goes back to her parents and to her people. The members of his household include his own self and his kith and kin for whom the acceptance of zakāt is prohibited."[931]

Clearly there is no good Islāmic evidence that the wives of the Prophet (ص) were considered part of his Ahl al-Bayt (ع). His ahl in the general sense was the Banū Hāshim / Banū ´Abd al-Muṭṭalib who cannot receive zakāt, while his Ahl al-Bayt (ع) were those among his family (ahl) who had a undeniable right to live in his house (the Prophet's Mosque in Madīnah).

The Revelation of the Verse of Purification Regarding Muḥammad (ص), ´Alī, Fāṭimah, Ḥasan, and Ḥusayn (ع): The Tradition of the Cloak (Ḥadīth al-Kisā`)

The following are a few of the traditions stating that the verse of purification was revealed specifically in regards to Muḥammad (ص), Fāṭimah, ´Alī, Ḥasan, and Ḥusayn (ع):

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[929] Qur`ān 33:30.

[930] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #31.5920-2.

[931] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #31.5923.

Tradition 1: According to Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, ʿĀʾishah said,

> Allāh's Apostle went out one morning wearing a striped cloak of black camel hair. There came Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī. He wrapped him under it, then came Ḥusayn and he wrapped him under it along with the other one (i.e. Ḥasan). Then came Fāṭimah and he took her under it, then came ʿAlī and he also took him under it, and he then said, "Allāh only desires to take away any uncleanliness from you, O people of the household, and to purify you a thorough purifying."[932]

Tradition 2: According to Tirmidhī,

> The verse, "Allāh intends to remove filth (rijs) only from you, Ahl al-Bayt, and to purify you a thorough purification," was revealed to the Prophet (ص) in the house of Umm Salamah. The Prophet (ص) called Fāṭimah, Ḥasan, and Ḥusayn with ʿAlī behind him. He covered them with his cloak and said, "O Allāh! These are my Ahl al-Bayt. So send away from them all filth (rijs) and purify them a thorough purification." Umm Salamah asked, "Am I among them, O Prophet of Allāh?" He replied, "You are in your place and you are on a righteous [path]."[933]

Tradition 3: Umm Salamah, the wife of the Prophet (ص), said,

> The Prophet (ص) was in my house, sleeping under a cloak woven in Khaybar. Fāṭimah came through the door, with a dish of food in her hands. The Prophet (ص) said, "Call your husband and two sons, Ḥasan and Ḥusayn." Fāṭimah returned with them. While they were eating the food, the following verse was revealed to the Messenger of Allāh (ص): "Allāh intends to remove filth (rijs) only from you, Ahl al-Bayt, and to purify you a thorough purification." The Messenger of Allāh (ص) then placed his cloak over himself, ʿAlī, Fāṭimah, Ḥasan, and Ḥusayn, removed his hands from under the cloak, pointed his hands towards the heavens, and prayed, "O Allāh, these are my Ahl al-Bayt and the closest of people to me. So send away filth from them and purify them thoroughly." He repeated this supplication three times. Umm Salamah said, "I put my head under that cloak and asked, 'O Messenger of Allāh, am I among you [Ahl al-Bayt]?'" The Prophet (ص) repeated twice, "You are on a righteous [path]."[934]

Tradition 4: According to several Sunnī commentaries,

> The Prophet (ص) said, "The verse, 'Allāh intends to remove filth (rijs) only from you, Ahl al-Bayt, and to purify you a thorough purification,' was revealed regarding five [who include] myself, ʿAlī, Fāṭimah, Ḥasan, and Ḥusayn."[935]

Tradition 5: According to Tirmidhī, Ḥākim, Ḥanbal, and others,

> Anas said: For six months, Messenger of Allāh would pass by the door of the house of Fāṭimah when he would leave for morning prayers, saying, "Prayers!

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[932] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #31.5955.

[933] Sunan Tirmidhī #3787, #3205.

[934] Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, verse 33:33. Similarly, Tafsīr Ṭabarī, verse 33:33.

[935] Tafsīr Ibn Kathīr, Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, Tafsīr Thaʿlabī, and Tafsīr Ibn ʿAṭiyyah, verse 33:33.

> Prayers! 'Allāh intends to remove filth (rijs) only from you, Ahl al-Bayt, and to purify you a thorough purification."[936]

According to Ibn ʻAbbās, the Prophet (ص) performed this call at Fāṭimah's house at the time of each prayer for six months.[937]

The fact that the verse of purification was revealed specifically in regards to the Prophet (ص), ʻAlī, Fāṭimah, Ḥasan, and Ḥusayn (ع) is absolutely mutawātir and is narrated by numerous chains of transmission and appears in innumerable Sunnī sources, including Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim,[938] Sunan Tirmidhī,[939] Mustadrak Ḥākim,[940] Musnad Ḥanbal,[941] Faḍā`il Ḥanbal,[942] Khaṣā`iṣ Nasā`ī,[943] Sunan al-Kubrā Bayhaqī,[944] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr,[945] Tārīkh Baghdād,[946] Majma' al-Zawā`id,[947] Usd al-Ghābah,[948] Istī'āb,[949] Iṣābah,[950] Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah,[951] Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, Tafsīr Ṭabarī, Tafsīr Ibn Kathīr, Tafsīr Shawkānī, Tafsīr Tha'labī, Tafsīr Baghawī, Tafsīr Māwardī, Tafsīr Ibn 'Aṭīyyah, Tafsīr Ibn al-Jawzī, Tafsīr Abū al-Sa'ūd, Tafsīr Khāzin, Tafsīr Abū Ḥayyān, Tafsīr Ibn 'Ādil, and Tafsīr Bayḍāwī.[952] Those who are familiar with Sunnī sources will recognize these as among the most widely accepted and authentic works of the Sunnī scholars. According to Tafsīr Tha'labī, "The majority of the interpreters [of the Qur`ān] maintain that this [verse] was revealed in [regards to] 'Alī, Fāṭimah, Ḥasan, and Ḥusayn."[953]

The fact that the verse of purification was revealed in regards to five specific individuals among the companions of the Prophet (ص) has been related through so many chains of transmission that there is absolutely no doubt that the only individuals intended by the verse were Muḥammad (ص), 'Alī, Fāṭimah, Ḥasan, and Ḥusayn (ع). The Prophet's (ص) act of enclosing all five individuals under his cloak and thereby specifying that only they were his Ahl al-Bayt (ع) made it absolutely clear that the verse referred to only those individuals under the cloak and to no one else among his companions. Even Umm Salamah, the wife of the Prophet (ص), who was in the room at the time, admitted that she was not included among the Ahl al-Bayt (ع). Because of the fact that Ahl al-Bayt (ع) was enclosed beneath the Prophet's (ص) cloak when he recited this verse, the traditions

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936. Sunan Tirmidhī #3206; Mustadrak Ḥākim #4748 (certifies the tradition as authentic by the criteria of Muslim); Musnad Ḥanbal #13754, #14072; Faḍā`il Ḥanbal #1340-1; Majma' al-Zawā`id #14701, #14985-7; Usd al-Ghābah 5:366 #7184 (Fāṭimah bint Rasūl Allāh); Kanz al-'Ummāl #37632; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 5:343; Tafsīr Ṭabarī and Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, verse 33:33.
937. Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, verse 33:33.
938. Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #31.5955.
939. Sunan Tirmidhī #3205, #3787.
940. Mustadrak Ḥākim #3559 (certifies this tradition as authentic by the criteria of Muslim), #4652 certifies this tradition as authentic), #4705 (certifies this tradition as authentic by the criteria of Bukhārī), #4706 (certifies this tradition as authentic by the criteria of Bukhārī and Muslim), #4707 (certifies this tradition as authentic by the criteria of Bukhārī and Muslim), #4708, #4709 (certifies this tradition as authentic).
941. Musnad Ḥanbal #3062, #17029, #26551.
942. Faḍā`il Ḥanbal #978, #994-6, #1029, #1077, #1149, #1168, #1404.
943. Khaṣā`iṣ Nasā`ī 49, 63.
944. Sunan al-Kubrā Bayhaqī #2680, #2683, #2690.
945. Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:374.
946. Tārīkh Baghdād #4743 (Sa'd ibn Muḥammad), #5396 ('Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Alī).
947. Majma' al-Zawā`id #11272, #14696 (certifies those in its chain of transmission as trustworthy), #14972, #14976.
948. Usd al-Ghābah 3:294 #3789 ('Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib), 5:365-6 #7184 (Fāṭimah bint Rasūl Allāh), 2:16 #1165 (Ḥasan ibn 'Alī), 2:23 #1173 (Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī).
949. Istī'āb 3:204 #1875 ('Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib).
950. Iṣābah 2:1295-6 #5690 ('Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib), 4:2597-8 #11579 (Fāṭimah al-Zahrā`).
951. Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:152-3 (two traditions), 3:174-5.
952. For all the tafsīrs, refer to verse 33:33.
953. Tafsīr Tha'labī, verse 33:33.

describing the revelation of this verse have been referred to as the tradition of the cloak (ḥadīth al-kisā`).

There are five traditions in Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr saying that the verse was revealed regarding the wives of the Prophet (ص). None of these traditions indicate anything the Prophet (ص) said, but are just purported opinions of the companions and successors (tābiʿīn). One chain of transmission ends in ʿUrwah ibn Zubayr, who was a successor who would transmit highly questionable traditions, particularly when it came to the Ahl al-Bayt.[954] Another chain of transmission leads to Ibn ʿAbbās through Saʿīd ibn Jubayr, who habitually left out intermediary sources between himself and the companions he purportedly related traditions from, as he had not even met many of those whom he related traditions from.[955] The three remaining chains of transmission lead to ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās go through ʿIkrimah, who was the freedman of Ibn ʿAbbās and who would freely append lies to him. According to Dhahabī, a leading Sunnī expert on ʿilm al-rijāl, which is the science of evaluating the veracity of the transmitters of traditions, ʿIkrimah was a Khārijīte,[956] and therefore an enemy of ʿAlī and the Prophet's Ahl al-Bayt (ع). Dhahabī also said, "Muslim avoided his [traditions]," and, "Mālik stayed away from him." Yaḥyā ibn Saʿīd al-Anṣārī said, "[He is] a liar." Furthermore, when the name of ʿIkrimah was mentioned as someone trustworthy in front of ʿAlī ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās, the latter said, "Don't you fear Allāh? This filthy [man] would append lies to my father (i.e. Ibn ʿAbbās)."[957] Further evidence of ʿIkrimah's weakness will be presented in greater detail later.[958] Opinions related through weak chains of transmission or from the enemies of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) cannot be taken over the words of the Prophet (ص) in matters of Qur`ānic interpretation, especially when there are numerous authentic chains of transmission supporting the Prophet's (ص) word that the verse of purification was revealed specifically regarding the five members of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع). This handful of traditions with weak chains of transmission that do not even relay the words of the Prophet (ص) cannot provide any argument against the authentic and mutawātir traditions that state otherwise. However, there are those who love to use these weak traditions to try to grant the wives of the Prophet (ص) a share of the virtues dispensed by this verse and to dilute the significance of the virtue ascribed by this verse to the Prophet's (ص) true Ahl al-Bayt (ع).

It must be mentioned that the verse of purification does not imply that the imāms after Ḥusayn (ع) were not members of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع). What is meant by these traditions is that the only members of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) who were present among the companions were the Prophet (ص), ʿAlī, Fāṭimah, Ḥasan, and Ḥusayn (ع). It would not have been possible for the Prophet (ص) to physically bring the subsequent nine imāms who were not yet born under his cloak. The subsequent nine imāms were, however, present under the cloak in the loins of Ḥusayn (ع).

The Ahl al-Bayt (ع) are Pure from All Sin

We have already shown that the wives of the Prophet (ص) were not part of the Ahl al-Bayt referred to in the verse of purification and that this verse referred to five specific members of the Ahl al-Bayt of the Prophet (ص). Now we will establish that the members of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) are pure from all sin. According to Suyūṭī, Shawkānī, and Tha´labī, the Messenger of Allāh (ص) said regarding the purity of himself and his Ahl al-Bayt (ع),

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[954] Refer to chapter 76.
[955] Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb vol 4 #14 (Saʿīd ibn Jubayr).
[956] Mīzān al-Iʿtidāl #5716 (ʿIkrimah mawlā Ibn ʿAbbās).
[957] Mīzān al-Iʿtidāl #5716 (ʿIkrimah mawlā Ibn ʿAbbās).
[958] Refer to chapter 22.

> Allāh divided creation into two parts and put me in the better of the two parts, [as is reflected] in His word, "and the companions of the right,"[959] "and the companions of the left."[960] I am among the companions of the right and the best of the companions of the right. Then He divided the two parts into three and put me in the best of the three, [as is reflected] in His word, "The companions of the right; who are the companions of the right? And the companions of the left; who are the companions of the left? And the pioneers among the pioneers."[961] I am among the pioneers, and I am the best of the pioneers. Then He divided these three into tribes, and he placed me in the best tribe, [as is reflected in] His word, "We have set you into nations and tribes so that you may know each other. Verily the most honored of you in the sight of Allāh is the most pious of you."[962] I am the most pious of the offspring of Adam and, without any boasting, the most honored of them with Allāh. He then set the tribes into houses, and he set me in the best of them, [as is reflected] in His word, "Allāh intends to remove filth (rijs) only from you, Ahl al-Bayt, and to purify you a thorough purification." So I and my Ahl al-Bayt are pure from sin (dhunūb).[963]

In the verse, "Allāh intends to remove filth (rijs) only from you, Ahl al-Bayt, and to purify you a thorough purification," the word for "intend" is "yurīd." A word derived from the same root is used in the verse, "Verily when He intends (arāda, from the same root as yurīd) a thing, His command is, 'Be!' and it is!"[964] This indicates that the intention (irādah) of Allāh is the same as His action, for there is nothing to prevent the enactment of His intention. Few arguments are as concise as those which the Shī´ah scholar ´Allāmah Majlisī has provided in this regards:

> The verse implies that they are protected (ma´ṣūm) from disbelief, hypocrisy, doubt, idolatry, and every sin. Intention (irādah) has been used for several meanings: (1) An intention whose goal is immediately achieved, as described when Allāh says, "His command when He intends (arāda) something is only to say, 'Be!' and it is."[965] (2) It may mean an intention in terms of setting out intending to accomplish something [yet leaving the possibility of failing to accomplish it]. It is impossible for Allāh to have such an intention; the aforementioned verse is clear that Allāh's intention does not fail to materialize. (3) It may mean a duty. There is no possibility of this being the case in this verse for several reasons: (i) The word innamā, by the consensus of all the masters of the Arabic language, refers to restriction. The duty of getting rid of impurities is by no means restricted to the Ahl al-Bayt (ع), but rather pertains to all responsible people. Even the disbelievers are held responsible for this, as Allāh has said, "I have created jinn and mankind only to serve me."[966] (ii) It is apparent from the context of traditions that are mutawātir that the revelation of

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[959] Qur‘ān 56:8.

[960] Qur‘ān 56:9.

[961] Qur‘ān 56:8-10.

[962] Qur‘ān 49:13.

[963] Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr and Tafsīr Shawkānī, verse 33:33. Tafsīr Tha´labī includes the same tradition under verse 33:33 except that the final sentence, "So I and my Ahl al-Bayt are pure from sin," is deleted.

[964] Qur‘ān 36:82.

[965] Qur‘ān 36:82.

[966] Qur‘ān 51:56.

this verse was for [the Ahl al-Bayt's (ع)] praise [and not for creating a duty for them]. For this reason, the Messenger (ص) specified these individuals and placed his cloak over them and said that only they were specifically his Ahl al-Bayt. This verse was revealed so clearly establishing an issue of importance that even Fakhr Rāzī, despite his great fanaticism [against the Shī`ah], said that, "'To send away filth from you,' means to take away all sins from you, and 'to purify you a thorough purification,' means to dress you with His robes of honor."[967] If the meaning [of the verse] was an order to avoid sinning, then all disbelievers and corrupt people would be partners with them, and [this verse] would involve no praise for them. (iii) In most of traditions it is recorded that this verse was revealed after the asking and supplication of the Prophet (ص). What the Prophet (ص) asked for was the sending away of filth, not an intention that was not to be fulfilled. If this meaning were intended, the verse would contain a refutation of his prayer and not its fulfillment. (iv) If this meaning was intended, then Umm Salamah would not have tried so hard to enter the cloak, and the Prophet (ص) would not have refrained from allowing her to enter if everyone was included in the meaning of this verse?[968]

The Ahl al-Bayt of a Prophet Cannot Sin According to the Qur`ān

According to the Qur`ān, Allāh said, "O Noah! Surely he (i.e. your son) is not of your family (ahl), as he is [the doer of] other than good deeds."[969] In this verse, Allāh told Noah (ع) that his son was not among his family (ahl) because he performed other than good deeds. Since any sin is an act other than a good deed, any sin on Noah's (ع) son's behalf would have made him unqualified to be among the Ahl al-Bayt of Noah (ع). Similarly, any sin on the part of `Alī, Fāṭimah, Ḥasan, or Ḥusayn (ع) would have disqualified them from being among the Ahl al-Bayt of the Prophet (ص). The fact that they were specifically listed as being the only ones in the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) is therefore proof that they were the only individuals present during the lifetime of the Prophet (ص) who were pure from all sin.

The Proof of the Imāmate from the Verse of Purification

Since the Qur`ān establishes the purity of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) from all sin, it proves their imāmate. By definition, the rightful imām is the one whom all Muslims must follow. If an individual's actions, words, and thoughts are guaranteed to be purified by Allāh, everyone must follow that individual to the exclusion of others.

For every issue there is either one opinion among all Muslims, in which case no disagreement exists, or there is more than one opinion, in which case one must refer to the ones purified from sin, as their stated opinion would be the correct one. This is because if someone sinless states something, it is proof of their knowledge that what they say is true. Otherwise, they would be sinning by saying something regarding which they have no knowledge. The Qur`ān clearly states, "[Satan] commands you to do what is evil and shameful and to say of Allāh that of which you have no knowledge."[970] Thus, speaking without knowledge in religious matters is a sin, and those pure from sin would be incapable of speaking in regards to Allāh without knowledge. Therefore, whatever the purified members of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) say about religion arises from knowledge. Thus, in any situation in which contradictions arise between the actions and words of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) and those of others, we must follow the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) and desert the others as Allāh has testified to the purity of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) but has not made any such guarantees in regards to others. This is a clear sign of the imāmate of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع), for we must follow them in all matters if we wish to follow the purified path.

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[967] Tafsīr Rāzī, verse 33:33.
[968] Ḥaqq al-Yaqīn 64-65.
[969] Qur`ān 11:46.
[970] Qur`ān 2:169.

Those who are not purified by Allāh may perform impure acts at least some of the time. In those situations, two possibilities arise: (1) While they stray, they do not call others towards right conduct. In this case, we are to follow neither their actions nor their words. Such people cannot be imāms for we are not to follow them in any way. In addition, by not calling others towards righteous deeds, they have neglected yet another duty, thereby becoming objects of even more criticism as opposed to imāms to be followed. (2) They call others towards rightful conduct while they themselves stray. In that case, Allāh has said:

> "Do you enjoin right conduct on [other] people and forget [to practice it] yourselves and yet you read the Book? Will you not think?"[971]
>
> "O believers, why do you say that which you do not do? Most hateful it is in the sight of Allāh that you say that which you do not do."[972]

Such individuals have therefore not only sinned but have also failed to follow the Qur`ān in their actions. According to the Qur`ān, they do not think, and it would be absurd to choose an imām who does not think. Thus, in either of the two possibilities they are not to be followed by the Muslims in all matters and therefore cannot be imāms. Indeed, the Qur`ān is clear that anyone who sins at all cannot be an imām, as it says,

> When Abraham's Lord tested him by means of [certain] words and he fulfilled them, [Allāh] said, "I am going to make you into an imām for mankind." Abraham asked, "And my offspring [as well]?" [Allāh] replied, "My covenant does not apply to oppressors (ẓālimīn)."[973]

Anyone who performs any sin has oppressed his own self according to the Qur`ān, which says, "Anyone who transgresses the limits of Allāh does indeed oppress his own self."[974] Therefore, anyone who sins cannot become an imām, as Allāh told Abraham (ع), "My covenant does not apply to the oppressors." 'Allāmah Majlisī said,

> The whole purpose of having an imām is to protect Islām and Islāmic law. If sinning and erring is permitted for him, another imām has to prohibit him from it to prevent him from erring and to correct his mistake. In this case, the latter imām would be the imām of all and not the first one. In addition, it is mandatory for the nation to obey the imām in word and action, as is clarified in the verse of the foremost in authority.[975] If they do not obey him, a matter is both mandatory (wājib) and forbidden (ḥarām) for them. Similarly, it is mandatory for them to denounce evil, yet if they do so, they have gone against the [necessity of] obedience to and having respect for the imām. If they do not [denounce evil], they have abandoned something mandatory. If the necessity of obedience

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[971] Qur`ān 2:44.
[972] Qur`ān 61:2-3.
[973] Qur`ān 2:124.
[974] Qur`ān 65:1.
[975] Qur`ān 4:59. This verse is discussed in chapter 42.

> to the imām only pertains to non-forbidden matters, then there must be another imām from whom they would learn what is permissible and what is forbidden. As such, they would need two imāms. If the second one is also not protected from sin (ma´ṣūm), there will be need for another imām [to guide him in case of error]. So either this will go on till infinity, or it will culminate in an imām who is protected from sin.[976]

What can be concluded is that the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) are not just the only individuals who can be imāms, but also must be taken as such by all believers, as anyone who is not pure from sin oppresses his own self and is therefore not subject to the covenant of Allāh with Abraham (ع) by which being sinless was cited as the key qualification for an imām chosen to lead the nation.

Prophets and Imāms are Pure from Sin

According to the beliefs of the Shī´ah and many Sunnī scholars, the Prophet Muḥammad (ص) committed no sins in his entire lifetime. He never prostrated for pagan idols, and never said, did, or thought anything that was prohibited. However, the Wahhābīs do not believe this and claim that the Prophet (ص) could or did commit abominable acts of sin.

The messengers of Allāh must be able to relate the divine message to the people without any alteration. If a prophet is not pure from sin, he cannot be trusted with the divine message, as nothing would prevent him from changing the message of Allāh. Moreover, the words and actions of the messengers of Allāh must not contradict their message. All Muslims consider the words and actions of the Prophet (ص) to be guides for our own beliefs and actions, which is why the traditions of the Prophet (ص) are central to both Shī´ah and Sunnī Islām. Indeed, the Qur`ān orders all the believers to obey the Prophet (ص).[977] If the Prophet (ص) sinned, then by following his example, we would be sinning as well. Moreover, when a sane individual does something, it is because he or she considers it wise and desires the benefits of the action over its losses. If the prophets were to sin, this would mean that they considered sinning to be better than obeying Allāh. How could the rest of the people obey such prophets? Obeying them and following their example would merely create a group of sinners. In fact, it would create a group of confused sinners because if a prophet says one thing and does another, how would his followers know which to obey—their words or actions?

There are the three levels of purity from sin (´iṣmah) that all prophets and imāms must have to be trusted with and to fulfill their duties: (1) protection from changing the divine words, (2) purity in delivering the divine words, and (3) purity of action. The entire purpose of sending prophets is to guide us by their words and actions. If they fail in performing their duty, Allāh has failed to guide us. This would contradict the words of Allāh that, "Allāh will surely accomplish His purpose."[978]

It is therefore impossible for Allāh to choose someone who may alter or fail to properly deliver or otherwise corrupt the divine message. The Qur`ān says, "And He sent down with them the Book to rule among people in regards to that in which they differ."[979] Therefore the purpose of sending prophets and the Book was so that the prophets would rule among the people according to Allāh's decree. If the prophets erred in doing so,

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[976] Ḥaqq al-Yaqīn 41.
[977] Refer to chapter 56 for numerous verses in this regards.
[978] Qur`ān 65:3.
[979] Qur`ān 2:213.

Allāh would not have accomplished His purpose for sending them. This contradicts the aforementioned verse stating that, "Allāh will surely accomplish His purpose." Therefore, the prophets must be protected in their ability to deliver and act upon divine revelation.[980] In fact, if not for the purity of prophets, the Qur`ān could not order us to obey the prophets and imāms:

> "We have not sent any messenger except that he was to be obeyed in accordance with Allāh's permission."[981]
>
> "And We set imāms who guide by Our command. We inspired them to perform good deeds, to keep up prayer, and to pay charity."[982]

The first verse shows that prophets are to be obeyed. The second verse indicates that the actions of divinely-appointed imāms are indeed divinely inspired. Therefore, the imāms only do what is right and desirable and are therefore pure from sin. The Qur`ān also says,

> And thus We, by Our command, sent you a spirit. You knew neither the Book nor [the elements of] faith. But We have made it a light by which We guide those of Our servants whom We wish.[983]

This spirit clearly guides specific servants of Allāh, protecting them from sin. The ones thus guided include the Prophet (ص) and the sinless Ahl al-Bayt (ع), and they cannot possibly be led astray, as the Qur`ān says, "Whomever Allāh guides has no one to set him astray,"[984] and "Whomever Allāh guides is guided."[985] Moreover, since they are guided by the spirit, they are not only the guided ones but also the ones whose guidance we must follow. In their regards, Allāh says, "Those are the people whom Allāh has guided, so follow their guidance."[986] Thus, Allāh orders us to follow the guidance of those who have been guided because those whom Allāh guides cannot be led astray by anything or anyone. Indeed, Satan admittedly leaves alone Allāh's sincere believers, which include the prophets and imāms:

> [Satan] said, "O Lord! Because You have put me in the wrong, I will adorn the path of error for them in the earth, and will lead every one of them astray except for the sincere ones among Your servants.[987]

Thus, Satan will not even try to lead Allāh's sincere servants to sin. Therefore, a group of individuals exist who are immune to Satan and these individuals would be sinless. The prophets and imāms, naturally, would be such individuals. Another clear verse in regards to the sinlessness of the Prophet (ص) is:

> By the star as it falls, your companion (the Prophet) has neither strayed nor is he misguided. He does not speak from some whim; it is merely inspiration that is revealed [to him].[988]

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[980] Refer to Imām Shenāsī 1:10-12.
[981] Qur`ān 4:64.
[982] Qur`ān 21:73.
[983] Qur`ān 42:52.
[984] Qur`ān 39:36.
[985] Qur`ān 18:17.
[986] Qur`ān 6:90.
[987] Qur`ān 15:39-40.
[988] Qur`ān 53:1-4.

This verse shows that every word of the Prophet (ص) was based on inspiration and that none of it came from his own whims. As such, all of his words and actions were pure from sin. Yet, some believe that prophets may commit sins. They interpret certain verses of the Qur`ān to imply the sinning of various prophets when these verses simply refer to acts as a result of which the prophets suffered.[989] Adam (ع), for example, lost the benefits of life in the garden as a result of eating from the tree. Even though his repentance was accepted, he did not return to the garden, as would have been the case had he committed a sinful act and successfully repented. Similarly, when Moses (ع) justifiably killed a man, he was repentful for his act, not because it was a sin but because he was concerned that his having killed an Egyptian might impair his ability to carry out his divine mission. In fact, the Qur`ān is clear that prophets cannot sin when it says regarding Joseph (ع), "Thus did We turn away from him evil and shameful deeds, for he was one of Our sincere and pure servants."[990] Because the Prophet (ص) and his Ahl al-Bayt (ع) are Allāh's sincere and pure servants, Allāh has turned them away from evil and shameful deeds (sins), and they are therefore on the straight path (ṣirāṭ al-mustaqīm), which every Muslim asks to be guided to when reciting Sūrah Fātiḥah.[991] Accordingly, Tha`labī has related from Abū Buraydah in regards to the verse, "Guide us to the straight path,"[992] "[This is] the path of Muḥammad (ص) and his family (āl)."[993]

The Status of the Sincere Servants of Allāh in the Qur`ān

Since the members of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) are pure from sin, they must be among the sincere servants of Allāh. According to the Qur`ān, these sincere servants qualify for a number of specific virtues, including the following three:

Quality 1: They are Immune to Satan

As stated previously, according to the Qur`ān, Satan said, "O Lord! Because You have put me in the wrong, I will adorn the path of error for them in the earth, and will lead every one of them astray except for the sincere ones among Your servants.[994] According to the Qur`ān, Satan also told Allāh, "By Your power, I will lead all of them astray, except for Your sincere servants among them."[995] As such, the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) are immune to Satan's perversions. This is in contrast, for example, to Abū Bakr, who admitted to having a Satan who would control him at times,[996] proving that he was not a sincere servant of Allāh

Quality 2: They are Able to Properly Praise Allāh

The Qur`ān says, "Allāh is pure from what they ascribe to Him except for [what is ascribed to Him by] the sincere servants of Allāh."[997]

Quality 3: They Require No Accounting on the Day of Judgment

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[989] Refer to chapter 75 for a discussion of the verses cited to claim that the prophets sinned.

[990] Qur`ān 12:24.

[991] Qur`ān, sūrah 1.

[992] Qur`ān 1:6.

[993] Tafsīr Tha`labī, verse 1:6. For more Sunnī traditions in this regards, refer to al-Ghadīr 2:311-312.

[994] Qur`ān 15:39-40.

[995] Qur`ān 38:82-3.

[996] Refer to chapter 40. The fact that Abū Bakr was led astray by Satan is also evident based on the verses revealed regarding the Battle of Uḥud (refer to chapter 11).

[997] Qur`ān 37:159-160.

According to the Qur`ān, there will be no questioning, book of deeds, scale, bridge (ṣirāṭ), or other forms of accounting for them on the Day of Judgment. As Allāh says,

> They will [all] be brought forth [for reckoning] *except for* the sincere servants of Allāh.[998]

Indeed, the purified Ahl al-Bayt (ع) will not be raised as the rest of humanity will on the Day of Judgment, as the Qur`ān says,

> "And the trumpet shall be blown, so all those in the heavens and all those in the earth shall swoon, *except* such as Allāh pleases."[999]
>
> "And on the day when the trumpet shall be blown, those in the heavens and those in the earth shall be startled, *except* such as Allāh pleases, and all shall come to him humbled."[1000]

Rationally, there is no need to question the deeds of those who are pure from all misdeeds and all of whose actions stem from divine guidance.

Only the Members of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) Have Access to the Essence of the Qur`ān

The Qur`ān says,

> Yet I swear by the position of the stars—and it is a serious oath if you only know it—that it is a noble Qur`ān, [kept] in a hidden book, which *none except the purified (muṭahharūn) may touch.*[1001]

These verses indicate that only the pure may actually come in contact with the true meaning of the Qur`ān. The word purified, muṭahharūn, is from the same root as the two words yuṭahhirakum and taṭhīran, the words used to describe the purification of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) in the verse, "Allāh intends to remove filth (rijs) only from you, Ahl al-Bayt, and to purify you (yuṭahhirakum) a thorough purification (taṭhīran)."[1002] Thus, one can conclude that, due to their purity, the members of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) are the only ones with the ability to come in contact with the true meaning of the Qur`ān. The following are several verses regarding the protected status of the Qur`ān:

1. "It is a noble Qur`ān, [kept] in a hidden book."[1003]
2. "It (i.e. the Qur`ān) is in the Mother of the Book (Umm al-Kitāb) in Our presence, lofty, wise."[1004]
3. "Nay, this is a glorious Qur`ān, in a protected tablet (lawḥin maḥfūẓ)."[1005]

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[998] Qur`ān 37:127-128.
[999] Qur`ān 39:68.
[1000] Qur`ān 27:87.
[1001] Qur`ān 56:75-79.
[1002] Qur`ān 33:33.
[1003] Qur`ān 56:77-78.
[1004] Qur`ān 43:2-4.
[1005] Qur`ān 85:21-22.

4. "[The Qur`ān is] in pages held in honor, exalted, pure, [written] by the hands of message-bearers, noble, honorable."[1006]

5. "And it is in the Mother of the Book (Umm al-Kitāb), in Our presence, high, full of wisdom."[1007]

Ṭabarī, after citing numerous traditions stating that the Qur`ān referred to in the aforementioned verses is the protected Book in the heavens and that the purified ones referred to in the verse, "which none except the purified (muṭahharūn) may touch," are the angels, messengers, and prophets, said,

> For us, the correct view is that Allāh has informed [us in these verses] that the protected Book is not touched except by the purified. He has referred to the purified in general, and has not specified some of them in lieu of others. So the angels, messengers, and prophets are among the purified, as are all those who are purified from sins. They are among those exempted [from being banned from touching the Book] according to His word, "except the purified."[1008]

It is worth mentioning that some may claim that the phrase, "which none except the purified may touch," is referring solely to physical purification and means, "No one should touch the Qur`ān unless he is physically pure." Although this religious command is true, the verse is not in the form of a command saying, "Do not touch the Qur`ān unless you are physically pure," but is rather an informative sentence saying, "The Qur`ān cannot be touched except by the pure." There have clearly been many incidents in which the Qur`ān has been touched, insulted, torn apart, burned or otherwise desecrated by the disbelievers. If this physical interpretation were true, it must have been impossible for pagans to even get their hands on the Qur`ān to touch it, as the Qur`ān explicitly says, "The idolaters are filthy."[1009] Therefore, by this interpretation, no pagan could ever touch the Qur`ān. As such, this verse, as phrased by Allāh, refers not to physical contact with the Qur`ān, but to spiritual contact with its meaning.

This fact is further supported by the Qur`ān which says, "But it is clear verses in the hearts of those who have been endowed with knowledge."[1010] The Qur`ān is not saying that it is a physical book between two covers, but rather a book that is held in the hearts of those endowed with knowledge. This is indeed the reason why the impure cannot touch it, because in essence it is not a physical object to be touched, but rather verses held in the hearts of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) who are endowed with knowledge. This verse is clearly referring to the Ahl al-Bayt of the Prophet (ص) because they have knowledge of the Qur`ān, are inseparable from the Qur`ān, and know its inner meaning (ta`wīl). The fact that they have knowledge of the Book is clear because the verse of the Qur`ān, "[O Prophet, say:] Suffices for me as a witness Allāh and the one with knowledge of the Book,"[1011] was revealed regarding `Alī (ع) (see below). The fact that the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) is inseparable from the Qur`ān until the Day of Judgment is made clear by the tradition of thaqalayan, which is discussed in the next chapter, and the fact that the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) has knowledge of the inner meaning of the Qur`ān is made clear by the tradition in which the Prophet (ص) said, "[ʿAlī (ع) will] fight over the taʾwīl (inner meaning) of the Qurʾān the same way I fought over its tanzīl (revelation)."[1012] For ʿAlī (ع) to fight over the Qurʾān's inner meaning would require him to know its inner meaning, while those among the companions who fought him obviously lacked such knowledge. Indeed, the Qurʾān says, "No one knows its hidden meanings except for Allāh and those who are firmly grounded in knowledge. They say, We believe in the Book; the whole of it is from our Lord!'"[1013] Even ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās, one of ʿAlī's (ع) close pupils, claimed in regards to this verse, "I am among those who know its inner meaning,"[1014] which was because he was taught parts of it by ʿAlī (ع).

[1006] Qur`ān 80:13-16.
[1007] Qur`ān 43:4.
[1008] Tafsīr Ṭabarī, verses 56:77-79.
[1009] Qur`ān 9:28.
[1010] Qur`ān 29:49.
[1011] Qur`ān 13:43.

ʿAlī (ع) is the Inheritor (Wārith) of the Qurʾān

The Qurʾān says,

> Then We leave the Book as inheritance for those whom We have chosen from Our servants.[1015]

This verse is clear that the Book is left as inheritance only to those who have been selected by Allāh from among Allāh's servants. It is obvious that the true inheritor of the Qurʾān would be one who is pure and therefore able to come into true contact with it and would therefore have to be a member of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع). Indeed, ʿAlī (ع) was the one chosen to inherit the Book from the Prophet (ص) and no other companion claimed to be the one chosen by Allāh to inherit His Book. It has been related by many traditions through numerous chains of transmission that ʿAlī (ع) was the Prophet's (ص) inheritor (wārith). The following are a few such examples:

1. ʿAlī (ع) said, "By Allāh, I am his brother, his walī, his uncle's son, and the inheritor of his knowledge. So who has more rights to him than I do?"[1016]
2. The Prophet (ص) said, "Every prophet has an executor (waṣī) and inheritor (wārith), and verily my executor and inheritor is ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib."[1017]
3. Salmān said, "O Messenger of Allāh, who is your executor (waṣī)?" He replied, "O Salmān! Who was the executor of Moses?" He said, "Yūshaʿ (Joshua) ibn Nūn." [The Prophet (ص)] said, "Verily my executor and inheritor who will fulfill my obligations and carry out my promises is ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib."[1018]
4. When the Prophet (ص) invited his kinsmen to Islām, he asked, "Who among you will pledge allegiance to me to become my brother, companion, and inheritor?" No one rose except ʿAlī. He repeated it three times, and each time he told him to sit. After the third time he struck his hand upon ʿAlī's hand and said, "By this, my inheritor will be the son of my paternal uncle instead of my uncle."[1019]

Ḥākim said in regards to the inheritance of ʿAlī (ع) from the Prophet (ص),

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[1012] Refer to chapter 15.
[1013] Qurʾān 3:7.
[1014] Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, Tafsīr Qurṭubī, and Tafsīr Shawkānī, verse 3:7.
[1015] Qurʾān 35:32.
[1016] Mustadrak Ḥākim #4635.
[1017] Tārīkh Damishq 42:392; Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:138; Dhakhāʾir al-ʿUqbā 71; Manāqib Ibn Mughāzilī #238; Manāqib Khwārazmī #74.
[1018] Faḍāʾil Ḥanbal #1052; Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:138.
[1019] Khaṣāʾiṣ Nasāʾī 86-7.

> There is no dispute among the people of knowledge that an uncle's son does not inherit in the presence of an uncle. The only thing that appears contrary to this consensus is that ʿAlī inherited knowledge from the Prophet (ص) instead of them.[1020]

Accordingly,

> The Prophet (ص) told ʿAlī, "You are to me as Aaron was to Moses, and you are my inheritor." [ʿAlī] asked, "O Messenger of Allāh, what shall I inherit from you?" He replied, "What the prophets inherit." [ʿAlī] asked, "And what did the prophets before you inherit?" He replied, "The Book of Allāh and the Sunnah of their prophets. You will be with me in my palace in paradise with my daughter, Fāṭimah, and you are my brother."[1021]

This tradition is explicit proof of the imāmate of ʿAlī (ع), as the one inheriting the Prophet's (ص) knowledge of the Qur`ān and Sunnah would be the one who must be followed, not the one who should follow others because he has not received such knowledge as inheritance. As such, ʿAlī (ع) would be the rightful imām whom Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, ʿUthmān, and others ought to have followed. In fact, this tradition also makes it clear that prophetic knowledge is not like normal human knowledge that is lost upon one's death. Rather, it is passed on its entirety to the next imām. The reason inheritance in this tradition is limited to knowledge is either because ʿAlī (ع) would be barred from inheriting material possessions from the Prophet (ص) or because Fāṭimah (ع), as the Prophet's (ص) daughter, was the primary beneficiary of his material possessions upon his death, even though this right was denied by Abū Bakr and ʿUmar.[1022] However, the caliphs neither could prevent the inheritance of the Prophet's (ص) knowledge, nor could they confiscate his knowledge upon his death.

It should be noted that the verse, "Then We leave the Book as inheritance for those whom We have chosen from Our servants,"[1023] rather explicitly proves the imāmate because inheritance occurs only upon death. As such, inheritance of the Book would occur only upon the Prophet's (ص) death. Since the one who would inherit the Book would be selected by Allāh according to this verse, it is proof that there was someone selected by Allāh to inherit the Book after the Prophet (ص), which clearly refers to specific designation (naṣṣ), a concept that the Sunnīs deny. Such individuals who inherit the Qur`ān would clearly be the imāms. This verse is not referring to the companions at large, as they did not inherit the Qur`ān upon the Prophet's (ص) death, but rather retained no more than whatever they had learned of it during the lifetime of the Prophet (ص). Their share of the Book and their knowledge of it by no means increased upon the Prophet's (ص) death, so it would be impossible to call them inheritors of the Book, as inheritance requires an increase in the heir's property upon death. Yet, no such increase occurred for the companions at large. Moreover, the companions were not individually selected as inheritors, and no companion except for ʿAlī (ع) claimed to be the specific inheritor of the Qur`ān. Furthermore, the continuation of this verse supports this concept as well:

[1020] Mustadrak Ḥākim #4634.

[1021] Majmaʿ al-Zawā`id #14925; Faḍā`il Ḥanbal #1085, #1137; Dhakhā`ir al-ʿUqbā 71; Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:138; Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, verse 22:75.

[1022] Refer to chapter 49.

[1023] Qur`ān 35:32.

> Then We leave the Book as inheritance for those whom We have chosen from Our servants. But there are among them (i.e. our servants) some who wrong their own souls, some who are lukewarm, and some who are, by Allāh's leave, pioneers in good deeds.[1024]

Clearly, this verse classifies the companions and future generations of Muslims into three categories—the oppressors, the lukewarm of faith, and the pioneers. The verse begins by clearly stating that only selected individuals from each generation would inherit the Qur`ān, and the verse continues on to explain that they would be selected because they are among the pioneers in good deeds, while the others would not be inheritors because they are either outright sinners, or because they mix sinning with good deeds. It would be senseless for the Qur`ān to be inherited by the sinners in the presence of those who are pioneers in good deeds. Of course, we have already shown that ʻAlī (ع) was the foremost pioneer,[1025] a fact that also helps prove that he was the true inheritor referred to in this verse. Furthermore, the inheritance referred to in the verse is not general, as the verse is very clear that those who inherit the Qur`ān are specifically selected. If inheritance of the Qur`ān were intended in a general sense, then all mankind has inherited it, as anyone can go to a bookstore and buy the Qur`ān. In that case, adding the phrase, "whom We have chosen," to the verse would be absurd and indeed incorrect. As such, those who have been chosen to inherit the Qur`ān have clearly inherited it in a way different from the general ability of ordinary individuals to acquire and read the physical Qur`ān, and it must therefore refer to their inheritance of true knowledge of the Book.

Finally, this verse shows us the best method for classifying the companions. Sunnī scholars tend to classify them based on whether they were among the Muhājirīn, Anṣār, or other groups, and whether or not they were present at Badr, Uḥud, the pledge of Riḍwān, etc. Although this type of classification is useful for historical research, the Qur`ān makes it clear that they should really be classified into three groups—the oppressors, the pioneers, and those in between. Clearly, this is the scheme the Shīʻah have used to classify the companions.

Qur`ānic Verse: ʻAlī (ع) is the One with Knowledge of the Book

The Qur`ān says,

> Say, "Suffices for me as a witness Allāh and the one with knowledge of the Book."[1026]

It is related that "the one with knowledge of the Book" in this verse was ʻAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib (ع).[1027] It was not necessarily a general group of people that sufficed the Prophet (ص), as the word "ʻindahu (with whom)" is used as a masculine third person singular pronoun to refer to the one individual with whom the knowledge of the Book resided. And certainly, the verse is not referring to the Jews and Christians, as claimed by some Sunnī traditions, as they would not be sufficient as a sole human witness in any religious or legal matter. The other proof that this verse refers to one individual is the fact that two witnesses are typically required in Islām.[1028] The Prophet's (ص) two witnesses in this verse were Allāh and the one person with knowledge of the Book. Moreover, by having ʿAlī (ع) as a human witness other than himself, he would have two trustworthy adult male witnesses to present as proof. This verse has to refer to ʿAlī (ع) not only because he was the only adult male companion with knowledge of the Book through his purification by Allāh, but also because he was the only person who was the sole witness of the Prophet (ص) throughout his prophetic mission. If ʿAlī (ع) sufficed the Prophet (ص) among all mankind, there is no question that ʿAlī (ع) would be the only person qualified to lead the Muslim nation after the death of the Prophet (ص).

[1024] Qur`ān 35:32.
[1025] Refer to chapter 1.
[1026] Qur`ān 13:43.
[1027] Tafsīr Thaʻlabī, Tafsīr Ibn al-Jawzī, and Tafsīr Abū Ḥayyān, verse 13:43.
[1028] Qur`ān 2:282.

Indeed, the phrase, "the one with knowledge of the Book," applies to subsequent generations as well and therefore includes the other eleven imāms who succeeded ʿAlī (ع), each one of whom, during his period of imāmate, has been the one individual with knowledge of the Book and the one individual who would suffice as the sole witness among all of mankind. In the next chapter, the tradition of thaqalayan will further examine the inseparable relationship between the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) and the Qurʾān until the Day of Judgment, proving that these specific qualities of ʿAlī (ع) also pertain to the pure imāms from his progeny.

Qurʾānic Verse: ʿAlī (ع) is the Prophet's (ص) Witness

The fact that the Qurʾān refers to ʿAlī (ع) as the "witness" is also clear in the following verse:

> The one who is [endowed with] a clear [sign] from his Lord and a witness from him who recites it.[1029]

In this verse, the one who brought the clear sign was the Prophet (ص) and the witness who recited it was ʿAlī (ع).[1030] It is related that ʿAlī (ع) was asked, "What [verse] was revealed in regards to you?" He replied, "And a witness from him recites it."[1031] He also said, "The Messenger of Allāh (ص) is the one [endowed with] a clear sign, and I am his witness."[1032] He also said, "The Messenger of Allāh (ص) is [endowed with] a clear sign from his Lord, and I am the witness from him; I recite it and follow him."[1033] Ibn ʿAbbās said in regards to the verse, "And a witness from him recites it," that, "[The witness is] specifically ʿAlī."[1034] Indeed, the Prophet (ص) said, "'The one who is [endowed with] a clear [sign] from his Lord,' is me and, 'a witness from him who recites it,' is ʿAlī."[1035]

This verse shows that ʿAlī (ع) was specifically chosen and designated as the Prophet's (ص) witness. The fact that some claim that the Prophet's (ص) witness referred to in this verse was his tongue is rather odd, as one cannot site one's own tongue as one's witness. Moreover, the concept of having two witnesses is key in the Qurʾān,[1036] and it would be unacceptable for one to claim that his two witnesses are himself and his tongue.

[1029] Qurʾān 11:17.

[1030] Shawāhid al-Tanzīl #372-387, verse 11:17 lists sixteen traditions showing that ʿAlī (ع) was the witness and reciter referred to in this verse.

[1031] Tafsīr Ṭabarī, Tafsīr Qurṭubī, Tafsīr Shawkānī, Tafsīr Baghawī, Tafsīr Khāzin, Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, and Tafsīr Thaʿlabī, verse 11:17; Itqān 4:815, chapter 71.

[1032] Tafsīr Thaʿlabī and Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, verse 11:17.

[1033] Shawāhid al-Tanzīl #386, verse 11:17.

[1034] Tafsīr Thaʿlabī, verse 11:17; Shawāhid al-Tanzīl #387, verse 11:17. Similarly, Tafsīr Qurṭubī, verse 11:17.

[1035] Tafsīr Shawkānī and Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, verse 11:17; Tārīkh Damishq 42:360.

[1036] Qurʾān 2:282.

Another fact that proves that the witness in this verse was ʿAlī (ع) is that the witness was "from him." Given the mutawātir tradition, "ʿAlī is from me and I am from ʿAlī,"[1037] it is clear that the witness referred to as "a witness from him (i.e. the Prophet)" was specifically ʿAlī (ع). Therefore, the fact that ʿAlī (ع) was the Prophet's (ص) witness is clear in the Qur`ān, and the verse, "Suffices for me as a witness Allāh and the one with knowledge of the Book,"[1038] proves that ʿAlī (ع), as the Prophet's (ص) witness, was the "one with knowledge of the Book."

Proof of the Imāmate of ʿAlī (ع) Based on His Knowledge of the Qur`ān

Allāh says in regards to the Qur`ān that it is "the Book explaining all things,"[1039] that "We have omitted nothing from the Book,"[1040] and that it is "a detailed exposition of all things."[1041] Obviously if ʿAlī (ع) inherited the Prophet's (ص) knowledge of the Qur`ān or otherwise had access to the Qur`ān's knowledge by virtue of being thoroughly purified by Allāh and thereby being allowed to come in contact with the Qur`ān's true essence and inner meaning, he would be the imām, because he would be the only one to whom the Muslims should refer for knowledge of the Qur`ān. Any believer would have to defer to ʿAlī (ع) regarding all matters, as all matters are included in the Book. As such, ʿAlī (ع) would be the imām of anyone who wants to follow the Qur`ān.

Summary

The following is a summary of what was established in this chapter:

1. The wives of the Prophet (ص) were susceptible to sin.
2. The wives of the Prophet (ص) were not part of his Ahl al-Bayt (ع).
3. The Prophet's Ahl al-Bayt (ع) is comprised only of non-sinners from his family.
4. The verse of purification was revealed in regards to the Prophet (ص), ʿAlī, Fāṭimah, Ḥasan, and Ḥusayn (ع).
5. The Ahl al-Bayt (ع) has been thoroughly purified from all sin by Allāh.
6. Since only the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) has been purified from sin in lieu of the rest of the Muslim nation, the purified members of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) ought to be followed as imāms.
7. The sincere servants of Allāh, including the Ahl al-Bayt (ع), are immune to Satan, can properly praise Allāh, and require no accounting on the Day of Judgment.
8. By being purified, only the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) can access the true meaning of the Qur`ān.
9. ʿAlī (ع) was the inheritor of the Qur`ān and the one with knowledge of the Book.

[1037] Refer to chapter 29.
[1038] Qur`ān 13:43.
[1039] Qur`ān 16:89.
[1040] Qur`ān 6:38.
[1041] Qur`ān 12:111.

10. One who has knowledge of the Book would have to be the rightful imām.

Chapter 15
The Tradition of Thaqalayn (Two Weighty Items)

Variations of the Tradition of Thaqalayn

In a famous and mutawātir tradition referred to as the tradition of thaqalayan (two weighty items), which is universally accepted by both the Sunnīs and the Shī'ah, the Prophet (ص) said,

> I leave you two weighty items—the Book of Allāh and my Ahl al-Bayt. The two will not separate from one another until they come to me at the Fount [of Kawthar in the hereafter].

There are several minor variations of the tradition, but all share one fundamental concept—that the Prophet (ص) left the Muslims two weighty items—the Book of Allāh and his Ahl al-Bayt (ع). The following are a few of the variations of this tradition:

1. According to Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, the Prophet (ص) said, "I am leaving among you two weighty things, one being the Book of Allāh in which there is right guidance and light, so hold fast to the Book of Allāh and adhere to it... The second are the members of my household (Ahl al-Bayt). I remind you of the members of my family."[1042]

2. According to Tirmidhī and Ḥanbal, the Prophet (ص) said, "I leave for you that which, if you stick to it, you will never be misguided after me. One is greater than the other. The Book of Allāh, which is a rope extending from heaven to earth, and my close family ('itrah), my Ahl al-Bayt. They will not separate from one another until they come to me at the fount. So watch how you succeed me (takhlufūnī, from the same root as khalīf) in the two."[1043]

3. According to Ḥanbal and others, the Messenger of Allāh (ص) said, "I leave among you two khalīfs (successors), the Book of Allāh, which is a rope extending from heaven to earth, and my close family ('itrah), my Ahl al-Bayt. The two will not separate until they come to me at the fount."[1044]

4. According to a tradition Ḥākim certified as authentic by the criteria of both Bukhārī and Muslim, the Prophet (ص) said, "I leave for you two weighty items—

[1042] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #31.5920-3.

[1043] Sunan Tirmidhī #3788; Musnad Ḥanbal #11147. Similarly, Musnad Ḥanbal #11119; Faḍā'il Ḥanbal #1382.

[1044] Musnad Ḥanbal #21618, #21697; Kanz al-'Ummāl #872; Faḍā'il Ḥanbal #1032; Majma' al-Zawā'id #14957 (certifies the chain as excellent [jayyid]).

the Book of Allāh and my Ahl al-Bayt. The two will not separate until they come to me at the Fount."[1045]

5. According to Nasā`ī and Ḥanbal, the Messenger of Allāh (ص) said, "I leave for you two weighty items. The first is the Book of Allāh, the great and glorious, in which is guidance and light, so take the Book of Allāh and stick to it. The second is my Ahl al-Bayt. I remind you, by Allāh, in regards to my Ahl al-Bayt! I remind you, by Allāh, in regards to my Ahl al-Bayt! I remind you, by Allāh, in regards to my Ahl al-Bayt!"[1046]

Sources of the Tradition of Thaqalayn

The tradition of thaqalayan is famous and mutawātir. The traditions appear through many chains of transmission, including a large number of authentic ones, and these traditions appear in prominent Sunnī works such as Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim,[1047] Sunan Tirmidhī,[1048] Mustadrak Ḥākim,[1049] Musnad Ḥanbal,[1050] Sunan al-Kubrā Nasā`ī,[1051] Sunan al-Kubrā Bayhaqī,[1052] Faḍā`il Ḥanbal,[1053] Khaṣā`iṣ Nasā`ī,[1054] Kanz al-´Ummāl,[1055] Majma´ al-Zawā`id,[1056] Jāmi´ al-Ṣaghīr Suyūṭī,[1057] Khaṣā`iṣ al-Kubrā Suyūṭī,[1058] Fayḍ al-Qadīr,[1059] Usd al-Ghābah,[1060] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr,[1061] Tārīkh Damishq,[1062] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd,[1063] Tafsīr Ibn ´Aṭīyyah,[1064] Tafsīr Baghawī,[1065] Tafsīr Baqā´ī,[1066] Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr,[1067] Tafsīr Abū Ḥayyān,[1068] Tafsīr Ibn Kathīr,[1069] Tafsīr Khāzin,[1070] Tafsīr Nīsābūrī,[1071] Tafsīr Rāzī,[1072] Tafsīr Tha´labī,[1073] and many others. This tradition has been transmitted by numerous companions through a large number of distinct chains of transmission, making it truly mutawātir. The fact that it has survived in many key Sunnī collections of tradition despite its implications is further proof of its undeniability, as is the fact that no Muslim scholar has denied its basic wording and content.

1045. Mustadrak Ḥākim #4711 (certifies the tradition as authentic by the criteria of Bukhārī and Muslim).
1046. Musnad Ḥanbal #19285. Similarly, Sunan al-Kubrā Nasā`ī #8175.
1047. Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #31.5920-3.
1048. Sunan Tirmidhī #3788.
1049. Mustadrak Ḥākim #4576, #4711, #6272. The first two traditions are certified as authentic by the criteria of both Bukhārī and Muslim and the third tradition is certified as authentic.
1050. Musnad Ḥanbal #11119, #11147, #11578, #19285, #19332, #21618, #21697.
1051. Sunan al-Kubrā Nasā`ī #8175.
1052. Sunan al-Kubrā Bayhaqī #2679, #13017, #20122.
1053. Faḍā`il Ḥanbal #968, #1032, #1382, #1383.
1054. Khaṣā`iṣ Nasā`ī 93.
1055. Kanz al-´Ummāl #872, #873, #944, #946, #951-3, #957, #958, #1657, #12911, #36340, #37620-1, #39192.
1056. Majma´ al-Zawā`id #14957-9, #14962 (certifies the chain of transmission of #14957 as excellent [jayyid]).
1057. Jāmi´ al-Ṣaghīr Suyūṭī #2631.
1058. Khaṣā`iṣ al-Kubrā Suyūṭī 2:395.
1059. Fayḍ al-Qadīr #1608, #2631.
1060. Usd al-Ghābah 2:16 #1165 (Ḥasan ibn ´Alī).
1061. Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 5:228, 7:386.
1062. Tārīkh Damishq 19:258, 41:19, 42:216, 54:92.
1063. Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 6:375, 9:133, 10:270, 18:43.
1064. Tafsīr Ibn ´Aṭīyyah, verse 55:29.
1065. Tafsīr Baghawī, verses 42:23 and 55:31.
1066. Tafsīr Baqā´ī, verse 55:31.
1067. Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, verses 3:103 and 42:21.
1068. Tafsīr Abū Ḥayyān, verse 55:31.
1069. Tafsīr Ibn Kathīr, verses 33:33 and 42:23.
1070. Tafsīr Khāzin, verses 42:23 and 55:31.
1071. Tafsīr Nīsābūrī, verses 3:101 and 3:103.
1072. Tafsīr Rāzī, verse 3:103.
1073. Tafsīr Tha´labī, verses 3:132, 33:33, and 55:31.

Implications of the Tradition of Thaqalayn

This tradition is a very explicit example of specific designation (naṣṣ). For the Prophet (ص) to say that he would be leaving this world but would leave us his Ahl al-Bayt (ع), which is inseparable from the Book of Allāh, is an appointment so clear that no impartial person could deny its significance. If any king says, "I will be leaving you but I leave my son and my code of laws for you so stick to them so you are not lost," no one would doubt that he was appointing his son as his heir. For the Prophet (ص) to say that upon his death he would be leaving us his Ahl al-Bayt (ع) who, if stuck to, would guarantee our guidance until the Day of Judgment is explicit designation of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) as the imāms of the nation until the Day of Judgment.

The inseparability of the Qur`ān and the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) is also stressed in this tradition. Since the Qur`ān and Ahl al-Bayt (ع) are inseparable, and since the Qur`ān is left as inheritance to the Ahl al-Bayt (ع),[1074] we must seek the Prophet's Ahl al-Bayt (ع) in order to understand and benefit from the Qur`ān. It is quite clear that leaving a book behind without anyone capable of fully unlocking the value of its contents would be of little benefit. It would be like having a medical textbook available but no doctor to decipher its proper use for a patient.

Indeed, this tradition rather explicitly orders us to accept the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) as the only rightful imāms and khalīfs until the Day of Judgment. Since the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) are the weighty item that the Prophet (ص) has left us for our guidance along with the Qur`ān, it makes no sense to set them aside and pick a leader from among the rest of humanity. It would be the same as setting aside the Prophet (ص) as leader and picking another of his contemporaries in his stead. Moreover, since only the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) are inseparable from the Qur`ān until the Day of Judgment, only the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) would rule in complete accordance with the Book of Allāh. Everyone else would require their guidance in order to conduct their affairs in accordance to the Qur`ān. Moreover, several of these traditions are explicit in referring to the Qur`ān and Ahl al-Bayt (ع) as the khalīfs (successors) of the Prophet (ص). For Abū Bakr to claim to be the Prophet's (ص) successor when the Prophet (ص) clearly designated his Ahl al-Bayt (ع) as his successor is a clear act of defiance. The fact that these traditions stress the inseparability of the Qur`ān and the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) until the Day of Judgment also proves the Shī'ah concept of the imāmate, as only the Shī'ah believe in the presence of imāms from the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) from the moment of the Prophet's (ص) death until the Day of Judgment who are inseparable from the Qur`ān. Indeed, none but the Shī'ah have held on to the two weighty items left by the Prophet (ص).

The Prophet (ص) apparently suspected that some would later try to re-interpret everything he said. As such, he did not merely say, "my 'itrah (close family)," which some might later try to re-interpret to include his tribe or all his companions, but further specified it by saying, "my 'itrah, my Ahl al-Bayt." As such, he left no doubt that the weighty item he was leaving was specifically his Ahl al-Bayt (ع), whom he defined very clearly when he placed 'Alī, Fāṭimah, Ḥasan, and Ḥusayn (ع) under his cloak and proclaimed, "This is my Ahl al-Bayt!"[1075] Despite this clear designation, some still occasionally claim that all his companions or his extended family are his 'itrah (close family). Of course, it is absurd for the Prophet (ص) to tell his companions that he is leaving themselves for themselves! It would be like a father telling his son, "I am dying, but I leave you yourself. Follow yourself so that you are not lost." It would be impossible for the Prophet (ص) to utter such absurdities.

[1074] Refer to chapter 14.
[1075] Refer to chapter 14.

The Relationship of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) to the Prophet (ص) is a Permanent One

The following are a few of the traditions that prove that the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) will forever retain their closeness to the Messenger of Allāh (ص):

1. According to Ḥanbal: When ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb asked ʿAlī to marry his daughter Umm Kulthūm to him,[1076] ʿAlī used her young age as an excuse [to reject him]. ʿUmar said: I did not intend to do this, except that I heard the Messenger of Allāh say, "All family relations and [ties of] kinship (sabab wa nasab) are broken on the Day of Judgment, except for my family relations and [ties of] kinship."[1077]

2. The Messenger of Allāh (ص) said, "Verily all family relations and [ties of] kinship are severed on the Day of Judgment except for my family relations and [ties of] kinship. Verily ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib is of my relation (nasab). Whoever loves him indeed loves me, and whoever despises him indeed despises me.[1078]

3. The Prophet (ص) said, "Fāṭimah is a branch of me. What pleases her pleases me and what causes her displeasure causes my displeasure. On the Day of Judgment, all relations will be cut off except for my family relations and [ties of] kinship."[1079]

Traditions such as these show that the only relations that remain on the Day of Judgment are those to the Prophet (ص). However, ʿUmar was incorrect in his thinking that simple marriage to the Prophet's (ص) granddaughter would be of benefit to him on the Day of Judgment. Rather, this blood relationship that persists is the relationship of the pure Ahl al-Bayt—ʿAlī, Fāṭimah, Ḥasan, and Ḥusayn (ع)—to the Prophet (ص), and not of corrupt, sinful individuals who claim descent from or other blood or marriage ties to the Prophet (ص). Indeed, it would be absurd for Abū Lahab, the Prophet's pagan uncle, to claim entry into paradise based on his blood relationship to the Prophet (ص). Rather, the Qurʾān guarantees him the fire of hell.[1080] And any hypocrite and disbeliever would find themselves cut off from Allāh's mercy in the hereafter regardless of their lineage. With Noah, his son was not considered among his family because he performed deeds that were not righteous.[1081] Similarly, anyone who performs sinful acts would be cut off from his or her blood ties to the Prophet (ص).

The Invention of the Tradition of the Book of Allāh and My Sunnah

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[1076] Refer to chapter 28 for a discussion of ʿUmar's marriage proposal and ʿAlī's (ع) rejection of him and the forgeries in regards to this event.

[1077] Faḍāʾil Ḥanbal #1070. ʿUmar's statement of the Prophet's (ص) tradition also appears in Mustadrak Ḥākim #4684 (certifies the tradition as authentic); Sunan al-Kubrā Bayhaqī #13171-2, #13438; Majmaʿ al-Zawāʾid #7430 (certifies the tradition as authentic), #13827, #15019 (certifies those in the chain of transmission as trustworthy); Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #31914, #37589, #45773.

[1078] Manāqib Ibn Mughāzilī #151. The first sentence also appears in Majmaʿ al-Zawāʾid #15020 through Ibn ʿAbbās, and Haythamī certified that those in the chain of transmission are all trustworthy (thuqāt). Tārīkh Baghdād #5387 (ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Bishr) also quotes the first sentence through Ibn ʿAbbās.

[1079] Faḍāʾil Ḥanbal #1347; Majmaʿ al-Zawāʾid #15203. The first half of the tradition also appears in Mustadrak Ḥākim #4734, and is certified as authentic by Ḥākim.

[1080] Qurʾān 111:1-5.

[1081] Refer to Qurʾān 11:46, which was discussed in chapter 14.

Those who have abandoned the Prophet's Ahl al-Bayt (ع) have been troubled by the fact that the tradition of thaqalayan explicitly orders them to obey and stick to the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) in all matters until the Day of Judgment, so they have invented a tradition that says, "I leave among you two items such that if you hold on to them you will not be misguided—the Book of Allāh and my Sunnah."

This tradition, which is a clear invention, is not found in any of the ṣiḥāḥ sittah. It is included neither by Ḥanbal in his Musnad, nor by ʿAbd al-Razzāq in his Muṣannaf, both of which are among the largest of the early Sunnī complications of prophetic traditions. Perhaps the best source for this is Mustadrak Ḥākim which relates it through ʿIkrimah from Ibn ʿAbbās.[1082] ʿIkrimah, as has and will be discussed, was a Khārijīte enemy of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) who considered ʿAlī (ع) to be a disbeliever and who was well known for appending numerous lies to Ibn ʿAbbās.[1083] Another tradition in Mustadrak Ḥākim is related through Abū Hurayrah, whose traditions were widely rejected by the companions.[1084] However, Abū Hurayrah was likely not the inventor of this tradition. Rather, the chain includes Ṣāliḥ ibn Mūsā, who is widely known and acknowledged to be weak. According to Ibn Ḥajar, the following are the verdicts on this man: (1) Ibn Maʿīn said, "He is worthless (laysa bi-shay`)," and that, "[He and his brother] are both worthless," and that he would not record their traditions. (2) Jūzjānī said, "He is weak (ḍaʿīf) in his traditions." (3) Abū Ḥātim said, "He is weak in his traditions and his traditions are truly rejected (munkar), as he is full of rejected traditions that he [falsely] attributes to trustworthy [individuals]." (4) Bukhārī said, "His traditions are rejected (munkar al-ḥadīth)." (5) Nasā`ī said, "His traditions are not [to be] recorded, [as they are] weak," and, "[His] traditions are abandoned (matrūk)." (6) Ibn ʿAdī said, "The bulk of what he relates is not confirmed by anyone else."[1085]

Yet another source for this tradition is Muwaṭṭa` of Mālik ibn Anas, but his tradition has no chain of transmission whatsoever (mursal). The full tradition, including its chain, reads,

> Yaḥyā related to me from Mālik that he heard that the Messenger of Allāh said, "I have left two matters with you. As long as you hold to them, you will not go the wrong way. They are the Book of Allāh and the Sunnah of His Prophet."[1086]

Obviously, this tradition was so weak that it was cited as mere hearsay with no chain of transmission linking it from Mālik ibn Anas to the Prophet (ص). The fact that Mālik would even cite such a tradition without a chain of transmission proves the desperateness in trying to counter the tradition of thaqalayan.

It is clear that this tradition was invented and initially passed on verbally in response to the tradition of thaqalayan, according to which the Messenger of Allāh (ص) told us that he would be leaving us the Book of Allāh and his Ahl al-Bayt (ع). The fact that none of the key experts of tradition among the Sunnīs have related this tradition through a sound chain of transmission is evidence of its being a forgery. Even if someone were able to dig up one valid chain of transmission for this tradition, it would still be rejected because it would be a unitary (āḥād) tradition in contrast to the tradition of thaqalayan, which has

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1082. Mustadrak Ḥākim #318.
1083. Refer to chapters 14 and 22.
1084. Refer to chapter 77.
1085. Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb vol 4 #700 (Ṣāliḥ ibn Mūsā ibn Isḥāq ibn Ṭalḥah).
1086. Muwaṭṭa` Mālik #46.1.3 (Arabic original #1594).

been related through dozens of chains of transmission that make it absolutely mutawātir and undisputable.

Even if there were a tradition with an acceptable chain of transmission stating that the Prophet (ص) left us the Book and his Sunnah to adhere to, it would be easy to prove rationally that the tradition was invented and makes no sense. The Qur`ān is a Book that was compiled during the lifetime of the Prophet (ص) by a handful of his companions,[1087] and it could therefore be left behind for the people. However, his Sunnah, or his words and conduct, could not be left behind in any physical form. All that was left was a set of contradicting memories in the minds of companions, most of whom were motivated by various conflicting personal agendas. Thanks to Abū Bakr and ʿUmar and their followers, the memories of the Prophet's (ص) Sunnah were not widely recorded in written form until decades later.[1088] Had it not been for certain events, namely the very short-lived caliphate of ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, Sunnī traditions may have never been compiled. Even among those that were written down, a good bulk were forgeries. Throughout Islāmic history there have been many professional inventors of tradition. Surrounding these written traditions, many sects have formed. How could the Prophet (ص) leave us something as a guide that has no physical existence and which was, from the onset, inherently prone to corruption unless he left someone who would protect his Sunnah from corruption—namely his Ahl al-Bayt (ع)?

Some may wonder, "How can the tradition of 'the Book of Allāh and my Sunnah' be false when we hear it all the time and we have never heard the tradition that ends with 'my Ahl al-Bayt' instead?" The answer is evident—some preachers do not want their followers to know about this tradition that so clearly proves the necessity of following the Prophet's Ahl al-Bayt (ع) and of being a follower and devotee (i.e. a Shīʿah) of ʿAlī and the rightful imāms of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) after him. Instead, they pass on an invented tradition telling them to follow the Sunnah, by which they imply books like Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī and Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, among others. They make it appear as though the books of Bukhārī and Muslim were actually left by the Prophet (ص), whereas these books were simply compilations of traditions found expedient by their compilers; a handful of these traditions are accurate, while a good bulk is made of distortions of the truth or outright lies.

Even if the tradition, "the Book of Allāh and my Sunnah," is true, the problem is that Abū Bakr and ʿUmar were the prime obstacles against the Sunnah of the Prophet (ص), as they were the ones who banned his traditions from being related or recorded, and ʿUmar even had the Prophet's (ص) traditions collected from the companions and burned, committing a crime against the Sunnah, the likes of which has never been committed since.[1089]

In summary, from a scholarly approach, the tradition that ends with "my Sunnah" is invented and weak in every respect, as it appears in no acceptable form in any of the main Sunnī source of prophetic traditions, while the tradition that includes the Book of Allāh and the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) is widely accepted and transmitted by the leading masters of prophetic tradition among the Sunnīs as well as the Shīʿah.

The Tradition Ordering Obedience to the Rightly-Guided Caliphs

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1087. Refer to chapter 55.
1088. Refer to chapter 56.
1089. Refer to chapter 56.

There is yet another tradition telling Muslims to obey the Prophet (ص) and the ways of the rightly-guided khalīfs (al-khulafā` al-rāshidīn) after him.[1090] If, as some have claimed, this refers to Abū Bakr, ´Umar, and ´Uthmān, this tradition would contradict the tradition of thaqalayn, which is mutawātir and beyond doubt, in which we are ordered to grab on to the Book of Allāh and the Ahl al-Bayt (ع). If it refers to Abū Bakr, ´Umar, and ´Uthmān, it also contradicts common sense, as the Prophet (ص) would be ordering us to follow something after him, when Islām is complete and nothing after him needs to be followed except the Book of Allāh and his Ahl al-Bayt (ع), who are inseparable from the Qur`ān and who keep the Prophet's (ص) Sunnah alive.

However, it is plausible that the "rightly-guided khalīfs" are referring to the imāms of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع). Holding onto their traditions is the same as holding onto the Qur`ān and the traditions of the Messenger of Allāh (ص). Indeed, this is the only possible interpretation of this tradition. One would have no way of knowing whether a particular caliph was rightly-guided or not unless the Prophet (ص) specifically told us that the caliph is rightly-guided, as he did with his Ahl al-Bayt (ع). Any hypocrite may appear rightly-guided to the Muslim nation, yet have a heart filled with disbelief. In fact, the hypocrites may have appeared rightly guided to the Prophet (ص), who would not have known their identities without being informed of them by Allāh. In this regards, the Qur`ān says,

> And among those around you of the Arabs there are hypocrites, and there are among the townspeople of Madīnah those who persist in hypocrisy whom you [O Prophet] do not know. Yet, We know them. Twice shall We punish them, and in addition they will be relegated to a grievous penalty.[1091]

As such, even the Prophet (ص) did not know who the hypocrites were without being informed of their identities by Allāh. It is therefore impossible for Muslims to recognize if a caliph is a hypocrite or not without direct and specific guidance from Allāh through His Messenger (ص).

Other Traditions Regarding ´Alī's (ع) Relationship to the Qur`ān

The tradition, "I leave you only two weighty items—the Book of Allāh and my Ahl al-Bayt; the two will not separate from one another until they come to me at the Fount," is a undisputed and mutawātir tradition and the imāmate can clearly be concluded from this tradition. There are, in addition, many other traditions that indicate the close relationship between ´Alī (ع) and the Qur`ān. The following is a small selection of these traditions:

Tradition 1: ´Alī (ع) is with the Qur`ān and the Qur`ān is with ´Alī (ع)

According to a tradition Ḥākim certified as authentic, the Prophet (ص) said,

> ´Alī is with the Qur`ān and the Qur`ān is with ´Alī. They will not separate until they come to me at the Fount.[1092]

Tradition 2: ´Alī (ع) Knew the Interpretation of Every Verse

[1090] Sunan Tirmidhī #2676; Sunan Nasā`ī #42-44; Musnad Ḥanbal #17182, #17184-5; Mustadrak Ḥākim #329-30, #332.

[1091] Qur`ān 9:101.

[1092] Mustadrak Ḥākim #4628 (certifies the tradition as authentic); Kanz al-´Ummāl #32912; Tārīkh al-Khulafā` 154; Jāmi´ al-Ṣaghīr Suyūṭī #5594.

> ʹAlī said, "By Allāh, there is no verse revealed, except that I know what it was revealed about, where it was revealed, and regarding whom it was revealed. My Lord has given me a knowing heart and an eloquent tongue."[1093]

Tradition 3: ʹAlī (ع) Told People to Ask Him Anything

1. According to traditions that both Ḥākim and Haythamī certified as authentic, ʹAlī (ع) said, "Ask me before you lose me, for you won't ask anyone like me after me."[1094]
2. ʹAlī (ع) said, "O mankind! Ask me before you lose me! Ask me before you lose me! Ask me before you lose me!"[1095]
3. ʹAlī (ع) also said, "Ask me before you lose me for I will inform you of anything you ask me about except for [the nature of] the throne."[1096]
4. ʹAlī (ع) gave a speech in which he said, "Ask me! By Allāh, you won't ask me about anything that will occur until the Day of Judgment without my informing you of it. And ask me about the Book of Allāh for, by Allāh, there is no verse in it regarding which I do not know whether it was revealed at night or during the day, and whether it was revealed in the plains or in the mountains."[1097]

Of note, Saʹīd ibn Musayyab said, "There was no one among the companions of the Prophet (ص) who said, 'Ask me,' except ʹAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib."[1098] ʹAllāmah Amīnī has compiled a list of six individuals who tried to duplicate ʹAlī's (ع) claim of knowledge by saying, "Ask me!"; each and every one of the six was proved to be lacking in knowledge.[1099]

Tradition 4: Only ʹAlī (ع) Will Fight over the Qur`ān's True Meaning (Ta`wīl): The Tradition of the Mender of Shoes

The following famous and authentic tradition, the tradition of the mender of shoes (ḥadīth khāṣif al-naʹl)," appears in numerous Sunnī sources:

> The Prophet (ص) said, "Among you is one who will fight over the ta`wīl (inner meaning) of the Qur`ān the same way I fought over its tanzīl (revelation)." The people, among them Abū Bakr and ʹUmar, went up to him. Abū Bakr asked, "Am I the one?" The Prophet (ص) said, "No." ʹUmar asked, "Am I the one?" The Prophet (ص) said, "No. It is the one who is mending a shoe." [They looked and saw that] ʹAlī was fixing his shoes. [Abū Saʹīd al-Khudrī, the narrator,

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[1093] Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 2:338; Kanz al-ʹUmmāl #36404; Tārīkh al-Khulafā` 163.

[1094] Mustadrak Ḥākim #3342, #3736 (certifies both traditions as authentic and states that the first one is excellent [ʹāl] as well); Majmaʹ al-Zawā`id #7418 (certifies the tradition as authentic).

[1095] Kanz al-ʹUmmāl #39709.

[1096] Kanz al-ʹUmmāl #36502.

[1097] Fatḥ al-Bārī #4571; ʹUmdah al-Qārī 19:190; Kanz al-ʹUmmāl #4740. Similarly, Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 2:338; Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb Vol 7 #566 (ʹAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib); Tārīkh al-Khulafā` 163; Istīʹāb 3:208, #1875 (ʹAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib); Iṣābah 2:1296 #5690 (ʹAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib); Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:167.

[1098] Faḍā`il Ḥanbal #1098; Istīʹāb 3:206 #1875 (ʹAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib); Usd al-Ghābah 3:288 #3789 (ʹAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib); Tārīkh al-Khulafā` 153; Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:166.

[1099] Al-Ghadīr 6:195-196.

> added:] So we went over and congratulated him, but he did not lift his head, as though he has already heard it from the Messenger of Allāh.[1100]

This tradition has been related by numerous Sunnī sources, including Mustadrak Ḥākim,[1101] Musnad Ḥanbal,[1102] Faḍā`il Ḥanbal,[1103] Sunan al-Kubrā Nasā`ī,[1104] Khaṣā`iṣ Nasā`ī,[1105] Khaṣā`iṣ al-Kubrā Suyūṭī,[1106] Majma´ al-Zawā`id,[1107] Kanz al-´Ummāl,[1108] Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah,[1109] Dhakhā`ir al-´Uqbā,[1110] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr,[1111] Tārīkh Damishq,[1112] and Dalā`il al-Nubuwwah of Bayhaqī.[1113] Ḥākim said, "This tradition is authentic by the criteria of the two shaykhs (Bukhārī and Muslim) but neither have included it."[1114] Haythamī, similarly, certified this tradition as authentic.[1115] Ḥanbal, Ibn Athīr, and Suyūṭī have also related variations of this tradition that have omitted the part about Abū Bakr and ´Umar.[1116]

Comments

All of these traditions are explicit in showing that ´Alī (ع) possessed thorough knowledge of the Qur`ān, its interpretation, and its inner meaning (ta`wīl). Anyone with such knowledge would have to be the leader of the nation, not the one led by those with less knowledge of the Qur`ān, as only he would be able to ensure that every act of the Muslim nation would be in accordance with the Qur`ān and its accurate interpretation and true inner meaning.

Furthermore, since all of ´Alī's (ع) wars were staged against the Prophet's (ص) companions and their successors (tābi´īn), the fact that the Prophet (ص) said that ´Alī (ع) would have to go to war over the inner meaning of the Qur`ān provides clear proof of the Shī´ah position for a number of reasons: (1) It proves that ´Alī (ع) had knowledge of the inner meaning of the Qur`ān, whereas the other companions did not. As such, one would have to pick ´Alī (ع) as the imām instead of the other companions who lacked such knowledge and who therefore might, knowingly or unknowingly, act in opposition to the inner meaning of the Qur`ān. (2) The Prophet (ص) specifically told Abū Bakr and ´Umar that they would not be the ones to fight for the inner meaning of the Qur`ān, while ´Alī would be that person. As such, it would be mandatory for them to follow ´Alī (ع) in his campaign to enact the inner meaning of the Qur`ān after the Prophet's death, not vice versa. (3) The Prophet's (ص) words show that ´Ā`ishah, Ṭalḥah, Zubayr, Mu´āwīyah and their supporters were all fighting against the inner meaning of the Qur`ān. (4) One cannot trust the companions and their successors (tābi´īn) to provide guidance if they can be so misguided as to fight against the inner meaning of the Qur`ān. Rather, one must trust ʿAlī (ع) and disregard conflicting opinions from others. (5) By saying that he fought over the revelation of the Qurʾān, the Prophet (ص) was referring to his wars against those who rejected the fact that the Qurʾān was the word of Allāh. By saying that ʿAlī (ع) would fight over the Qurʾān's inner meaning (taʾwīl), the Prophet (ص) was explicitly stating that his companions would distort the Qurʾān's message and stick to their distorted beliefs to such an extent that they would go to war against ʿAlī (ع) to protect those false beliefs. The fact that such erroneous beliefs would arise among the companions of the Prophet (ص) is in accordance with the Shīʿah view and contradicts the Salafī view that all the companions were worthy of emulation.

[1100] Mustadrak Ḥākim #4621 (certifies the tradition as authentic by the criteria of Bukhārī and Muslim).

[1101] Mustadrak Ḥākim #4621 (certifies the tradition as authentic by the criteria of Bukhārī and Muslim).

[1102] Musnad Ḥanbal #11307, #11790.

[1103] Faḍā`il Ḥanbal #1083.

[1104] Sunan al-Kubrā Nasā`ī #8541.

[1105] Khaṣā`iṣ Nasā`ī 131.

[1106] Khaṣā`iṣ al-Kubrā Suyūṭī 2:208.

[1107] Majma´ al-Zawā`id #8950 (certifies the tradition as authentic), #14763 (certifies those in the chain of transmission as trustworthy).

[1108] Kanz al-´Ummāl #32967.

[1109] Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:157 (two traditions).

[1110] Dhakhā`ir al-´Uqbā 76.

[1111] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 6:243, 7:338, 7:398.

[1112] Tārīkh Damishq 42:451-5 (nine chains of transmissions).

[1113] Dalā`il al-Nubuwwah of Bayhaqī 8:435.

[1114] Mustadrak Ḥākim #4621.

[1115] Majma´ al-Zawā`id #8950.

[1116] Faḍā`il Ḥanbal #1071; Usd al-Ghābah 3:298 #3789 (´Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib); Tārīkh al-Khulafā` 154.

Clearly, given ʿAlī's (ع) knowledge of the Qurʾān and the propensity of others to err in their understanding of its meaning, ʿAlī (ع) would have to be the imām of the nation and all others would be obligated to follow him instead of trying to lead him. In the next chapter, we will further examine ʿAlī's (ع) claim that he could inform anyone who asked him of any event until the Day of Judgment.

Chapter 16
ʹAlī's (ع) Knowledge of the Unseen

Knowledge of the Unseen According to the Qur`ān

According to the following verses of the Qur`ān, knowledge of the unseen belongs solely to Allāh:

1. "With Him are the keys of the unseen, that none knows but He."[1117]
2. "Say: None in the heavens and earth knows the unseen but Allāh, nor can they perceive when they shall be raised."[1118]
3. "Verily Allāh knows the unseen of the heavens and earth. Verily He has knowledge of what is in the hearts."[1119]
4. "Verily Allāh knows the unseen of the heavens and earth, and Allāh sees all that you do."[1120]
5. "[Allāh] knows the unseen and the seen."[1121]

Indeed, the prophets did not possess complete knowledge of the unseen:

> Noah said, "I do not tell you that with me are the treasures of Allāh, that I know the unseen, or that I am an angel. I just follow what is revealed to me."[1122]

There are those who claim that the Prophet (ص) had no knowledge of the unseen, which is obviously false, because Allāh would inform His messengers of the unseen through revelation. According to the Qur`ān,

> He alone knows the unseen. He does not make anyone acquainted with His unseen except for a messenger whom He has chosen.[1123]

Furthermore, the messengers may inform the people of some of the elements of the unseen based on what was revealed to them by Allāh. The Qur`ān says,

1. "This is of the stories of the unseen, which We have revealed unto you."[1124]

[1117] Qur`ān 6:59.
[1118] Qur`ān 27:65.
[1119] Qur`ān 35:38.
[1120] Qur`ān 49:18.
[1121] Qur`ān 59:22. Similarly, Qur`ān 32:6, 64:18.
[1122] Qur`ān 6:50. Similarly, Qur`ān 11:31.
[1123] Qur`ān 72:26-27.

2. "This is of the stories of the unseen, which We have revealed unto you. Before this, neither you nor your people knew them."[1125]

3. "When the Prophet disclosed a matter in confidence to one of his wives and she then divulged it, Allāh made it known to him. He made known a part of it and avoided a part. When he (i.e. the Prophet) told her about it, she said, 'Who informed you of this?' He said, 'The all-knowing, well-acquainted has informed me.'"[1126]

4. Jesus (ع) told the people, "And I will declare to you what you eat and what you store in your houses. Surely in this is a sign for you if you believe."[1127]

5. "Jesus the son of Mary said, 'O Children of Israel, I am the messenger of Allāh to you, confirming what came before me of the Torah, and giving glad tidings of a messenger to come after me, whose name shall be Aḥmad.'"[1128]

6. "[Allāh] said, 'O Adam! Inform them of their names.' When he informed them of their names, [Allāh] said [to the angels], 'Did I not tell you that I know the unseen of the heavens and earth, and I know what you reveal and what you conceal?'"[1129]

From these verses, we can see that none but Allāh has absolute knowledge of the unseen. Yet, Allāh may inform whom He wants of the unseen through His messengers and angels. As such, the imāms of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) have no inherent knowledge of the unseen except for what the Prophet (ص) has granted them based on what he received from Allāh. On the other hand, the other companions were devoid of such knowledge other than based on what was publicly announced by the Prophet (ص). As such, Abū Bakr said, "I do now know the unseen,"[1130] even though other companions, most notably Ḥudhayfah ibn Yamān, claimed to have been informed of certain events until the Day of Judgment.[1131] The following Shīʿah traditions show that the Shīʿah imāms claimed to possess only the knowledge of the unseen that Allāh had revealed to the Prophet (ص):

1. Imām Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq (ع) said, "Nothing comes out of Allāh, the great and glorious, except that it starts with the Messenger of Allāh (ص), then with the Commander of the Faithful (ʿAlī) (ع), then to one [imām] after another."[1132]

2. Imām Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq (ع) said, "Allāh, the great and glorious, has two types of knowledge—knowledge that is [only] with Him and of which He does not inform any of His creation, and knowledge that He has granted to His angels and messengers. What He has granted to His angels and messengers surely reaches us."[1133]

1124. Qur'ān 12:102.
1125. Qur'ān 11:49.
1126. Qur'ān 66:3.
1127. Qur'ān 3:49.
1128. Qur'ān 61:6.
1129. Qur'ān 2:33.
1130. Tārīkh al-Khulafā' 76.
1131. Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #41.6908.
1132. Uṣūl al-Kāfī #652.
1133. Uṣūl al-Kāfī #654.

3. Imām Muḥammad al-Bāqir (ع) said, "Allāh, the great and glorious, has two types of knowledge—knowledge that none knows but He, and knowledge that His angels and messengers know. What His angels and messengers know, we know."[1134]

Unfortunately, some propagandists claim rather erroneously that the Shī'ah believe that the imāms of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) have knowledge of the entirety of the unseen, which is clearly not the case. They also tend to cite verses stating that knowledge of the unseen rests with Allāh without noting the fact that this knowledge can be passed on by Allāh to others as He pleases.

'Alī's (ع) Knowledge of the Unseen

Allāh passed on part of His knowledge of the unseen to the Prophet (ص); in turn, the Prophet (ص) passed on the entirety of the knowledge he received to 'Alī (ع). As such, the Prophet (ص) said, "'Alī's relation to me is like that of me to my Lord."[1135] This is because the Prophet (ص) was specifically chosen by Allāh to receive Allāh's revealed knowledge, and 'Alī (ع) was specifically chosen to receive the Prophet's (ص) knowledge of matters that had been revealed to him by Allāh. This is why 'Alī (ع) had such immense knowledge of the unseen and future events, as indicated by the following tradition:

> 'Alī said, "Ask me! By Allāh, you won't ask me about anything that will occur until the Day of Judgment without my informing you of it. And ask me about the Book of Allāh for, by Allāh, there is no verse in it regarding which I do not know whether it was revealed at night or during the day, and whether it was revealed in the plains or in the mountains."[1136]

The Sunnī scholar Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd has related several accounts of 'Alī's (ع) knowledge of the unseen, among which are the following four examples:

Tradition 1

In his battle against the Khārijītes, 'Alī told his companions, "By Allāh, not ten of them will be let go (i.e. survive) and not ten of you will die."[1137] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd said, "This tradition is among the traditions that may be mutawātir because of its fame and [the fact] that everyone has transmitted it. This is among his miracles and [proof of] his extensive knowledge of the unseen."[1138]

Tradition 2

> 'Alī said, "By Allāh, if I wish, I can tell every one of you from where he has come, where he will go, and all his affairs, but I fear that you may abandon the Messenger of Allāh (ص) in my favor. I shall certainly convey these things to the selected ones who can remain safe from what I fear. By Allāh Who deputed the

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[1134] Uṣūl al-Kāfī #656.

[1135] Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:119, 3:232.

[1136] Fatḥ al-Bārī #4571; 'Umdah al-Qārī 19:190; Kanz al-'Ummāl #4740. Similarly, Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 2:338; Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb Vol 7 #566 ('Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib); Tārīkh al-Khulafā' 163; Isti'āb 3:208, #1875 ('Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib); Iṣābah 2:1296 #5690 ('Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib); Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:167.

[1137] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 5:3.

[1138] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 5:3.

> Prophet (ص) with the truth and Who distinguished him over [all of] creation, I do not speak but the truth. [The Prophet (ص)] informed me of all this and also about the death of everyone who dies, the salvation of everyone who is granted salvation, and the outcome of this affair (i.e. the caliphate). He held nothing back from me without telling me about it by putting it into my ear."[1139]

Tradition 3

> ʹAlī was giving a sermon and said, "Ask me before you lose me. By Allāh, you will not ask me of any group, a hundred of which are set astray or a hundred of which are guided, without my telling you of its leader and followers. If you wish, I will tell each one of you his exit, entrance, and all his [life's] events."
>
> Tamīm ibn Usāmah ibn Zuhayr ibn Durayd al-Tamīmī complained and said, "So how many hairs are on my head?" ʹAlī replied, "By Allāh, I know this, but what is the justification for my telling you this? I will inform you of your actions and words." ʹAlī then told him, "Truly on every hair of your head is an angel that curses you and a devil that seeks to control you. The proof for this is that in your house is a lowly man who will kill the son of the Messenger of Allāh (ص) and who will incite his murder."[1140]

Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd said that what ʹAlī (ع) said ended up being true because Tamīm's son Ḥuṣayn, who had not yet been weaned off milk at the time, ended up joining ʹUbayd Allāh ibn Zīyād's army that martyred Ḥusayn (ع) at Karbalāʹ.[1141] In regards to why a group of a hundred is mentioned instead of fewer, Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd said, "Less than a hundred is so few that it is not worthy of mention and giving news of."[1142]

Tradition 4

> ʹAlī told Barāʹ ibn ʹĀzib, "O Barāʹ, will Ḥusayn be killed while you remain alive without helping him?" Barāʹ said, "It will not be so, O Commander of the Faithful." When Ḥusayn was killed, Barāʹ remembered this and said, "What a great remorse that I was not present with him to be killed in his stead."[1143]

ʹAlī's (ع) Prediction of His Own Death and the Identity of His Killer

Perhaps the most famous and widely narrated account of ʹAlī's (ع) predictions of the future was his prediction, based on what the Prophet (ص) had told him, that he would be killed and that his beard would be soaked with the blood of his head. The following are four accounts in this regards:

1. ʹAlī (ع) said: The truthful truth-teller (i.e. the Prophet [ص]) told me, "You will not die until you are struck here," pointing to his head, "and here," pointing at his beard, "is dyed [from its blood]."[1144]

[1139] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 10:10: Sermon 176 of the Nahj al-Balāghah.
[1140] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 10:14-15.
[1141] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 10:15.
[1142] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 7:51.
[1143] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 10:15.
[1144] Usd al-Ghābah 3:299 #3789 (ʹAlī Ibn Abī Ṭālib) (cites three chains of transmission); Kanz al-ʹUmmāl #36571. Similarly, Tārīkh Bukhārī vol 8 #3167 (Yazīd ibn Umayyah).

2. ʹAbd Allāh ibn Sabuʹ said: ʹAlī was giving us a sermon and said, "By He who splits a seed and who created life, this will be dyed [with the blood] of this," meaning his beard from the blood of his head.[1145]

3. ʹAbd Allāh ibn Salām went to ʹAlī (ع) and said, "Do not go to Iraq, for I am worried that you will be struck by the tip of a sword." He replied, "O, by Allāh! The Messenger of Allāh (ص) has [already] informed me that it will happen."[1146]

4. Yazīd ibn Murrah said: ʹAlī became seriously ill to the point that he became cachectic, so we feared for his [life] until he was better. We told him, "Congratulations, Abū al-Ḥasan! Praise be to Allāh Who has cured you! We feared for your [life]." He said, "But I was not afraid for my own [life] because the truthful truth-teller informed me that I would not die until I am struck here," pointing to his head, "and its blood dyes here," pointing to his beard.[1147]

Traditions in which ʹAlī (ع) predicted that he would be struck on his head and that his beard would be dyed from its blood are widely narrated in Sunnī sources and can be found in Mustadrak Ḥākim,[1148] Sunan al-Kubrā Bayhaqī,[1149] Khaṣāʾiṣ al-Kubrā Suyūṭī,[1150] Kanz al-ʹUmmāl,[1151] Majmaʹ al-Zawāʾid,[1152] Muʹjam al-Kabīr Ṭabarānī,[1153] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr,[1154] Ansāb al-Ashrāf,[1155] Tārīkh Bukhārī,[1156] Tārīkh Damishq,[1157] Usd al-Ghābah,[1158] Istīʹāb,[1159] and Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah.[1160] There are even more numerous traditions in which the Prophet (ص) predicted that ʹAlī's (ع) beard would be dyed by the blood of his head as well as the fact that ʹAlī (ع) would be killed by the worst of people.[1161] Indeed, ʹAlī (ع) knew that ʹAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Muljam would be his killer. When he saw him, he said, "He seeks my death."[1162] According to Ibn Athīr, Balādhurī, Haythamī, Ṭabarānī, and Ibn ʹAsākir,

> ʹAlī gathered the people for the pledge of allegiance. ʹAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Muljam al-Murādī came, and he sent him away twice. He then said, "What stops the worst of them [from killing me now]? By Allāh, he will soak this with the blood of this." He then recited:
>
> Strengthen your chest for death,
> For death will surely meet you.
> Do not worry about death

[1145] Usd al-Ghābah 3:299 #3789 (ʹAlī ibn Abī Tālib) (cites three chains of transmission); Istīʹāb 3:219-220 #1875 (ʹAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib). Similarly, Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:238.

[1146] Usd al-Ghābah 3:299 #3789 (ʹAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib) (cites three chains of transmission).

[1147] Majmaʹ al-Zawāʾid #14781.

[1148] Mustadrak Ḥākim #4590 (certifies the tradition as authentic by the criteria of Bukhārī).

[1149] Sunan al-Kubrā Bayhaqī #15848.

[1150] Khaṣāʾiṣ al-Kubrā Suyūṭī 2:190.

[1151] Kanz al-ʹUmmāl #36561, #36563, #36587.

[1152] Majmaʹ al-Zawāʾid #14780 (certifies the tradition as good [ḥasan]), #14781.

[1153] Muʹjam al-Kabīr Ṭabarānī 1:106.

[1154] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:358.

[1155] Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:376.

[1156] Tārīkh Bukhārī vol 8 #3167 (Yazīd ibn Umayyah).

[1157] Tārīkh Damishq 42:538, 42:543, 42:544.

[1158] Usd al-Ghābah 3:299-300 #3789 (ʹAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib) (several traditions).

[1159] Istīʹāb 3:219-20 #1875 (ʹAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib).

[1160] Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:238.

[1161] Refer to chapter 88.

[1162] Istīʹāb 3:220 #1875 (ʹAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib).

> When it comes to your valley.[1163]

According to Ibn ʹAbd al-Barr, when ʹAlī saw Ibn Muljam he said, "For sure, this will be my killer." He was asked, "Then what prevents you from [killing] him?" He replied, "Then he won't be able to kill me afterwards."[1164] According to Ibn Athīr,

> When the month of Ramāḍān began, ʹAlī would spend a night with Ḥasan, a night with Ḥusayn, and a night with ʹAbd Allāh ibn Jaʹfar. He would not eat more than three bites. He said, "I want the order of Allāh to come when I am hungry," [and] it was only a night or two nights [until he was killed].[1165]

Ibn Athīr has also related that,

> Ḥasan ibn Kathīr related from his father that ʹAlī was heading out for the morning (fajr) prayers when geese came to him and hooted in his face. We were about to send them away from him, but he said, "Bring them, for they are those who wail [for my death]." He then went out and was struck.[1166]

Ibn Athīr concluded, "This is evidence that he knew the year, month, and night in which he would be killed."[1167]

The Imām Can Understand the Speech of all Creatures

According to the Qur`ān,

> When they came to a valley of ants, one of the ants said, "O ants! Enter your dwellings lest Solomon and his armies crush you while they do not know." So [Solomon] smiled, laughing at its speech.[1168]

Clearly, Solomon (ع) was able to comprehend the communication of ants. This is evidence that the imāms designated by Allāh can understand the communications of animals, insects, and other creatures.

The Comments of Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd Regarding ʹAlī's (ع) Knowledge of the Unseen

Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, after mentioning ʹAlī's (ع) claim to knowledge of all events until the Day of Judgment, said,

> And know that he swore by Allāh, in whose hands lies his soul, that they would not ask him of any event occurring then or [that would occur] until the [Day of] Judgment except that he would inform them of it... We have examined his predictions and found them to have proved true. We use this fact to reason for the truthfulness of ʹAlī's claim [that he knew future events].[1169]

[1163] Usd al-Ghābah 3:300 #3789 (ʹAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib); Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:376; Majmaʹ al-Zawā`id #14789; Muʹjam al-Kabīr Ṭabarānī 1:105; Tārīkh Damishq 42:545; Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 3:33.

[1164] Istīʹāb 3:220 #1875 (ʹAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib).

[1165] Usd al-Ghābah 3:301 #3789 (ʹAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib).

[1166] Usd al-Ghābah 3:301 #3789 (ʹAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib).

[1167] Usd al-Ghābah 3:301 #3789 (ʹAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib).

[1168] Qur`ān 27:18-19.

[1169] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 7:47-48.

Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd then listed numerous cases in which ʿAlī (ع) gave knowledge of future events.[1170] Among these he cited,

> His prediction that his head would be struck and that his beard would be dyed with [his head's] blood; and his prediction regarding the killing of his son Ḥusayn and what he said in regards to [Ḥusayn] when he passed through Karbalāʾ; and his prediction that Muʿāwīyah would rule after him; and his prediction of Ḥajjāj[1171] and Yūsuf ibn ʿUmar[1172]; and his prediction of what would happen to the Khārijītes in Nahrawān; and his prediction regarding which of his companions would be killed and which among them would be hung; and his prediction regarding his battles against the breakers of vows, deviants, and heretics (nākithīn, qāsiṭīn and māriqīn); and his prediction of the number of soldiers who would join him from Kūfah on his way to Baṣrah; and his prediction regarding ʿAbd Allāh ibn Zubayr that, "He is a devious, grudge-holding man who desires something (i.e. the caliphate) that he will never [truly] attain, instead setting out his religion for his desire of this world and ending up getting [himself] hung by the Quraysh"; and his prediction of the deaths in Baṣrah from drowning [in floods] and deaths by the Zanj whom he described...[1173]

Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd then went on to list a number of ʿAlī's (ع) other predictions of future events. He clarified that ʿAlī (ع) had obtained his knowledge of the unseen from the Prophet (ص), who had, in turn, been granted this knowledge by Allāh. He said, "This is not a claim to prophecy, but rather he would say that the Messenger of Allāh (ص) had informed him of this."[1174] Then, after mentioning several ways in which one could obtain knowledge of the unseen, he said,

> Know that we do not deny that there are, among men, individuals who give news of the unseen, but all this is attributed to Allāh through His granting power and potential and providing the [necessary] means. If the one who gives news of the unseen claims to be a prophet, this cannot occur except by the permission of and the granting of [this] ability by Allāh so that by [this miracle] the oft-high can provide proof for the truth of the prophet's claims. If he is a liar, it is not permissible for Allāh to allow the jinn to teach him this for [the purpose of] misguiding the people. Similarly, it is not permissible for Allāh, the pure, to provide a liar who claims prophecy news of the unseen through sorcery, astrology, charms, birds, or any other of the aforementioned ways due to his [potential for] corrupting and misguiding people.
>
> But if the one who gives news of the unseen is not a prophet, his state [of belief] must be examined. If he is among the pious and righteous, this must be attributed to a nobility that Allāh has made apparent through his hands, as a distinguishing feature for him, and as a privilege over others, such as [is the case] with ʿAlī. If he is not like this (i.e. pious and righteous), it is possible that he is either a sorcerer or a soothsayer.

[1170] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 7:48-50.

[1171] Refer to chapter 85 for a discussion of Ḥajjāj.

[1172] Yūsuf ibn ʿUmar was the governor of Kūfah who fought and martyred Zayd ibn ʿAlī ibn Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib (Tārīkh Ṭabarī 26:4-23).

[1173] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 7:48.

[1174] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 7:47-48.

> The possessor of this quality is superior to those in whom this [quality] does not exist because of his exclusivity to it. If a person who lacks this quality has another unique quality that matches it or surpasses it, we resort to inclinations and preferences in choosing between the two. Otherwise, the one who is distinguished by possessing this quality is preferable to and higher [in status] than the one who lacks it in all respects."[1175]

He also said,

> This is a divine matter that he learned from the Messenger of Allāh (ص), and that the Messenger of Allāh (ص) [in turn] learned from Allāh. Human powers fail to comprehend this and [ʿAlī] has, in this regards, what did not belong to others. Due to [the fact that] what the people saw of his miracles and his qualities [fell] beyond the capability of man, the extremists went to extremes in regards to him, to the point that they claimed that the divine essence had entered his body, just as the Christians had claimed in regards to Jesus. The Messenger of Allāh (ص) had warned him of this when he said, "Two will perish in regards to you—the one who loves you to extremes, and one who holds a grudge against you." And another time he said, "By He in Whose hands is my soul, had I not feared that a group of my nation would say in regards to you what the Christians said in regards to [Jesus] the son of Mary, I would have said today something such that you would not pass by any group of people without them taking the dust under your feet as a blessing."[1176]

Proof of the Imāmate of ʿAlī (ع) Based on His Knowledge of the Unseen

The imāmate of ʿAlī (ع) can be proved by his knowledge of the unseen because, at the time of the Prophet's (ص) death, he was the one and only adult man among the companions to have knowledge of the unseen and to have been granted the right to such knowledge by Allāh and His Messenger (ص). This shows that he had a status above all the other companions and was therefore fit to be the leader of the Muslims, rather than being led by others lacking such knowledge.

[1175] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 5:12-13.
[1176] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 5:4.

Chapter 17
ʹAlī (ع): The Gate to the Prophetic City of Knowledge

Sources and Variations of this Tradition

The Prophet (ص) said,

> I am the city of knowledge (madīnah al-ʹilm) and ʹAlī is its gate (bāb). So whoever seeks knowledge must come through its gate.

This tradition is among the most famous and mutawātir of the traditions regarding ʹAlī (ع). It has been related through many chains of transmissions in numerous Sunnī sources such as Mustadrak Ḥākim,[1177] Muʹjam al-Kabīr Ṭabarānī,[1178] Kanz al-ʹUmmāl,[1179] Majmaʹ al-Zawā`id,[1180] Jāmiʹ al-Ṣaghīr,[1181] Istīʹāb,[1182] Usd al-Ghābah,[1183] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr,[1184] Tārīkh Damishq,[1185] Tārīkh al-Khulafā`,[1186] Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah,[1187] Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb,[1188] Tārīkh Baghdād,[1189] and many others. This is a short list of some of the Sunnī sources including this tradition. Anyone interested in a much more detailed list of Sunnī scholars who have transmitted this tradition should refer to al-Ghadīr, where one hundred and forty-three Sunnī scholars who have transmitted this tradition are listed.[1190]

Most of the traditions say, "I am the city of knowledge and ʹAlī is its gate." But Tirmidhī and others have cited a similar tradition that conveys the same concept. According to this tradition, the Messenger of Allāh (ص) said, "I am the house of wisdom (dār al-ḥikmah) and ʹAlī is its door."[1191] Another similar tradition is, "I am the city of wisdom and ʹAlī is its gate."[1192] Indeed, there is no contradiction between these traditions, as it is quite likely that the Prophet (ص) said all these statements about ʹAlī (ع) at different times.

1177. Mustadrak Ḥākim #4637-9 (certifies #4637 as authentic).
1178. Muʹjam al-Kabīr Ṭabarānī 11:55.
1179. Kanz al-ʹUmmāl #32890, #32978, #32979, #36463.
1180. Majmaʹ al-Zawā`id #14670.
1181. Jāmiʹ al-Ṣaghīr Suyūṭī #2705.
1182. Istīʹāb 3:205 #1875 (ʹAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib).
1183. Usd al-Ghābah 3:288 #3789 (ʹAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib).
1184. Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:395, 7:396.
1185. Tārīkh Damishq 42:378-83 (numerous chains of transmission).
1186. Tārīkh al-Khulafā` 152.
1187. Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:199 (two traditions).
1188. Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb vol 7 #566 (ʹAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib), vol 7 #698 (ʹUmar ibn Ismāʹīl).
1189. Tārīkh Baghdād #887 (Muḥammad ibn ʹAbd al-Ṣamad), #2186 (Aḥmad ibn Fādhūyah), #3613 (Jaʹfar ibn Muḥammad Abū Muḥammad al-Faqīh), #5728 (ʹAbd al-Salām ibn Ṣāliḥ) (numerous chains of transmission), #5908 (ʹUmar ibn Ismāʹīl) (seven chains of transmission).
1190. Al-Ghadīr 6:61-77.
1191. Sunan Tirmidhī #3723; Faḍā`il Ḥanbal #1081; Kanz al-ʹUmmāl #32889, #36462; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:395; Jāmiʹ al-Ṣaghīr Suyūṭī #2704; Tārīkh Damishq 42:378.
1192. Tārīkh Baghdād #5908 (ʹUmar ibn Ismāʹīl).

The Qur`ān says,

> It is no virtue for you to enter houses from the back; it is virtue if you are pious and enter houses through their doors.[1193]

Therefore, based on this verse, these traditions are an order from the Prophet (ص) that all believers seeking the Prophet's (ص) knowledge must refer to ʿAlī (ع) and that any other path taken to enter the city of his knowledge and the house of his wisdom would be devoid of virtue.

Forgery in Regards to this Tradition

A tradition with no chain of transmission leading to the Prophet (ص) has been invented that states, "I am the city of knowledge, Abū Bakr is its foundation, ʿUmar is its walls, ʿUthmān is its roof, and ʿAlī is its door."[1194] The unscrupulous person who invented this tradition forgot that there is no city on earth that has a roof or a foundation! The Prophet (ص) could not have possibly spoken such gibberish. Unfortunately, absurd forgeries like this have confused even leading Sunnī scholars. For example, Qurṭubī said, "It is not [true] that ʿAlī was the most knowledgeable of the believers, as Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, and ʿUthmān were more knowledgeable than he was. And the word of the Prophet, 'I am the city of knowledge and ʿAlī is its gate,' [has to be] an invalid tradition, as the Prophet was the city of knowledge and his companions were its gates."[1195] However, Qurṭubī offered no evidence other than his own word that the companions were the gates to the Prophet's (ص) city of knowledge. Nor did or could he prove that Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, and ʿUthmān were more knowledgeable than ʿAlī (ع), as this was simply a matter of faith for him. In fact, the evidence clearly proves that ʿAlī (ع) was the most knowledgeable of the companions. Furthermore, it would be absurd for the Prophet (ص) to tell his companions that they were the gates to his city of knowledge and that they must enter it through their own selves.

Implications of the Tradition

What the tradition, "I am the city of knowledge and ʿAlī is its gate," implies is that, in order to reach the immense knowledge held by the Prophet (ص), one must go through ʿAlī (ع). Even the closest companions had to go through ʿAlī (ع) in order to get to the knowledge of the Prophet (ص). This is evident because the Prophet (ص) told none other than his own companions that ʿAlī (ع) was the gate to his city of knowledge and that they must enter it through him. As such, ʿAlī (ع) was designated as the entry-point to the source of all knowledge and wisdom for the companions. This is proof of the superiority of ʿAlī (ع) over others and his right to the imāmate because the Qur`ān says, "Say: Are those who know and those who do not know equal?"[1196] Clearly, those without knowledge must follow those with knowledge and are not to be held as equals to the latter. Since no one can access the Prophet's (ص) knowledge without going through ʿAlī (ع), for the nation not to go to him for the answer to their questions and problems would be equivalent to abandoning the Prophet's (ص) city of knowledge or trying to access it from other than its rightful entrance, an act that the Qur`ān explicitly denounces as being unvirtuous.

[1193] . Qur`ān 2:189.

[1194] . Tārīkh Damishq 9:20.

[1195] . Tafsīr Qurṭubī, verse 13:43.

[1196] . Qur`ān 39:9.

In humanly-acquired fields of knowledge, different individuals may have specific areas of expertise, requiring cross-consultation. However, with respect to divinely-inspired knowledge, the Prophet (ص) and after him ʿAlī (ع), as indicated by numerous traditions and verses, had complete knowledge. Thus, they were the only true source of knowledge and that automatically placed them in the position of leadership of the community. As the nation's decisions have to be made in accordance with knowledge, not ignorance, the most knowledgeable would be the one most fitting for the position of leadership. Moreover, when the companions would disagree on matters of Islāmic law or Qurʾānic understanding, clearly the correct opinion would be the one held by ʿAlī (ع), as he was the most knowledgeable one. Thus, in case of dispute, it would be a waste of time to sort out the different opinions of the companions, giving equal weight to the personal opinions of each of them, when absolute knowledge of the truth of the matter rested with ʿAlī (ع) alone. All one needs to do is to find out what ʿAlī's (ع) position was, as he was the gate to the city of prophetic knowledge. Indeed, whenever knowledge is sought, any method other than entering the city of the Prophet's (ص) knowledge through ʿAlī (ع) would be against the direct orders of Allāh and the Prophet (ص).

Traditions Regarding the Knowledge of ʿAlī (ع)

Prophetic traditions stating that ʿAlī (ع) was the most knowledgeable of the companions are innumerable. A select few are listed here:

1. The Prophet (ص) said, "The most knowledgeable of my nation after me is ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib."[1197]

2. When asked about ʿAlī (ع), the Prophet (ص) said, "Wisdom was divided into ten parts. ʿAlī was given nine parts [thereof], while [the rest of] the people were given one part."[1198]

3. The Prophet (ص) asked Fāṭimah (ع), "Are you not content that I married you to the first of my nation to become Muslim, as well as the most knowledgeable and most patient of them?"[1199]

4. The Prophet (ص) said, "Whoever wants to look at Adam in his knowledge, at Noah in his understanding, at Abraham in his patience, at John the son of Zachariah (Yaḥyā ibn Zakarīyyā) in his piety, and at Moses the son of ʿImrān in his courage, should look at ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib."[1200]

5. Referring to ʿAlī (ع), the Prophet (ص) said, "Look at Adam in his knowledge, and Noah in his understanding, and Abraham in his wisdom."[1201]

6. According to Ḥanbal and Muḥibb Ṭabarī, "A judgment made by ʿAlī was mentioned in the presence of the Prophet (ص). The Prophet (ص) was amazed

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[1197] Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #32977; Manāqib Khwārazmī #67; Kifāyah al-Ṭālib 332, chapter 94.

[1198] Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #32982; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:396; Tārīkh Damishq 42:384 (two chains of transmission); Fayḍ al-Qadīr #2704; Manāqib Ibn Mughāzilī #328; Kifāyah al-Ṭālib 197, chapter 48; Manāqib Khwārazmī #68.

[1199] Usd al-Ghābah 5:364 #7184 (Fāṭimah bint Rasūl Allāh); Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 13:227-8; Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:160; Sīrah Ḥalabīyyah 1:432; Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #36370, #32925-7. Slight differences in phrasing exist in these traditions.

[1200] Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:196; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:393; Tārīkh Damishq 42:313; Shawāhid al-Tanzīl #117, verse 2:31.

[1201] Manāqib Khwārazmī #79.

and said, 'Praise be to Allāh who set wisdom (ḥikmah) among us, the Ahl al-Bayt.'"[1202]

Qur`ānic Verse: ´Alī's (ع) Ear is the Retentive One

When the verse, "And an attentive ear retains it,"[1203] was revealed, the Messenger of Allāh (ص) told ´Alī (ع), "I have asked Allāh to make [the retentive ear] your ear, O ´Alī!"[1204] He then said, "So you are the ear that retains my knowledge."[1205] He added, "Allāh has ordered me to come close to you, to never distance myself from you, and to teach you."[1206] ´Alī (ع) said, "As a result, I have not heard anything from the Messenger of Allāh that I have forgotten."[1207] Traditions stating that this verse was revealed in regards to ´Alī (ع) are numerous. Sunnī tafsīrs include Tafsīr Ṭabarī, Tafsīr Zamakhsharī, Tafsīr Rāzī, Tafsīr Qurṭubī, Tafsīr Ibn Kathīr, Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, and Tafsīr Tha´labī, among others.[1208] Zamakhsharī said,

> The meaning of 'retentive ear' (udhunun wā´īyah) is an ear whose quality is to retain all that it hears and not to destroy it by failing to act upon it... If you ask why Allāh made [the word] 'ear' singular and non-specific, we say that this is to show that the retainers are very few... It is also proof that a single retentive and mindful ear is all that Allāh needs to cultivate, and that the other [ears] do not matter.[1209]

Indeed, Zamakhsharī was right, for one retentive ear is all the nation needs to have an imām with complete knowledge; the ear of ´Alī (ع) thus sufficed, and the ears of the others did not matter.

The Messenger of Allāh (ص) Taught ´Alī (ع) All Matters

There are numerous traditions showing that the Prophet (ص) taught ´Alī (ع) all matters. The following are a few examples:

1. The Prophet (ص) said, "[Allāh] has not taught me anything that I have not taught ´Alī."[1210]

2. According to Tirmidhī, Ḥākim, and others, ´Alī (ع) said, "When I would ask him, he would inform me, and when I was quiet, he would commence [informing

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[1202] Faḍā`il Ḥanbal #1113; Dhakhā`ir al-´Uqbā 85; Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:169-70.

[1203] Qur`ān 69:12.

[1204] Tafsīr Ṭabarī, Tafsīr Zamakhsharī, Tafsīr Rāzī, Tafsīr Qurṭubī, Tafsīr Ibn Kathīr, Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, and Tafsīr Tha´labī, verse 69:12; Kanz al-´Ummāl #36526; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 7:220.

[1205] Kanz al-´Ummāl #36525.

[1206] Tafsīr Ṭabarī, Tafsīr Qurṭubī, Tafsīr Ibn Kathīr, Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, and Tafsīr Tha´labī, verse 69:12. Kanz al-´Ummāl #36426; Fayḍ al-Qadīr #2704; Tārikh Damishq 42:361, 42:376.

[1207] Tafsīr Ṭabarī, Tafsīr Zamakhsharī, Tafsīr Rāzī, Tafsīr Qurṭubī, Tafsīr Ibn Kathīr, Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, and Tafsīr Tha´labī, verse 69:12; Kanz al-´Ummāl #36526.

[1208] Tafsīr Ṭabarī, Tafsīr Zamakhsharī, Tafsīr Rāzī, Tafsīr Qurṭubī, Tafsīr Ibn Kathīr, Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, and Tafsīr Tha´labī, verse 69:12. Also refer to Kanz al-´Ummāl #36426, #36525-6; Fayḍ al-Qadīr #2704; Tārīkh Damishq 42:361, 42:376; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 7:220; Manāqib Ibn Mughāzilī #363-4; Yanābī´ al-Mawaddah 1:360-2 (several traditions); Kifāyah al-Ṭālib 109-110, chapter 17.

[1209] Tafsīr Zamakhsharī, verse 69:12.

[1210] Manāqib Ibn Mughāzilī #73.

me]."[1211] Ḥākim said, "This tradition is authentic by the criteria of the two shaykhs (Bukhārī and Muslim), though neither of them included it."[1212]

3. ʿAlī (ع) said, "I would enter upon the Messenger of Allāh (ص) by night and by day. When I would ask him [a question], he would answer me, and when I was quiet, he would start [teaching me]. No verse was revealed except that he would recite it to me and teach me its interpretation (tafsīr) and inner meaning (taʾwīl). He prayed to Allāh that I would never forget anything that he taught me, so I have not forgotten anything from the forbidden and permitted, from the advised and the despised, and from obeisance and sin. [The Prophet (ص)] put his hand over my chest and said, 'O Allāh, write upon his heart knowledge, understanding, wisdom, and light.' He then told me, 'My Lord, the great and glorious, informed me that He has just granted my prayer in regards to you.'"[1213]

4. According to a tradition certified as authentic by Ḥākim, Umm Salamah said, "When the Prophet (ص) was angry, none of us would dare talk to him except for ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib."[1214] As a result, only ʿAlī (ع) heard what he had to say when he was angry.

5. ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib (ع) entered upon the Prophet (ص) [when] there were some people with him. They were sent out. [They complained], "The Messenger of Allāh ordered us to leave!" and then mentioned this to the Prophet (ص). He said, "I did not bring him in and send you out. Rather, Allāh brought him in and sent you out."[1215]

6. In a tradition widely cited in Sunnī sources, including Sunan Tirmidhī, Jābir said: The Messenger of Allāh (ص) called for ʿAlī on the Day of Ṭāʾif and spoke to him privately. [His private conversation with him took long], so people said, "Your private conversation with your uncle's son has really lasted very long." He said, "It was not I who had private conversation with him. Rather, Allāh had private conversation with him."[1216]

The phrase, "Allāh had private conversation with him," apparently means that Allāh had ordered the Prophet (ص) to have private conversation with ʿAlī (ع). Indeed, the envious companions who complained about the Prophet's (ص) private conversations with ʿAlī (ع) in this case were none other than Abū Bakr and ʿUmar.[1217]

From a Shīʿah perspective, all of the Prophet's (ص) knowledge was passed on to ʿAlī (ع) because he was to be the imām after him. From a Sunnī perspective, this knowledge happened to be passed along because only ʿAlī (ع) was interested in acquiring it. Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd said,

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[1211] Sunan Tirmidhī #3722, #3729; Mustadrak Ḥākim #4630 (certifies the tradition as authentic by the criteria of Bukhārī and Muslim); Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 2:338; Usd al-Ghābah 3:294-5 #3789 (ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib); Tārīkh al-Khulafāʾ 152; Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:193.

[1212] Mustadrak Ḥākim #4630.

[1213] Kifāyah al-Ṭālib 198-9, chapter 48.

[1214] Mustadrak Ḥākim #4647 (certifies the tradition as authentic); Tārīkh al-Khulafāʾ 153; Jāmiʿ al-Ṣaghīr Suyūṭī #6753.

[1215] Majmaʿ al-Zawāʾid #14678 (certifies those in the chain of transmission as trustworthy); Tārīkh Baghdād #2797 (Muḥammad ibn Sulaymān).

[1216] Sunan Tirmidhī #3726; Muʿjam al-Kabīr Ṭabarānī 2:186; Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #32882, #33049, #36438; Usd al-Ghābah 3:292 #3789 (ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib); Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:170; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:393; Tārīkh Baghdād #3945 (Ḥasan ibn Fahd); Tārīkh Damishq 42:315-7 (five chains of transmission); Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 7:24, 9:173.

[1217] Tārīkh Damishq 42:315. Of note, Muʿjam al-Kabīr Ṭabarānī (2:186) states that it was only Abū Bakr who complained.

> Know that the Commander of the Faithful (i.e. ʿAlī) was singled out from among the companions, may Allāh be pleased with them, for private meetings. The Messenger of Allāh (ص) met privately with him, and no one was informed about what went on between the two. [ʿAlī] asked many questions about the meanings of the Qurʾān and the meanings of the [Prophet's (ص)] words. When he did not ask, the Prophet (ص) would commence to teach and educate him. None of the companions of the Prophet (ص) were like this, but rather were of [several] types. Among them were those who feared questioning him; they were the ones who would wait for a desert Arab to come and ask questions while they listened. Among them were those who were mentally dull and lacking in understanding, with little enthusiasm for insight and discussions. Among them were those who were busy in gaining knowledge and understanding of acts of worship or earthly matters. Among them were followers who believed that remaining quiet and not asking questions were mandated for them. Among them were those for whom religion lacked [sufficient] importance for them to spend time asking about its details and complexities.[1218]

Regardless of the reasons why the other companions were not taught the things ʿAlī (ع) was taught, it is clear that ʿAlī (ع) was granted knowledge that other companions were not privy to. It therefore goes without question that the other companions were not in any position to disagree with ʿAlī (ع), as he was liable to know things the Prophet (ص) had not taught others. Thus, ʿAlī (ع) was the key source of the Prophet's (ص) knowledge among the companions.

ʿAlī (ع) Had the Ṣaḥīfah that Recorded the Prophet's (ص) Knowledge

Given the knowledge of ʿAlī (ع), which far exceeded that of any other companion, rumors spread after the Prophet's (ص) death that some of ʿAlī's (ع) knowledge must have been revealed to him directly. ʿAlī (ع) put an end to those rumors when he, according to Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, said,

> He who thinks that we (the members of the Prophet's family) read anything else besides the Book of Allāh and this Ṣaḥīfah tells a lie. [This Ṣaḥīfah] contains [problems] pertaining to the ages of the camels and [the recompense] of injuries, and it also records the words of the Prophet.[1219]

In another account in Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, ʿAlī (ع) said,

> He who thought that we have besides the holy Qurʾān anything else that we recite has told a lie. And this document which is hanging by the sheath of the sword contains but the ages of the camels, and the nature of the wounds.[1220]

According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, ʿAlī (ع) said,

1218. Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 11:48.
1219. Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #9.3601.
1220. Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #7.3163.

> We have no book to read except the Book of Allāh and what is written in this Ṣaḥīfah, which contains verdicts regarding [proper retaliation for] wounds, the ages of the camels [given as zakāt or as blood money], and the fact that Madīnah is a sanctuary in between Mount ʿĀʾir and such-and-such [mountain].[1221]

Indeed, according to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, all of ʿAlī's (ع) knowledge from the Prophet (ص) was recorded in the Ṣaḥīfah:

> ʿAlī said, "We did not write anything from the Prophet except the Qurʾān and what is written in this Ṣaḥīfah."[1222]
>
> ʿAlī said, "We have no book to recite except the Book of Allāh (i.e. Qurʾān) and this paper. Then ʿAlī took out the paper, and behold! There was written in it legal verdicts about the retaliation for wounds, the ages of the camels [to be paid as zakāt or as blood money]..."[1223]

These traditions are very explicit in establishing three key facts. First, ʿAlī's (ع) knowledge was so superior to everyone else's that rumors spread that he had a book other than the Qurʾān. Second, he did have a book other than the Qurʾān, the Ṣaḥīfah, but it was not a book revealed by Allāh. Third, the knowledge contained in the Ṣaḥīfah was recorded by the Ahl al-Bayt (ع), and the other companions did not have access to it. The fact that the plural is used in these traditions shows that the Ṣaḥīfah belonged to the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) and would therefore be passed on from ʿAlī (ع) to the subsequent imāms from his offspring. Thus, if we want knowledge, we must go to the purified members of the Prophet's Ahl al-Bayt (ع), who possess all prophetic knowledge recorded in the Ṣaḥīfah. These traditions also show that ʿAlī (ع) did record the traditions of the Prophet (ص) and that he rejected the ban Abū Bakr and ʿUmar imposed on the recording of prophetic traditions.[1224]

Of interest, some have claimed that the Prophet (ص) told ʿAlī (ع) no secrets. Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim relates three traditions according to which Abū Ṭufayl purportedly asked ʿAlī (ع), "What was it that Allāh's Apostle told you in secret?" Thereupon ʿAlī (ع) said, "Allāh's Apostle did not tell me anything in secret that he hid from people."[1225] It appears rather unlikely that the Prophet (ص) did not tell ʿAlī (ع) anything in secret. As we examined in the previous chapter, ʿAlī (ع) possessed immense knowledge regarding the unseen that he had obtained from the Prophet (ص). Moreover, the Prophet (ص) had extensive private consultations with ʿAlī (ع), as indicated by other authentic and indeed mutawātir traditions. For the Prophet (ص) to spend all that private time with ʿAlī (ع) and teach him nothing would be a complete waste of time, something not permissible for either of them.

Accounts of the Companions Regarding ʿAlī's (ع) Knowledge

The following are a few of the many Sunnī traditions from the companions regarding ʿAlī's (ع) knowledge:

[1221] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #4.53.397.
[1222] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #4.53.404.
[1223] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #8.80.747, #9.92.403.
[1224] Refer to chapter 56.
[1225] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #22.4876-8.

1. ʿĀʾishah said, "ʿAlī is the most knowledgeable of *the people* in regards to the Sunnah."[1226] Note that this same tradition has been related by Suyūṭī with one significant alteration as follows: "ʿAlī is the most knowledgeable of *those who remain* in regards to the Sunnah."[1227] This clear alteration was meant to make it appear that Abū Bakr and ʿUmar and ʿUthmān were more knowledgeable than ʿAlī (ع) and that ʿĀʾishah made her comments after the three of them had passed away.

2. When ʿAlī (ع) died, his son Ḥasan (ع) said, "A man left you yesterday whom no one before has surpassed in knowledge and no one after will reach."[1228]

3. When ʿAlī (ع) was killed, Muʿāwīyah said, "Islāmic jurisprudence (fiqh) and knowledge (ʿilm) have left [us] with the death of the son of Abū Ṭālib."[1229]

4. Ibn ʿAbbās said, "By Allāh, ʿAlī has been given nine-tenths of knowledge, and I swear by Allāh, He has made you partners in the remaining tenth."[1230]

5. According to Ibn Masʿūd, the Prophet (ص) said, "Wisdom has been divided into ten parts. ʿAlī has been given nine potions, and the [rest of] people one portion. ʿAlī would be the most knowledgeable of them by [just] one portion [out of the nine portions of his knowledge]."[1231]

6. ʿAṭāʾ was asked, "Was there among the companions of Muḥammad (ص) anyone more knowledgeable than ʿAlī?" He replied, "No, by Allāh, I do not know of such [a person]."[1232]

7. Two men went to ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb and asked him about [laws pertaining to] the divorce of slave-girls. He got up with the two and walked until they reached a circle in the mosque. In [the circle] was a bald man. He said, "O bald man! What do you say about the divorce of slave-girls?" He raised his head toward him and pointed his index and middle fingers to him. ʿUmar told them, "Two divorces." One of them told ʿUmar, "Praise be to Allāh! We come to you, the Commander of the Faithful, yet you walked us up to this man. You asked him [our question] and were satisfied by his merely pointing [his fingers] at you!" ʿUmar told the two, "Do you know who this is?" They replied, "No." He said, "This is ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib. I bear witness upon the Messenger of Allāh that I heard him saying, 'If the seven heavens and the seven earths were placed on one side of a scale and then the belief (īmān) of ʿAlī were placed on the other, the belief of ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib would be heavier.'"[1233]

[1226] Istīʿāb 3:206 #1875 (ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib); Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:159-60.

[1227] Tārīkh al-Khulafāʾ 153.

[1228] Musnad Ḥanbal #1719-20; Faḍāʾil Ḥanbal #1026; Tārīkh Dahmishq 42:578, 42:580.

[1229] Istīʿāb 3:209 #1875 (ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib).

[1230] Istīʿāb 3:207 #1875 (ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib); Usd al-Ghābah 3:288 #3789 (ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib); Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:160.

[1231] Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #32982, #36461; Fayḍ al-Qadīr #2704; Manāqib Ibn Mughāzilī #328; Kifāyah al-Ṭālib 197, chapter 48; Manāqib Khwārazmī #68.

[1232] Istīʿāb 3:206 #1875 (ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib); Usd al-Ghābah 3:288 #3789 (ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib); Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:160.

[1233] Tārīkh Damishq 42:340-1 (two accounts). Similarly, Manāqib Khwārazmī #145.

8. Udhaynah ibn Salamah al-ʿAbdī said: I went to ʿUmar and asked him, "From where do I start my ʿumrah?" ʿUmar said, "Go to ʿAlī and ask him."[1234]

9. Ibn ʿAbbās said, "When a statement was proved to be from ʿAlī, we would never go against it."[1235]

10. When ʿĀʾishah was asked about wiping over socks, she said, "You better ask ʿAlī."[1236]

11. Mughīrah said, "None of them is better established in what he says about mandatory acts (farāʾiḍ) than ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib."[1237]

12. Ibn Masʿūd said, "The most knowledgeable of the people of Madīnah in regards to religious obligations (farāʾiḍ) is ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib."[1238]

13. ʿAbd Allāh ibn Masʿūd said, "We would relate that the most superior of the people of Madīnah was ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib."[1239]

Note that Ibn Masʿūd died during the caliphate of ʿUthmān,[1240] showing that ʿAlī (ع) was considered the most knowledgeable of the people of Madīnah during the lifetime of the first three caliphs. Also note that the tense and phrasing of the last tradition suggests that the companions used to relate this fact but were banned from doing so later, at some point during the reign of the first three caliphs.

ʿAlī (ع) was the Best Judge of the Nation According to the Prophet (ص)

In Islām, the position of judge belongs to someone who not only is thoroughly versed in Islāmic law but who also possesses the personal qualities of piety and fairness. Furthermore, being a judge in Islām requires thorough knowledge of the Qurʾān and Sunnah. Therefore, the best judge in the nation would be the one with the utmost command of the Qurʾān and Sunnah and the best personal qualities. As such, the Prophet (ص) repeatedly spoke of ʿAlī (ع) as being the best judge in his nation. The following are a few examples:

1. The Prophet (ص) said, "ʿAlī is the best judge in my nation."[1241]

2. The Prophet (ص) said, "The best judge among them is ʿAlī."[1242]

3. The Prophet (ص) said, "The best judge among them is ʿAlī."[1243]

[1234] Istīʿāb 3:206, 3:208 #1875 (ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib); Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:162; Dhakhāʾir al-ʿUqbā 79.

[1235] Usd al-Ghābah 3:288 #3789 (ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib); Iṣābah 2:1296 #5690 (ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib); Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 2:338; Tārīkh al-Khulafāʾ 152. Slight variations in wording appear in the different accounts with the same overall meaning.

[1236] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #2.537-9; Istīʿāb 3:206 #1875 (ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib); Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:162.

[1237] Istīʿāb 3:207 #1875 (ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib). Similarly, Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:160.

[1238] Istīʿāb 3:207 #1875 (ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib); Faḍāʾil Ḥanbal #888; Tārīkh al-Khulafāʾ 153; Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:160.

[1239] Faḍāʾil #1033, #1097; Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:182; Majmaʿ al-Zawāʾid #14680.

[1240] Refer to chapter 65.

[1241] Fatḥ al-Bārī #4211; Majmaʿ al-Zawāʾid #14918 (certifies the tradition as good [ḥasan]); Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #33121; Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:167.

[1242] Jāmiʿ al-Ṣaghīr Suyūṭī #908; Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #33122.

[1243] Istīʿāb 3:205 #1875; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 1:18, 7:219.

4. The Prophet (ص) said, "The most knowledgeable of my nation to the Sunnah and judgment after me is ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib."[1244]

5. The Prophet (ص) said, "[ʿAlī is] the most insightful of them in judging."[1245]

6. The Prophet (ص) said, "ʿAlī is the most knowledgeable of them in regards to judging."[1246]

7. The Prophet (ص) told ʿAlī (ع), "You have seven [qualities you can] cite that none among the Quraysh can dispute you about—you are the first of them to have faith in Allāh, the most strict in upholding the covenant of Allāh, the strongest in enacting the commands of Allāh, the most fair of them, the most just of them in your treatment of people, the most insightful of them in judging, and the greatest of them in status with Allāh."[1247]

8. A judgment made by ʿAlī was mentioned in the presence of the Prophet (ص). The Prophet (ص) was amazed and said, "Praise be to Allāh who set wisdom (ḥikmah) among us, the Ahl al-Bayt."[1248]

ʿAlī (ع) Became the Best Judge Because of the Prophet's (ص) Prayer

According to a famous tradition related through numerous chains of transmission, ʿAlī (ع) said,

> The Messenger of Allāh (ص) sent me to judge among the people of Yemen. I said, "O Messenger of Allāh, do you send me to people who are older than me when I have little experience judging?" He put his hand on my chest and said, "O Allāh, guide his heart and strengthen his tongue." I haven't been struck by doubt in judging between two people until now.[1249]

Ḥākim said, "This tradition is authentic by the criteria of both Bukhārī and Muslim, even though neither of them have included it [in their works]."[1250] Indeed, the Prophet (ص) told ʿAlī (ع) the key to never making an error as a judge. ʿAlī (ع), simplifying his instructions, said, "The Messenger of Allāh (ص) said, 'When two opposing sides sit with you [for adjudication], do not judge in favor of the first until you have heard from the second just as you heard from the first.' So I have never made an error as a judge."[1251]

1244. Kifāyah al-Ṭālib 332, chapter 94.
1245. Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:167; Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #32994; Majmaʿ al-Zawāʾid #14967; Tārīkh Damishq 42:58, 42:131.
1246. Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #32995.
1247. Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #32994. Similarly, Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #32995; Tārīkh Damishq 42:58.
1248. Faḍāʾil Ḥanbal #1113; Dhakhāʾir al-ʿUqbā 20, 85; Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:169-70.
1249. Sunan Ibn Mājah #2310; Mustadrak Ḥākim #4658 (certifies the tradition as authentic by the criteria of Bukārī and Muslim), #7025 (certifies the tradition as authentic); Musnad Ḥanbal #636, #666, #882, #1145, #1280-2, #1341; Khaṣāʾiṣ Nasāʾī 69; Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 2:337 (three traditions); Sunan al-Kubrā Bayhaqī #19940-2; Faḍāʾil Ḥanbal #984, #1195, #1212, #1227; Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #36369, #36386, #36397, #36467; Usd al-Ghābah 3:287-8 #3789 (ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib); Istīʿāb 3:203-4 #1875 (ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib); Tārīkh al-Khulafāʾ 152; Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:167; Tārīkh Damishq 42:388-9 (three traditions); Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 1:18. Note that these traditions come through many different chains with some textual differences, but all conveying the same exact concept.
1250. Mustadrak Ḥākim #4658.
1251. Mustadrak Ḥākim #7025 (certifies the tradition as authentic); Musnad Ḥanbal #1280; Faḍāʾil Ḥanbal #1227; Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 2:337; Sunan al-Kubrā Bayhaqī #20273-5; Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:168.

In fact, the Prophet (ص) did not allow any dissent among his companions regarding ʻAlī's (ع) judgments. Once, Buraydah complained to the Messenger of Allāh (ص) about ʻAlī (ع). The Prophet (ص) said, "Do not say anything bad about ʻAlī. He is from me and I am from him [and] he is your master (walī) after me. And he is from me and I am from him [and] he is your master after me."[1252] This incident will be further discussed when we address the conversion of the people of Yemen in chapter 33.

The Judgment of ʻAlī (ع) According to the Companions

1. ʻUmar said, "ʻAlī is the best judge among us."[1253]

2. Ibn Masʻūd said, "The best judge among the people of Madīnah is ʻAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib."[1254]

3. Ibn Masʻūd said, "We used to relate the tradition that ʻAlī is the best judge among the people of Madīnah."[1255]

4. Ismāʻīl ibn Abī Khālid said, "Mughīrah swore by Allāh that ʻAlī never ever made an error in any matter he judged."[1256]

Ibn Kathīr, despite his penchant for belittling the virtues of ʻAlī (ع), said, "It is established that ʻUmar would say, 'ʻAlī is the best judge among us.'"[1257] Indeed, among all the companions, none needed ʻAlī's (ع) help when it came to judging more than ʻUmar did because his position as caliph forced him to judge in matters regarding which he had no knowledge. As such, ʻUmar went to ʻAlī (ع) on innumerable occasions to seek help with legal problems, and ʻUmar said again and again, "Were it not for ʻAlī, ʻUmar would have perished!"[1258] The following are a few of ʻUmar's many sayings in regards to ʻAlī's (ع) knowledge and mastery of Islāmic jurisprudence:

1. ʻUmar said, "ʻAlī is the best judge among us."[1259]

2. Saʻīd ibn Musayyab said, "ʻUmar used to seek refuge with Allāh from any difficulty for which Abū al-Ḥasan was not present."[1260]

[1252] Musnad Ḥanbal #23062; Faḍā`il Ḥanbal #1175; Khaṣā`iṣ Nasā`ī 98-99; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:380. Refer to chapter 33 for additional details regaridng this event.

[1253] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #6.60.8; Musnad Ḥanbal #21122-4; Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 2:339-340 (six traditions); Istīʻāb 3:205, 3:207 #1875 (ʻAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib); Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:397; Tārīkh al-Khulafā` 152; Tārīkh Damishq 42:402-404 (seven traditions); Kanz al-ʻUmmāl #4807; Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:167.

[1254] Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 2:339; Istīʻāb 3:207 #1875 (ʻAlī ibn Abī Tālib); Tārīkh al-Khulafā` 153.

[1255] Mustadrak Ḥākim #4656 (certifies the tradition as authentic by the criteria of Bukhārī and Muslim); Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 2:338; Istīʻāb 3:206 #1875 (ʻAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib); Usd al-Ghābah 3:288 #3789 (ʻAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib); Tārīkh al-Khulafā` 152; Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:167.

[1256] Istīʻāb 3:205 #1875 (ʻAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib).

[1257] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:397.

[1258] Istīʻāb 3:206 #1875 (ʻAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib); Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:161; Fayḍ al-Qadīr #5594; Dhakhā`ir al-ʻUqbā 82; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 1:18, 1:141, 12:179, 12:205, 12:205-6; Manāqib Khwārazmī #65; Tafsīr Rāzī, verses 17:73-5; Tafsīr Nīsābūrī, verse 46:15.

[1259] Musnad Ḥanbal #21122-4; Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 2:339-340 (six traditions); Istīʻāb 3:205, 3:207 #1875 (ʻAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib); Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:397; Tārīkh al-Khulafā` 152; Tārīkh Damishq 42:402-404 (seven traditions); Kanz al-ʻUmmāl #4807; Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:167.

[1260] Faḍā`il Ḥanbal #1100; Kanz al-ʻUmmāl #29509; Istīʻāb 3:206 #1875 (ʻAlī Ibn Abī Ṭālib); Iṣābah 2:1296 #5690 (ʻAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib); Usd al-Ghābah 3:288 #3789 (ʻAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib); Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 2:339; Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:161; Fayḍ al-Qadīr #5594; Dhakhā`ir al-ʻUqbā 82; Tārīkh al-Khulafā` 152-3; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:397.

3. ʿUmar said, "May Allāh not settle me in any land in which Abū al-Ḥasan is not present."[1261]

4. ʿUmar told ʿAlī, "I seek refuge with Allāh from living in a tribe among whom you are not present, O Abū al-Ḥasan."[1262]

5. ʿUmar said, "May Allāh not keep me [alive] after you, O ʿAlī."[1263]

Proof of ʿAlī's (ع) Imāmate Based on His Superiority in Judgment

If ʿAlī (ع) was the best judge among the companions, they should have referred to him for judgments in all matters of dispute. Thus, decisions about what was permitted or not, criminal justice, disposition of the nation's wealth, justification for war, resolution of all disputes including over the caliphate, etc. must have rested with ʿAlī (ع). In such a situation, ʿAlī (ع) would be the imām and leader of the nation in all respects, as he would be the one whose decisions and opinions were to be followed by all believers. If any disagreement in judgment were to arise, since ʿAlī (ع) was the best judge of the nation, ʿAlī's (ع) opinion would take precedence, and other opinions would be disregarded. At the very least, with respect to all Islāmic matters, ʿAlī's (ع) words would weigh more heavily than those of the other companions, not equally.

Of note, ʿAlī (ع) was the gate of more than just knowledge. The Prophet (ص) said, "ʿAlī is the gate of humility (bāb-i ḥiṭṭah). Whoever enters through him [humbly] is a believer and whoever exits from him is a disbeliever (kāfir)."[1264] It is thus clear that entering his gate not only grants access to knowledge as opposed to ignorance but also belief as opposed to disbelief. This tradition reflects two verses of the Qurʾān, according to which the Children of Israel were told, "Enter the gate in prostration and speak in humility so that We may forgive your errors,"[1265] and, "Speak in humility and enter the gate in prostration so that We may forgive your errors."[1266] Since ʿAlī (ع) is the gate of humility, all Muslims are to enter through him with utmost humility. The Prophet (ص) similarly said, "My Ahl al-Bayt among you is like the Ark of Noah. Whoever embarks on it is saved and whoever avoids it drowns. And my Ahl al-Bayt among you is like the gate of humility among the Children of Israel. Whoever enters it is forgiven."[1267] Yet, it is clear that those who usurped the caliphate and those who opposed and fought ʿAlī (ع) neither humbly entered ʿAlī's (ع) gate of humility, nor embarked on the Ahl al-Bayt's (ع) Ark.

[1261] Fayḍ al-Qadīr #5594.
[1262] Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:166.
[1263] Fayḍ al-Qadīr #5594; Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:166.
[1264] Jāmiʿ al-Ṣaghīr Suyūṭī #5592; Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #32910.
[1265] Qurʾān 2:58.
[1266] Qurʾān 7:161.
[1267] Muʿjam al-Ṣaghīr Ṭabarānī #825; Majmaʿ al-Zawāʾid #14981. Similarly, Muʿjam al-Kabīr Ṭabarānī 3:46; Muʿjam al-Ṣaghīr Ṭabarānī #391; Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #4429, #34170.

Chapter 18
The Qur`ān Orders the Believers to be with and to Ask the Ahl al-Bayt (ع)

The Qur`ānic Order to be with the Truthful (Ṣādiqīn)

The Qur`ān says, "O you who believe, fear Allāh and be with the truthful (al-ṣādiqīn)."[1268] This verse is of importance, for it is an order from the Qur`ān for Muslims to be with the truthful. If the Qur`ān orders us to be with the truthful, the truthful must exist at all times, otherwise, Allāh's order would be in vain. The Qur`ān says, "No burden do We place on any soul, but that which it can bear."[1269] If we are ordered to be with the truthful, but they do not exist, then this would be a command that we cannot bear to fulfill and that is, by Allāh's own word, impossible. Even Rāzī said,

> The oft-high orders the believers to be with the truthful. When being with the truthful is mandatory, there is no choice but for the truthful to exist at every time... It has been proved by obvious tawātur from the religion of Muḥammad (ص) that the obligations mentioned in the Qur`ān are addressed to duty-bound [people of all times] until the Day of Judgment, so the order to follow this obligation is as such.[1270]

Of course, it is only the Shī`ah who clearly know who the truthful that are to be followed at all times are; others have abandoned following this verse because they are not sure who the truthful really are whom we need to be with.

Some scholars have used this verse to claim that the consensus of Muslims cannot err.[1271] This interpretation is technically correct, because the presence of the truthful at all times guarantees that there cannot be consensus on falsehood. However, this interpretation does not address the direct order of Allāh to the believers that they must be with the truthful, as enactment of that command requires knowledge of who the truthful specifically are. Moreover, there are few matters in which the Muslims have consensus, and matters of disagreement, by nature, are not subject to consensus. In addition, the verse is extremely clear that we must be with the truthful. Had Allāh intended us to be with the consensus opinion, He would have indicated it as such. In fact, consensus is not something to be with. It either exists with regards to a matter or doesn't. If it does not, then one cannot be with it. And if consensus does exist, it is only because none among the people of knowledge are disagreeing with it in the first place.

[1268] Qur`ān 9:119.
[1269] Qur`ān 6:152, 7:42, 23:62, 65:7.
[1270] Tafsīr Tazi, verse 9:119.
[1271] For example, Tafsīr Rāzī, verse 9:119.

In fact, it is impossible for any Muslim to determine the consensus of all Muslims in all places on earth. No one can claim to know all the opinions in regards to all matters. Even if such consensus were to exist, it would only be in regards to a few matters and would be of little use in the majority of issues. Also, if the truthful refers to the consensus of all believers, each individual would have to be included in it. If any individual expresses a different opinion, he would destroy the consensus and thus excuse himself and all others from performing an Islāmic duty, as there would no longer be any consensus to be with. The same holds true if consensus refers to the consensus of the scholars. There is also no indication in this verse that each and every Muslim or each and every scholar is part of the truthful being referred to.

To obey the command of this verse, one would have to find out who it is that is consistently truthful despite the disagreements that exists among the Muslims. As such, Allāh's order demanding that we be the truthful indicates that the truthful are indeed individuals, not some hypothetical entity that typically does not exist.

Sunnī sources have related traditions proving that the truthful (ṣādiqīn) in this verse refers to ʿAlī (ع). Suyūṭī, in Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, cited two traditions showing that this verse means, "Be with ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib."[1272] Ibn ʿAsākir has related this fact as well.[1273] Of note, Sunnī sources also include traditions claiming that this verse means, "Be with Muḥammad (ص) and his companions."[1274] But that is an absurd interpretation, as the verse, when revealed, was addressing the companions. To tell them to be with themselves would be absurd. Moreover, to order Muslims of all time to be with the companions would also be absurd, as the companions are now long gone, and even their gravesites have been mutilated to the point of no longer being identifiable. In fact, the order for the companions to be with the truthful is proof that they were not the truthful ones themselves, otherwise the command would be ludicrous. There is no question that ʿAlī (ع) was always with the truth, something that clearly was not the case with the other companions, many of whom even fought ʿAlī (ع)—and therefore the truth—in battle. As Tirmidhī and others have related, Prophet (ص) said,

> May Allāh bless ʿAlī. O Allāh! Position the truth with him wherever he positions himself.[1275]

As such, ʿAlī (ع) was always with the truth and the companions who opposed him were opposed to the truth. The fact that ʿAlī (ع) had many enemies among the companions also shows that the interpretation that the verse refers to the companions is false, as being with the companions who were in opposition to ʿAlī (ع) would constitute being against the truthful, not with them. Umm Salamah used to say, "ʿAlī is on the truth. Whoever follows him follows the truth, and whoever deserts him deserts the truth. [This is a] covenant that was made before this day."[1276] Unfortunately, this covenant was broken by numerous companions.

The verse is also important because it establishes the concept of purity from sin (ʿiṣmah). The reason the Qurʾān orders us to be with the truthful is that they always express the truth and never express falsehood. For one to always be truthful requires that one both

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1272. Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, verse 9:119.
1273. Tārīkh Damishq 42:361.
1274. Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, verse 9:119.
1275. Sunan Tirmidhī #3714; Mustadrak Ḥākim #4629 (certifies the tradition as authentic by the criteria of Muslim); Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #33124; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:398; Jāmiʿ al-Ṣaghīr Suyūṭī #4412.
1276. Majmaʿ al-Zawāʾid #14768.

have complete knowledge and be free of sins that would make it possible for one to lie. These two qualities of knowledge and sinlessness are two of the qualities of 'Alī and the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) that make them the rightful imāms of the nation. It would be against common sense and the Qur`ān to abandon 'Alī (ع) and instead be with caliphs who were devoid of the qualities of complete knowledge and sinlessness, as one could be led astray either by their ignorance or by their sins.

'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib (ع) was the Truthful One (Ṣiddīq)

There are a number of verses and Sunnī traditions establishing that 'Alī (ع) was the truthful one. A small number will be presented here to illustrate this point, thus leading additional credence to the concept that the verse, "Be with the truthful," is an order for the believers, including the companions, to be with 'Alī (ع).

Qur`ānic Verses Referring to 'Alī (ع) as the Truthful One (Ṣiddīq)

The Qur`ān says, "And he who brings the truth (ṣidq) and [he who] confirms its truth (ṣaddaqa bih)—such are the those who are pious."[1277] According to several Sunnī commentators quoting 'Alī (ع), Ibn 'Abbās, Abū Hurayrah, Mujāhid, Abū al-Aswad, and a group of others, the Prophet (ص) was the one who brought the truth, and 'Alī (ع) was the one who confirmed its truth.[1278] The fact that 'Alī (ع) was a truthful one (ṣiddīq) is also made clear by the following verse of the Qur`ān:

> And those who believe in Allāh and His Messenger—those are the truthful (ṣiddīqūn) and the witnesses (shuhadā`) [in the eyes] of their Lord. They shall have their reward and their light.[1279]

Clearly 'Alī (ع) had true belief in the Allāh and His Messenger (ص), so he was the true ṣiddīq of the nation, al-Ṣiddīq al-Akbar. Indeed, the title Ṣiddīq referred to in this verse is a glorious one, used in the Qur`ān to describe the prophets:

> "O Joseph! O Ṣiddīq!"[1280]

> "Mention in the Book Abraham—he was a ṣiddīq, a prophet (nabī)."[1281]

> "Mention in the Book Idrīs (Enoch)—he was a ṣiddīq, a prophet (nabī)."[1282]

The fact that a ṣiddīq stands distinctly above the rest of the nation at large is also made clear in the following verse:

> Whoever obeys Allāh and the Messenger—they are with those whom Allāh has favored from among the prophets, the truthful (ṣiddīqīn), the witnesses (shuhadā`), and the righteous (ṣāliḥīn); and what good friends they are.[1283]

[1277] Qur`ān 39:33.

[1278] Tafsīr Qurṭubī (from Mujāhid), Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr (from Abū Hurayrah), and Tafsīr Abū Ḥayyān (from Abū al-Aswad, Mujāhid, and "a group of others"), verse 39:33. Shawāhid al-Tanzīl #810-5, verse 39:33 (from 'Alī [ع], Ibn 'Abbās, and Mujāhid).

[1279] Qur`ān 57:19.

[1280] Qur`ān 12:46.

[1281] Qur`ān 19:41.

[1282] Qur`ān 19:56.

[1283] Qur`ān 4:69.

According to this verse, the truthful are in a status distinct from that of the prophets as well as those who believe and obey Allāh and the Messenger (ص) in general. As we have discussed before, ´Alī (ع) was also the witness of the Prophet (ص) according to the verse, "Suffices for me as a witness Allāh and the one with knowledge of the Book,"[1284] which was revealed regarding ´Alī (ع).[1285] Since ´Alī (ع) was the truthful one and the witness, he clearly stood above the nation at large.

Of note, according to a Shī´ah tradition, the word shuhadā` in this verse may in fact mean martyrs as opposed to witnesses. In this case, the verse is saying, "Whoever obeys Allāh and the Messenger—they are with those whom Allāh has favored from among the prophets, the truthful (al-ṣiddīqīn—i.e. al-Ṣiddīq al-Akbar ´Alī and al-Ṣiddīqah al-Kubrā Fāṭimah), the martyrs (al-shuhadā`—i.e. Ḥasan and Ḥusayn), and the righteous (al-ṣāliḥīn—i.e. the imāms from the offspring of Ḥusayn); and what good friends they are."[1286]

Traditions Referring to ´Alī (ع) as the Truthful One (Ṣiddīq)

There are also numerous traditions referring to ´Alī (ع) as a ṣiddīq, placing him in a category comparable to that of the prophets. The following are a few examples:

1. The Messenger of Allāh (ص) said, "The pioneers of the nations are three who did not attribute partners to Allāh for even a blinking of the eye—´Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, Ṣāḥib-i Yāsīn, and the believer of the family of Pharaoh. They are the truthful ones (ṣiddīqūn). Ḥabīb the carpenter is the pioneer of the Āl-i Yāsīn, Ḥizqīl is the believer of the family of Pharaoh, and ´Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib. ´Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib is the best of them."[1287]

   This tradition shows that a ṣiddīq is one who would never disbelieve in Allāh and His messengers. The ṣiddīq is the same as the pioneer of a nation, as the ṣiddīq of a nation would neither associate partners with Allāh nor disbelieve in a prophet for even the blinking of an eye. ´Alī (ع) was the only companion who could fit this definition of ṣiddīq—one who never disbelieved in Allāh and the Prophet (ص) and who always spoke the truth.

2. The Prophet (ص) said, "The truthful are three—Ḥabīb al-Najjār, the believer of the family of Yāsīn, who said, 'O tribe, follow the messengers;'[1288] Ḥizqīl the believer of the family of Pharaoh who said, 'Do you kill a man for saying, 'My Lord is Allāh'?'[1289] and ´Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, who is the best (afḍal) of them."[1290]

3. The Messenger of Allāh (ص) said, "This is the first who believed in me, the first who will join me on the Day of Judgment, the more truthful one (al-ṣiddīq al-akbar), the separator (al-fārūq) of this nation who separates between truth and falsehood, and the master of the believers."[1291]

[1284] Qur`ān 13:43.

[1285] Refer to chapter 14.

[1286] For example, refer to the Shī´ah commentary Tafsīr al-Nūr al-Thaqalayn, sūrah 4, tradition #395, verse 4:69.

[1287] Kifāyah al-Ṭālib 123-124, chapter 24. Similarly, Tafsīr Tha´labī, verse 36:26.

[1288] Qur`ān 36:20.

[1289] Qur`ān 40:28.

[1290] Faḍā`il Ḥanbal #1117; Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:104; Tārīkh Damishq 42:43; Kanz al-´Ummāl #32898; Jāmi´ al-Ṣaghīr Suyūṭī #5149; Dhakhā`ir al-´Uqbā 56; Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, verse 36:29.

[1291] Tārīkh Damishq 42:41-3 (multiple chains of transmission with minor differences; some of the traditions state additional qualities for ´Alī [ع]). Similarly, Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:106.

4. Abū Rāfi´ said: I met Abū Dharr at Rabadhah. When I decided to leave, he told me and those with me, "There will be tribulations (fitnah), so fear Allāh. [I beseech] you to [seek] the chief (shaykh), ´Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib. Follow him, for I have heard the Messenger of Allāh (ص) telling him, 'You were the first who believed in me, the first who will meet me on the Day of Judgment. You are the more truthful one (al-ṣiddīq al-akbar) and the separator (fārūq) who separates between truth and falsehood. You are the leader (ya´sūb) of the believers, while [worldly] wealth is the leader of the disbelievers (kāfirs). You are my brother and my vizier, and the best of those I leave after me. You will fulfill my obligations and enact my promises.'"[1292]

5. Salmān, Abū Dharr, and Ibn ´Abbās said: The Prophet (ص) held ´Alī's hand and said, "This is the first who believed in me, and this is the first who will meet me on the Day of Judgment. This is the more truthful one (al-ṣiddīq al-akbar), and this is the separator (al-fārūq) of this nation who will separate between truth and falsehood. This is leader (ya´sūb) of the believers, while [worldly] wealth is the leader of the oppressors."[1293]

6. ´Alī (ع) said, "I am the servant of Allāh and the brother of His Messenger (ص), and I am the more truthful one (al-ṣiddīq al-akbar). No one other than I can claim this but a liar."[1294]

7. ´Alī (ع) said in a speech in Baṣrah, "I am the more truthful one (al-ṣiddīq al-akbar). I believed before Abū Bakr believed and I accepted Islām before Abū Bakr accepted Islām."[1295]

These traditions make it clear that ´Alī (ع) was the truthful one that the Qur`ān ordered the companions and all Muslims of all times to be with. Indeed, the verse, "O you who believe, fear Allāh and be with the truthful (ṣādiqīn)," is a clear call to abandon the illegitimate caliphs and instead be with ´Alī (ع). These verses and traditions are also clear that ´Alī (ع) was the truly truthful one, and that the title of al-Ṣiddīq given to Abū Bakr is not only false in the context of these traditions, but rather impossible given the meaning of the word ṣiddīq in the verses we have discussed. Indeed, since the Prophet (ص) said that a ṣiddīq has to be one who never disbelieved, Abū Bakr could not have been a ṣiddīq.

The Qur`ānic Command to Ask the People of Remembrance (Ahl al-Dhikr)

The Qur`ān says, "So ask the Ahl al-Dhikr (People of Remembrance) if you do not know."[1296] This verse is clear in proving that a group of people, referred to as the People of Remembrance, exist who know the correct answer to all questions, otherwise if they did not know the answers, Allāh would not have ordered us to ask them. The Prophet (ص) and his Ahl al-Bayt (ع) are clearly these individuals from whom we must seek knowledge as they are the ones who have truly been granted knowledge.

[1292] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 13:228.

[1293] Tārīkh Damishq 42:41-3 (multiple chains of transmission with minor differences; some of the traditions state additional qualities for ´Alī [ع]). The middle sentence also appears in Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:106.

[1294] Sunan Ibn Mājah #120; Sunan al-Kubrā Nasā`ī #8395; Faḍā`il Ḥanbal #993; Mustadrak Ḥākim #4584; Tārīkh Ṭabarī 6:81; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 3:36; Kanz al-´Ummāl #36389; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 13:200, 13:228; Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:124.

[1295] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:370; Tārīkh Damishq 42:33; Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:110; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 13:228; Dhakhā`ir al-´Uqbā 58.

[1296] Qur`ān 16:43 and 21:7.

Indeed, all differences and disagreements arise from lack of knowledge. Yet Allāh has provided a clear solution to this by ordering us to ask the Ahl al-Dhikr when we do not know. The Shī'ah of 'Alī (ع) among the Prophet's (ص) companions and later generations have clearly followed this order and have asked the Ahl al-Dhikr, who are the Ahl al-Bayt (ع), questions that have arisen for them. Since no one other than the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) could legitimately claim this title bestowed by Allāh, others have interpreted this verse in a vague sense, referring generally to the companions or scholars. However, the entire reason the Jews and Christians went astray was because they blindly followed their scholars. For Allāh to tell Muslims to blindly follow scholars in matters of faith would be absurd, particularly if these "scholars" do nothing but merely patch together the personal opinions of the companions and their successors (tābi'īn), who themselves had to resort to personal opinion (ra`y) due to their own lack of knowledge.

It is, in fact, very evident in the Qur`ān that the Ahl al-Dhikr are the Ahl al-Bayt of the Prophet (ص). First, the Qur`ān is referred to as al-Dhikr in a number of verses,[1297] including the verse, "We have revealed al-Dhikr (i.e. the Qur`ān) and We surely protect it."[1298] Therefore, the Ahl al-Dhikr are the people (ahl) of the Qur`ān. The Ahl al-Qur`ān are the Ahl al-Bayt of the Prophet (ص) who are inseparable from the Qur`ān until the Day of Judgment according to the undisputed tradition of thaqalayan.[1299] Second and even more explicitly, the Prophet (ص) is referred to in the Qur`ān as dhikr, where the Qur`ān says, "Allāh has sent to you a dhikr—a prophet who recites for you the verses of Allāh."[1300] Therefore, the Ahl al-Dhikr are the Ahl (i.e. family) of the Prophet (ص), which is clearly the Ahl al-Bayt (ع). It should be no surprise that the Qur`ān and the Prophet (ص) are both referred to as al-dhikr (remembrance), as both are all inseparable in imparting the remembrance of Allāh. Since the Qur`ān does not physically answer questions, we are ordered instead to ask the Ahl al-Dhikr, a clear reference to the Ahl al-Bayt (ع), regarding anything we do not know, as they are truly inseparable from the Qur`ān.

Of note, Sunnī commentators have related traditions claiming that the Ahl al-Dhikr are the people of the Tawrāt and Injīl, the books of the Jews and Christians, respectively.[1301] However, for the Qur`ān to order us to ask the Jews and Christians if we do not know something would be absurd, because they would merely invite us to their religion and answer our questions based on their adulterated beliefs, and the Qur`ān would thereby be inviting us to Judaism and Christianity. Yet, Sunnī commentators have also related traditions saying that the Ahl al-Dhikr are the Ahl al-Bayt (ع). For example, Qurṭubī and Tha'labī have related,

> When the verse, ["Ask the Ahl al-Dhikr"], was revealed, 'Alī said, "We are the Ahl al-Dhikr."[1302]

Similarly, Ṭabarī and Ibn Kathīr have related that Abū Ja'far al-Bāqir (ع), the fifth Shī'ah imām, said, "We are the Ahl al-Dhikr."[1303] It is therefore clear that the Ahl al-Dhikr that the Qur`ān orders us to ask our questions from are the Ahl al-Bayt of the Prophet (ص).

[1297] For example, Qur`ān 3:58, 21:50, 36:69, 41:41.
[1298] Qur`ān15:9.
[1299] Refer to Chapter 15.
[1300] Qur`ān 65:10-11.
[1301] For example, Tafsīr Ṭabarī, verse 16:43.
[1302] Tafsīr Qurṭubī and Tafsīr Tha'labī, verse 21:7.
[1303] Tafsīr Tabarī and Tafsīr Ibn Kathīr, verse 16:43.

The only reason we are ordered to ask them is that they possess knowledge that is not available to others, otherwise the Qur`ān would be ordering us to ask the ignorant and they would either be unable to answer, meaning that our asking them would be a futile waste of time and that Allāh has ordered us to act vainly in asking them, or they would answer us despite their ignorance, in which case the Qur`ān's ordering us to ask them would be foolish. Since Allāh neither ordains vain nor foolish acts, one can conclude that the Ahl al-Bayt of the Prophet (ص) possess the answers to all our questions.

The Proof of the Imāmate Based on Knowledge

The arguments and proofs presented in the past few chapters have established a number of facts. We started with the verse of purification, which proved the purity of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) from sin. In the same chapter it was proved using the Qur`ān that the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) are the only ones that can come in contact with the true essence and inner meaning of the Qur`ān, which is in protected tablets that none may come in contact with but the pure. The Ahl al-Bayt's (ع) inseparable relationship with the Qur`ān, expressed most clearly by the tradition of thaqalayan (two weighty items), was then used to establish the vast knowledge of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) which the rest of the companions were devoid of. Thus followed a number of traditions proving the superiority of ʻAlī (ع) in regards to their knowledge and judgment. Moreover, ʻAlī (ع) was shown to have an immense and undeniable knowledge of the unseen, which he, to the exclusion of others, obtained from the Prophet (ص).

If there is an individual who is vastly more knowledgeable with regards to the Book of Allāh, the Sunnah of the Messenger of Allāh (ص), and the religion of Allāh than anyone else, who is the best at making judgments in Islām, who is inseparable from the Qur`ān until the Day of Judgment, and who is the true inheritor of the Qur`ān, it would become incumbent on all Muslims to refer to him in regards to all matters. This is the essence of the imāmate.

Referring to those who are less knowledgeable despite the presence of the most knowledgeable is against common sense. In the case that the verdict of the most knowledgeable contradicts that of the less knowledgeable, it would become incumbent on the people, including the one who is less knowledgeable, to follow the one who is more knowledgeable. Thus the imāmate of ʻAlī (ع) is established. Any attempt to claim equality with or superiority of other companions over ʻAlī (ع) despite their inferior level of knowledge would be against the Book of Allāh, as the Qur`ān says, "Are those who know and those who do not know equal?"[1304]

It must be clarified that the issue of knowledge discussed here is not merely quantitative differences in which one individual knows a few more facts than another, or even a difference in scope, according to which one individual may possess certain elements of knowledge while another possesses other elements of knowledge. The difference is a qualitative one, in which ʻAlī and the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) inherited the entirety of prophetic knowledge, while the rest of the companions attained only small fragments thereof during his lifetime. When ʻAlī (ع) was proclaimed to be the gate of the city of the Prophet's (ص) knowledge during the Prophet's (ص) lifetime, it became incumbent on all the companions to go to him for knowledge. Upon the Prophet's (ص) death, the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) became the inheritors and the true guardians of this knowledge. For the nation to treat knowledge obtained from the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) as equal to what the other companions have

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1304. Qur`ān 39:9.

related, which amounts to discordant and fragmented information intermixed with personal opinion, would show complete disregard for prophetic knowledge.

Chapter 19
The Expedition to Ḥudaybīyyah

ʹUmar's Refusal to Go to Mecca

In the month of Dhū al-Qiʹdah of the year 6 A.H., the Prophet (ص) along with several hundred Muslims left Madīnah for an ʹumrah pilgrimage to the Kaʹbah. Though the Muslims dressed for the pilgrimage and prepared their sacrificial camels, the Meccans were unwilling to allow them to enter Mecca to complete their pilgrimage rites.[1305]

The Prophet (ص) decided to send a representative to the Meccans to inform them of the peaceful nature of the Muslim presence and their desire to solely perform the pilgrimage. The Prophet (ص) first ordered ʹUmar to go to the Meccans, but ʹUmar refused, saying, "I fear for my life from the Quraysh," arguing that there were no influential people from his family in Mecca to protect him from the wrath of the Quraysh.[1306]

Unlike the Prophet's (ص) true companions who embraced martyrdom, ʹUmar was clearly afraid of it, even though the Qurʾān says, "And if you are slain or die in the way of Allāh, forgiveness and mercy from Allāh are far better than all they could amass [in this world]."[1307] ʹUmar's desire to stay behind is also reminiscent of the following thought process described in the Qurʾān: "O you who believe! Be not like the disbelievers who say of their brethren, when they are traveling through earth or engaged in fighting, 'If they had stayed with us, they would not have died, or been slain.'"[1308]

Instead of ʹUmar, ʹUthmān was sent to deliver the Prophet's (ص) message, as he had many prominent family members in Mecca, and would therefore be better received.[1309] The Meccans retained ʹUthmān, preventing him from leaving. Word quickly spread among the companions that the Meccans had killed ʹUthmān. The Prophet (ص) asked for a renewed pledge of allegiance from the Muslims. This came to be known as the Pledge of Riḍwān, and the tree it was performed under came to be known as the Tree of Riḍwān. The pledge was taken under the stipulation that the men would not flee, not to fight to the death.[1310]

After the pledge was conducted, news came that ʹUthmān was alive and had not been killed.[1311] Instead, the Quraysh decided that it would be wise to have a peace agreement with the Muslims and thus avoid another battle. They thus sent a delegation to discuss the matter with the Prophet (ص).

[1305] Sīrah Ibn Isḥāq 499-500.

[1306] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 8:81-2; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 4:191; Sīrah Ibn Kathīr 3:318; Sīrah Ibn Hishām 780; Sīrah Ibn Isḥāq 503; Sīrah Ḥalabīyyah 2:700; Musnad Ḥanbal #18930.

[1307] Qurʾān 3:157.

[1308] Qurʾān 3:156.

[1309] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 8:82.

[1310] Sīrah Ibn Isḥāq 503; Tārīkh Ṭabarī 8:83.

[1311] Sīrah Ibn Isḥāq 504; Tārīkh Ṭabarī 8:84.

The Pledge of Allegiance of Riḍwān

The following verses were revealed in regards to the pledge of allegiance conducted at that time:

> Allāh was pleased with the believers when they swore allegiance to you under the tree. He knew what was in their hearts, so He sent down serenity to them, and He rewarded them with a speedy victory, and many gains will they acquire. And Allāh is exalted in power, full of wisdom. Allāh has promised you many gains that you will acquire, and He has given you these beforehand; and He has restrained the hands of men from you so that it may be a sign for the believers, and so that He may guide you to a straight path.[1312]

Some assert that these verses are proof that Allāh was pleased with the thirteen hundred to fifteen hundred[1313] companions of the Prophet (ص) who were present on the day of the pledge. However, that is not what the verse says at all. First, the verse says that Allāh was pleased with the believers who pledged allegiance, not everyone who did so, as there were presumably some hypocrites among those who pledged allegiance. If He was pleased with everyone, the addition of the word "believers" to the verse would be unnecessary. Second, the verse simply says that Allāh was pleased with their act of pledging allegiance. Third, these verses are rather troubling for ʿUmar. According to these verses, Allāh sent His serenity upon the believers. Yet, ʿUmar was not serene at all, but rather agitated and troublesome as we shall soon see. Thus, he did not benefit from the serenity of Allāh, which he would have enjoyed had he been among the believers that day.

Moreover, the Qurʾān does not consider this pledge of allegiance to have indicated eternal fealty to the Prophet (ص). Rather, the above verses are followed by the following verse:

> And if those who disbelieve fight with you, they (i.e. your companions) would certainly turn [their] backs [against you]; then they would not find any guardian or helper.[1314]

This verse shows that had the Meccans attacked after the pledge of allegiance, the Prophet's (ص) companions would have turned their backs on the Prophet (ص), as they had done at Uḥud and as they subsequently did at Khaybar, Muʾtah, and Ḥunayn. In case they did turn their backs on the Prophet (ص), Allāh would not be their guardian or helper. This verse rather explicitly shows that the pledge was a very superficial act by some of the companions, as a simple change of events would have sent them fleeing.

ʿUmar Rejected Peace and Confronted the Prophet (ص) at Ḥudaybīyyah

According to Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim:

> Sahl ibn Ḥunayf said: We were with the Messenger of Allāh on the Day of Ḥudaybīyyah. If we had thought it fit to fight, we could fight. During the truce

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[1312] Qurʾān 48:18-20.

[1313] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #20.4581-2 (1,500), #4583 (1,400), #4584-5 (1,300).

[1314] Qurʾān 48:22.

> between the Messenger of Allāh and the polytheists, ʹUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb came, approached the Messenger of Allāh and said, "Messenger of Allāh, aren't we fighting for truth and they for falsehood?" He replied, "By all means." He asked, "Are not those killed from our side in paradise and those killed from their side in the fire?" He replied, "Yes." He said, "Then why should we put a blot upon our religion and return [to Madīnah without outright victory], while Allāh has not decided the issue between them and ourselves [through war]?" He said, "Son of Khaṭṭāb, I am the Messenger of Allāh. Allāh will never ruin me."
>
> ʹUmar went away, but he could not contain himself with rage. So he approached Abū Bakr and said, "Abū Bakr, aren't we fighting for truth and they for falsehood?" He replied, "Yes." He asked, "Aren't those killed from our side in paradise and those killed from their side in the fire?" He replied, "Why not?" He [then] said, "Why should we then disgrace our religion and return while Allāh has not yet decided the issue between them and us?" Abū Bakr said, "Son of Khaṭṭāb, verily he is the Messenger of Allāh, and Allāh will never ruin him."
>
> At this, [a sūrah of] the Qurʾān [giving glad tidings of victory] was revealed to the Messenger of Allāh. He sent for ʹUmar and made him read it. He asked, "Is [this truce] a victory?" [The Messenger of Allāh] replied, "Yes." At this ʹUmar was pleased, and returned.[1315]

Similar accounts appear in Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī,[1316] Musnad Ḥanbal,[1317] and Tārīkh Ṭabarī[1318] as well. After this, ʹUmar would say, "I continued to fast, give alms, pray, and free slaves because of what I did on that day, for fear of the words I had spoken, until I hoped it would be set right."[1319] The words he spoke on that day were the words of disbelief, as he doubted the Prophet (ص) and thought that he knew better than the Prophet (ص) did. Seeing that there was going to be peace, ʹUmar was acting tough, yet the Qurʾān made it clear that the likes of him would be the first to run away were a battle to break out, as he did in Uḥud and Khaybar. Amazingly, he acted all tough when opposing the Prophet's (ص) plea for peace, when just prior to this he refused to obey the Prophet (ص) and go to Mecca out of fear of martyrdom.

The Prophet (ص) Threatened the Quraysh with ʹAlī (ع)

According to Tirmidhī and others, when the pagans approached the Prophet (ص) during Ḥudaybīyyah, the Prophet (ص) threatened them, saying,

> "O people of Quraysh! Cease [your enmity] or else Allāh will send against you a [man] who will chop off your necks by the sword for [the] religion [of Islām], as Allāh has tested his heart by belief (īmān)." [The companions] asked, "Who is that, O Messenger of Allāh [who would do this to the Quraysh]?" Abū Bakr asked, "Who is that, O Messenger of Allāh?" ʹUmar asked, "Who is that, O Messenger of Allāh?" He replied, "It is the mender of the shoes (khāṣif al-naʹl)," while he had given his shoes to ʹAlī to repair.[1320]

[1315] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #19.4405.
[1316] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #4.53.406.
[1317] Musnad Ḥanbal #16018.
[1318] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 8:85.
[1319] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 4:192; Sīrah Ibn Isḥāq 504; Sīrah Ḥalabīyyah 2:706; Sīrah Ibn Kathīr 3:320.
[1320] Sunan Tirmidhī #3715; Kanz al-ʹUmmāl #36518; Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:156-7; Dhakhāʾir al-ʹUqbā 76.

ʿAlī (ع) Transcribed the Peace Treaty of Ḥudaybīyyah

According to Bukhārī's tradition from Barāʾ ibn ʿĀzib,[1321] as well as Ḥanbal's traditions from Ibn ʿAbbās and Zuhrī,[1322] the writer of the treaty on the Day of Ḥudaybīyyah was ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib (ع). At first the Prophet (ص) told ʿAlī (ع) to write, "In the name of Allāh, most gracious, most merciful." But Suhayl ibn ʿAmr argued that such a phrase was alien to him, and that they should instead write, "In Your name, O Allāh." The Prophet (ص) agreed and instructed ʿAlī (ع) to write instead, "In Your name, O Allāh." Then the Prophet (ص) told ʿAlī (ع) to write, "This is what the Messenger of Allāh and Suhayl ibn ʿAmr have agreed upon." However, Suhayl ibn ʿAmr again intervened, arguing that if he accepted this title for the Prophet (ص), he would not be a pagan. The Prophet (ص) then told ʿAlī (ع) to remove his title and instead write, "Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh." ʿAlī (ع) said, "I would not be the person to rub out [the title, 'Messenger of Allāh']." The Prophet (ص) then rubbed out the title himself.[1323]

This event was cited by ʿAlī (ع) when the peace treaty was being written at the end of the Battle of Ṣiffīn, as ʿAmr ibn ʿĀṣ demanded that ʿAlī's (ع) title of Commander of the Faithful be erased, saying, "If I recognized him as the Commander of the Faithful, I would not be fighting him." ʿAlī (ع) was told, "Do not erase the title of Commander of the Faithful, for if you erase it, it will not return to you." ʿAlī (ع), however, cited this event in which the Prophet (ص) erased his title, Messenger of Allāh, and accordingly told his companions to erase his title, Commander of the Faithful.[1324]

Physically writing the peace treaty at Ḥudaybīyyah is perhaps the least significant of ʿAlī's (ع) immense virtues. Yet, even this simple act was ascribed by the Umayyads to ʿUthmān, and the truth could only be related in fear. According to Ḥanbal,

> Muʿammar said: I asked Zuhrī who was the scribe of the [peace contract] on the Day of Ḥudaybīyyah. He laughed and said, "It was ʿAlī. But if you ask these [people]—that is the Banū Umayyah—they say ʿUthmān."[1325]

I am not aware of anyone today who still claims that ʿUthmān was the scribe of the peace treaty. However, it shows the extent to which ʿAlī's (ع) qualities were ascribed to ʿUthmān and the other caliphs.[1326]

Stipulations of the Peace Treaty

The peace treaty of Ḥudaybīyyah included the following main points:

1. There would be peace between the Muslims and the Quraysh for ten years, during which the lives and property of both groups would be protected.

2. If one of the Meccans were to go to join Muḥammad (ص), he must be returned at the request of the Meccans. Also, if one of those residing in Madīnah were to go to Mecca, he must be returned at the request of the Muslims.

[1321] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #3.49.862.

[1322] Faḍāʾil Ḥanbal #1001 (Ibn ʿAbbās), #1002 (Zuhrī).

[1323] This account is a summary of more detailed accounts provided by Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #3.49.862; Musnad Ḥanbal #656; Tārīkh Ṭabarī 8:85-6; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 4:192; and Sīrah Ḥalabīyyah 2:706-7.

[1324] Sīrah Ḥalabīyyah 2:707-8.

[1325] Faḍāʾil Ḥanbal #1002. Also refer to Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:156.

[1326] Refer to chapter 76.

3. Both sides must hide all signs of hatred towards one other and must cease all confiscations of property and acts of treachery against the other.

4. Any tribe may enter an alliance with either of the two sides they wish without any intervention from the other side. When this condition was enacted, the tribe of Khuzāʹah pledged allegiance to the Muslims. In response, the Banū Bakr pledged allegiance to the Meccans.

5. Muḥammad (ص) and his followers were not to perform their pilgrimage on that particular year, but were permitted to perform it in the following year as long as they would remain in Mecca for only three days and would not carry any weapons other than their covered swords.[1327]

ʹUmar's Attempt to Undermine the Peace of Ḥudaybīyyah

After the treaty was signed and agreed upon, Abū Jandal, the Muslim son of Suhayl ibn ʹAmr escaped Mecca and joined the Muslims. Suhayl said, "The pact was ratified between me and you before this fellow came to you." The Messenger of Allāh (ص) abided by his newly-signed treaty and returned Abū Jandal. The Prophet (ص) told him, "Abū Jandal, count on a reward, for Allāh will give you and those who are oppressed with you relief and a way out. We have made a treaty and peace between ourselves and these people; we have given them and they have given us a promise, and we will not act treacherously toward them." ʹUmar went up to Abū Jandal and Suhayl and said, "Be patient, Abū Jandal! They are only polytheists and the blood of any one of them is no more than the blood of a dog!" ʹUmar pointed the handle of his sword to Abū Jandal so that he would take it and kill his father with it. But Abū Jandal refused to kill his own father.[1328]

Some may wonder whether it was right to send a Muslim refugee back to Mecca. Yet one must realize that the main reason why the Muslims left Mecca in the first place was because of the mistreatment they received there. Since this treaty created peace between the two sides and ended all hostilities for ten years, the lives and properties of the Muslims in Mecca was to be guaranteed protection and they were not to be harmed in any way. Moreover, the Prophet (ص), through his knowledge of the unseen, knew that the Meccans would soon be defeated and all the Muslims there would be freed from the pagans once and for all.

This incident shows ʹUmar's continued disagreement with the Prophet's (ص) actions and his utmost arrogance in openly defying and undermining the Prophet's (ص) efforts. If Abū Jandal had killed his father as ʹUmar wanted him to, the treaty would have been broken and war would have broken out immediately. The Muslims, who were ill-prepared for battle, would have been massacred, particularly because the Qurʹān promised that the Prophet's (ص) companions would abandon him in battle as they had done before and as they would do in the future. ʹUmar's efforts to break the treaty were overt acts of barring the way for the Prophet (ص). The Qurʹān says,

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[1327] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 8:86; Sīrah Ibn Kathīr 3:321.

[1328] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 8:87; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 4:193; Sīrah Ibn Kathīr 3:322; Sīrah Ibn Hishām 783; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 1:314; Sīrah Ibn Isḥāq 505.

> Whenever someone tells them, "Come to what Allāh has revealed and to the Messenger," *you will see hypocrites barring the way for you.* How will it be when some disaster strikes them because of what their hands have prepared? Then they will come to you swearing by Allāh, "We only wanted to have harmony and kindness!" Allāh knows what is in their hearts, so shun them and admonish them. Address them in plain terms about themselves."[1329]

Furthermore, the Qur`ān is clear that people do not believe until they submit totally to whatever the Prophet (ص) has decided for them:

> No, by your Lord, they will not believe until they set you as their judge in what they disagree in and then find no difficulty in their souls in regards to what you decide and submit completely.[1330]

Yet, ʿUmar had every difficulty that day in accepting what the Prophet (ص) had decided, as he refused to go to Mecca, as he rejected peace, and as he tried to undermine the treaty once it was enacted. The Qur`ān is also clear that the Muslims must not break their treaties, which include the Treaty of Ḥudaybīyyah:

> Fulfill your oaths, [for] you will be questioned regarding oaths.[1331]

Yet, ʿUmar was trying to break the oath immediately after it was sealed. This is despite the fact that keeping one's promise is a basic virtue according to the Qur`ān:

> Virtue is not turning your faces to the east and west, but rather virtuous is the one who believes in Allāh, the Last Day, the angels, the Book, and the prophets; and who gives away wealth out of his love [for Allāh] to the near of kin and the orphans and the needy and the wayfarer and the beggars and for [the emancipation] of the captives; and who keeps up prayer and pays charity (zakāt). And [virtuous are] those who *keep their word whenever they make a promise*; who are patient in distress and adversity and in times of conflict.[1332]

The Qur`ān also says,

> Anyone who keeps his promise and who is pious [will discover that] Allāh loves the pious.[1333]

Indeed, the Qur`ān goes much father in this regards, making it clear that those who break their oaths, as ʿUmar was trying to do, are disbelievers, wrong-doers, and the worst of beasts:

1. "Each time they swear an oath, does a group of them shrug it off? Rather most of them do not even believe."

2. "We have not found the majority of them upholding their oaths. Rather, We found them to be wrong-doers."[1334]

[1329] Qur`ān 4:61-63.
[1330] Qur`ān 4:65.
[1331] Qur`ān 17:34.
[1332] Qur`ān 2:177.
[1333] Qur`ān 3:76.
[1334] Qur`ān 7:102.

3. "The worst of beasts for Allāh are those who disbelieve and do not even want to believe. They are those with whom you have pledged some undertaking, then they break their word in every case and do not heed."[1335]

Since ʿUmar was clearly among those who took treaties lightly, his status in the eyes of Allāh is made rather clear in these verses. Moreover, his actions were against the commands of the Qur`ān, the interests of Islām, and the orders of the Messenger of Allāh (ص). In fact, ʿUmar should have simply listened to the Qur`ān in this matter, as the Qur`ān is quite clear as to what needs to be done when a Muslim in another tribe seeks aid:

> If they (the Muslims who have not migrated to Madīnah) plead with you for help, upon you is helping them, except against any folk between whom and you is a treaty. Allāh is all-seeing over whatever you do.[1336]

This verse is part of the eighth Sūrah, which was revealed in its entirety well prior to Ḥudaybīyyah. In fact, Ibn ʿAbbās said, "It was revealed at [the time of the Battle of] Badr."[1337] Since there was a recent treaty between the Meccans and the Muslims, the Muslims ought not to have broken their treaty in support of one individual, as ʿUmar wished to do. Even worse, ʿUmar was trying to start a most untimely war by inciting Abū Jandal to kill his father.

ʿUmar Tried to Obstruct the Prophet (ص) at Ibn Salūl's Funeral

This was not the only time in which ʿUmar openly confronted the Prophet's (ص) decision. When ʿAbd Allāh ibn Ubayy ibn Salūl, the leader of the hypocrites of Madīnah died in Dhū al-Qiʿdah of the year 9 A.H.,[1338] his son, who was a believing Muslim, asked the Prophet (ص) for his shirt so that he could shroud his father in it. He also asked the Prophet (ص) to lead the prayers at his father's funeral. The Prophet (ص) agreed, in a gesture clearly meant to assuage Ibn Salūl's son and to draw him and his family even closer to Islām. However, ʿUmar tried to obstruct the Prophet (ص). As stated in Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī,

> Narrated Ibn ʿUmar: When ʿAbd Allāh ibn Ubayy (the chief of hypocrites) died, his son came to the Prophet and said, "O Allāh's Apostle! Please give me your shirt to shroud him in it, offer his funeral prayer, and ask for Allāh's forgiveness for him." So Allāh's Apostle gave his shirt to him and said, "Inform me [when the funeral is ready] so that I may offer the funeral prayer." So he informed him and when the Prophet intended to offer the funeral prayer, ʿUmar took hold of his hand and said, "Has Allāh not forbidden you to offer the funeral prayer for the hypocrites?" The Prophet said, "I have been given the choice, for Allāh says, '[It does not avail] the hypocrites whether you ask forgiveness for them or do not ask for forgiveness for them. Even though you ask for their forgiveness seventy times, Allāh will not forgive them.'[1339]" So the Prophet offered the funeral prayer.[1340]

1335. Qur`ān 8:55-56.
1336. Qur`ān 8:72.
1337. Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, Introduction to the eighth sūrah.
1338. Tārīkh Ṭabarī 9:73.
1339. Qur`ān 9:80.
1340. Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #2.23.359, #7.72.688.

This incident shows that ʹUmar had no knowledge of the correct legal ruling at the time or of the verses of the Qurʾān pertaining to the issue at hand. Regardless, he confronted the Prophet (ص). One also wonders how ʹUmar had the audacity to insult the Prophet (ص), claiming that he was disobeying Allāh.

This tradition highlights one other fact—that Ibn Salūl died a hypocrite, otherwise the entire exchange between the Prophet (ص) and ʹUmar would be senseless. Yet there are those today who, in their never-ending quest to glorify the hypocrites, claim that he ended his hypocrisy towards the end of his life and died a true believer, and would therefore enter the gardens promised to the believers as opposed to the flames promised to the hypocrites.

Chapter 20
The Battle of Khaybar

Historical Events

Approximately one month after returning from Ḥudaybīyyah, the Muslims set out for Khaybar, which was a region containing several fortresses that were controlled by hostile Jewish tribes. The Muslims started out conquering the fortresses with relative ease. However, the last key fortress could not be conquered easily.

According to widely-narrated accounts of the battle, Abū Bakr took the Prophet's (ص) banner and set forth to conquer a key fortress, but returned unsuccessful. Abū Bakr blamed the soldiers for their weakness, while the soldiers blamed him for his bad command. Next, ʹUmar proceeded to the fort, fought for a while, and returned in defeat. Again, argument broke out between ʹUmar and the soldiers as to whose fault the defeat had been. The Prophet (ص) then said, "I will give the banner to a man who loves Allāh and His Messenger, who is loved by Allāh and His Messenger, and who will not return until Allāh opens the gate for him, as he would not be one to flee." The people kept on thinking the whole night as to who would be given the banner. The next morning the people went to the Prophet (ص) and many of them were hoping that they would be given the banner. The Prophet (ص) asked, "Where is ʹAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib?" The people replied, "He is suffering from eye trouble, O Messenger of Allāh." He then said, "Send for him and bring him to me." So when ʹAlī (ع) came, the Prophet (ص) spat in his eyes and invoked a blessing on him, and his eyes were instantly cured. The Prophet (ص) then gave him the banner and told him to set forth.[1341] According to Ṭabarī,

> When they returned to the Messenger of Allāh, ʹUmar's companions accused him of cowardice, and he accused them of the same. The Messenger of Allāh said, "Tomorrow, I shall give the banner to a man who loves Allāh and His Messenger and whom Allāh and His Messenger love." The next day, Abū Bakr and ʹUmar vied for the banner, but the Messenger of Allāh called ʹAlī...[1342]

According to Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, Ibn Salamah said,

> The Prophet said, "I will give the banner to a man who loves Allāh and His Messenger or whom Allāh and His Messenger love." So I went to ʹAlī, brought him beading him along as he had sore eyes, and I took him to the Messenger of

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[1341] These events are described in Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 4:212, 7:372, 7:373; Sīrah Ibn Isḥāq 514; Tārīkh Ṭabarī 8:120-1; Haykal 369; Sīrah Ibn Kathīr 3:353-4; Usd al-Ghābah 3:287 #3789 (ʹAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib); Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:150-1; ʹUmdah al-Qārī 14:213; Faḍāʾil Ḥanbal #1009. In addition, these events are narrated in various levels of detail in our discussion of the tradition, "I will give the banner to...," the mutawātir sources of which are presented later in this chapter.

[1342] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 8:119.

> Allāh, who applied his saliva to his eyes and he got well. The Messenger of Allāh gave him the banner [and ʹAlī went to meet Marḥab (the ferocious fighter sent forth by the Jews) in a single combat]. The latter advanced, chanting,
>
> > Khaybar knows certainly that I am Marḥab,
> > A fully-armed and well-tried valorous warrior
> > When war comes spreading its flames.
>
> ʹAlī chanted in reply,
>
> > I am the one whose mother named him Ḥaydar
> > I am like a lion of the forest with a terror-striking countenance
> > I give my opponents the measure of sandarah in exchange for a ṣāʹ (i.e. return their attack with one that is much more fierce[1343]).
>
> ʹAlī struck at the head of Marḥab and killed him, so the victory (i.e. the capture of Khaybar) was due to him.[1344]

It is noteworthy that the Prophet (ص) did not appoint Abū Bakr and ʹUmar as the leaders of this campaign, as is apparent from the following account Ṭabarī has related from Buraydah:

> The Messenger of Allāh often had migraines and would remain a day or two without coming out. When the Messenger of Allāh encamped at Khaybar, he came down with migraine and did not come out to the people. Abū Bakr took the banner of the Messenger of Allāh, set out and fought vigorously, and then came back. Then ʹUmar took it, fought with even more vigor than the first fighting and then came back. When the Messenger of Allāh was informed of this, he said, "By Allāh, tomorrow I shall give it to a man who loves Allāh and His Messenger, whom Allāh and His Messenger love, and who will take it in humble obedience."[1345]

ʹAlī (ع) Broke Through the Fortress

After the death of Marḥab, the Jews withdrew into their fortress and closed the gate. Behind the gate they had dug a trench that would prevent the Muslims from entering the fort even if they were able to break through its gate. ʹAlī (ع) approached the gate and broke it off with his hands. He used it as a personal shield until he defeated all the Jews. He then placed the massive gate over the trench and used it as a bridge into the fortress so it could be stormed. Thus the Muslims were able to cross over the trench and conquer the last key stronghold of Khaybar. According to Suyūṭī, "ʹAlī carried the gate on his back on the Day of Khaybar until the Muslims could get on it and conquer [the fort]. They tried to pick it up later but forty men were needed to carry it."[1346] According to another tradition, Abū Rāfiʹ said, "ʹAlī took a gate from the fort of Khaybar and used it as a personal shield. He kept it in his hand until Allāh made us victorious. He then dropped it. We then saw eight people struggling to move this gate but were unable to do so."[1347]

[1343] This line is perhaps better translated as, "I inflict my opponents with a ton in exchange for a pound."
[1344] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #19.4450.
[1345] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 8:120.
[1346] Tārīkh al-Khulafā' 150.
[1347] Tārīkh al-Khulafā' 150; Sīrah Ibn Hishām 798; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 1:320.

Three Lasting Miracles from Khaybar

ʿAlī's (ع) breaking off the gate of the fortress of Khaybar was a miraculous deed by any standard. In addition to this feat that granted the Muslims victory, ʿAlī (ع) was forever blessed with three lasting miracles from the Battle of Khaybar. ʿAlī (ع) said, "My eyes have never hurt ever since the Messenger of Allāh spat in them."[1348] He also claimed that he never developed headaches after that day by saying, "I have not had eye trouble or headaches since the Messenger of Allāh touched my face and spat in my eyes on the Day of Khaybar when he handed me the banner."[1349] Finally, according to Ibn Mājah, Nasāʾī, Ḥanbal, and others, he never felt hot or cold after that day:

> Abū Laylā was with ʿAlī and [he noted that] ʿAlī would wear winter clothes in the summer and summer clothes in the winter. [He asked about this and ʿAlī] said, "The Messenger of Allāh (ص) sent for me when I was suffering eye pain on the Day of Khaybar. I said, 'O Messenger of Allāh, I have eye pain.' He spat in my eye and said, 'O Allāh, send away from him heat and cold.' I have felt neither heat nor cold after that."[1350]

Some Companions Revealed Their Hypocrisy at Khaybar

Before ʿAlī (ع) killed Marḥab, ʿĀmir had fought him and was martyred. The companions called his death a "waste." According to Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim,

> They exchanged blows. Marḥab's sword struck the shield of ʿĀmir who bent forward to attack his opponent from below, but his sword recoiled upon him and cut the main artery in his forearm which caused his death. Salamah said: I came out and heard some people among the companions of the holy Prophet saying, "ʿĀmir's deed has gone to waste; he has killed himself." So I came to the holy Prophet weeping, and I said, "Messenger of Allāh! ʿĀmir's deed has gone to waste." The Messenger said, "Who made this remark?" I said, "Some of your companions." He said, "He who has made that remark has told a lie; for ʿĀmir there is a double reward."[1351]

This shows the absolute ignorance of some of the Prophet's (ص) companions who thought that a martyr's life is wasted. Clearly, this incident shows that the Prophet (ص) believed that his companions could lie and that their lies should be responded to. Why anyone would then believe that the companions were all just and free from such blemishes and why anyone would believe that it is impermissible to expose and correct their errors is unclear.

The Prophet's (ص) Praise of ʿAlī (ع) at Khaybar

After ʿAlī's (ع) miraculous deeds, the Prophet (ص) told him,

[1348] Musnad Ḥanbal #579; Faḍāʾil Ḥanbal #980; Majmaʿ al-Zawāʾid #14713; Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #35466; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:373; Tārīkh al-Khulafāʾ 154; Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:154.

[1349] Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #35467-8; Majmaʿ al-Zawāʾid #14706; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:375; Tārīkh al-Khulafāʾ 154.

[1350] Sunan Ibn Mājah #117; Musnad Ḥanbal #778, #1117; Faḍāʾil Ḥanbal #950, #1084; Khaṣāʾiṣ Nasāʾī 52-53; Majmaʿ al-Zawāʾid #14707 (certifies the tradition as good [ḥasan]); Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:375; Dhakhāʾir al-ʿUqbā 74; Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:154-5.

[1351] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #19.4450.

> By Allāh! Were it not [for the fact] that a group of my people would say regarding you what the Christians said regarding Jesus the son of Mary, I would have told you something so that you would not cross through any land of the Muslims without them taking the sand from under your feet and the water of your ablution as a blessing.[1352]

He then added,

> However, it suffices you that you are from me and that you are to me as Aaron was to Moses except that there is no prophecy after me. You will fulfill my dues, cover me, protect my secrets, and fight for my Sunnah. Tomorrow, in the hereafter, you will be the closest person to me and will be my appointee (khalīf) upon the Fount [of Kawthar]. Your Shī'ah will be upon pulpits of light. Their faces will light up in my presence and I will provide intercession (shafā'ah) for them. They will be my neighbors in paradise. Indeed your enemy is my enemy, your friend is my friend, your happiness is my happiness, and your offspring is my offspring. You will fulfill my obligations and enact my promises. Verily the truth is on your tongue, in your heart, with you, in your hands, and in front of your eyes. Belief is combined with your flesh and blood the way it is combined with my flesh and blood. He who has wrath against you will not enter upon me at the fount, and he who loves you will not be absent thereof.[1353]

Looking at 'Alī (ع) and Mentioning His Name are Acts of Worship

Unfortunately, since the Prophet (ص) could not say what he truly wanted to say regarding 'Alī (ع) for fear that the people would start worshipping him, the authentic traditions related from him only encompass the tip of the iceberg when it comes to 'Alī's (ع) true virtues. However, the following are a few traditions exemplifying 'Alī's (ع) immensely high status:

1. The Prophet (ص) said, "Looking at the face of 'Alī is worship."[1354] Ḥākim certified this tradition as authentic.[1355] According to Suyūṭī, this tradition has been related from Abū Bakr, 'Uthmān, Mu'ādh ibn Jabal, Anas, Thawbān, Jābir ibn 'Abd Allāh, 'Ā'ishah, Ibn Mas'ūd, and 'Imrān ibn Ḥuṣayn.[1356] Ibn Kathīr also added Abū Dharr to the list of companions relating this tradition.[1357]

2. The Prophet (ص) said, "Mentioning [the name of] 'Alī is worship."[1358]

3. 'Ā'ishah said: I saw Abū Bakr looking at 'Alī's face a lot. I said to him, "O father, I see you looking at 'Alī's face a lot!" He said, "I heard the Messenger of Allāh saying, 'Looking at 'Alī's face is worship.'"[1359]

[1352] Mu'jam al-Kabīr Ṭabarānī 1:320; Majma' al-Zawā'id #14752; Manāqib Khwārazmī #188, #310; Kifāyah al-Ṭālib 264, chapter 62; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 5:4, 9:168, 18:282.

[1353] Manāqib Ibn Mughāzilī #285. Similarly, Manāqib Khwārazmī #188.

[1354] Mustadrak Ḥākim #4681-3 (certifies #4681 as authentic); Jāmi' al-Ṣaghīr Suyūṭī #9319; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:394; Tārīkh al-Khulafā' 153; Kanz al-'Ummāl #32895, #33039; Tārīkh Damishq 42:350-5 (numerous chains of transmission); 'Umdah al-Qārī 2:150; Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:196-8 (several traditions), 3:232.

[1355] Mustadrak Ḥākim #4681.

[1356] Tārīkh al-Khulafā' 153-4.

[1357] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:394.

[1358] Jāmi' al-Ṣaghīr Suyūṭī #4332; Kanz al-'Ummāl #32894; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:394.

[1359] Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:196-7.

4. The Messenger of Allāh (ص) said, "The likeness of 'Alī among in this nation is like the Ka'bah. A glance at it is worship and a pilgrimage (ḥajj) to it is obligatory (farīḍah)."[1360]

5. The Prophet (ص) told 'Alī (ع), "You are like the Ka'bah—[the people are] to come to you but you do not go [to them]. So if these people give it (the caliphate) to you and surrender it to you, then accept it from them. If it is not given to you, then do not go to them [seeking it from them, but rather wait] until it comes to you."[1361]

Despite these traditions, there is reluctance on the part of some to utter the name 'Alī, even as one of Allāh's lofty names. Even though the Qur`ān, in the verse of the throne (āyah al-kursī), says, "And He is al-'Alī al-'Aẓīm (the oft-high, the supreme),"[1362] when Sunnīs complete their recitations of the Qur`ān, they say, "Ṣadaqa Allāh al-'Aẓīm (Allāh, the supreme, has told the truth)," whereas the Shī'ah, in accordance with this verse of the Qur`ān, say, "Ṣadaqa Allāh al-'Alī al-'Aẓīm (Allāh, the oft-high, the supreme has told the truth)." The only conceivable reason why Allāh's title of al-'Alī has been dropped from this phrase is that historically there was opposition to uttering the word 'Alī.

The Love of Allāh and His Messenger (ص) for 'Alī (ع)

The most famous tradition from the Battle of Khaybar was the Prophet's (ص) saying, "I will give the banner to a man who loves Allāh and His Messenger and who is loved by Allāh and His Messenger." Then he gave the banner to 'Alī (ع). This tradition, which is absolutely mutawātir and among the undoubted sayings of the Prophet (ص), has been related in Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī,[1363] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim,[1364] Sunan Tirmidhī,[1365] Musnad Ḥanbal,[1366] Mustadrak Ḥākim,[1367] Faḍā`il Ḥanbal,[1368] Khaṣā`iṣ Nasā`ī,[1369] Fatḥ al-Bārī,[1370] 'Umdah al-Qārī,[1371] Tārīkh Bukhārī,[1372] Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb,[1373] Tārīkh Baghdād,[1374] Usd al-Ghābah,[1375] Iṣābah,[1376] Istī'āb,[1377] Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah,[1378] Tārīkh Ṭabarī,[1379] Tārīkh Ibn

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[1360] Manāqib Ibn Mughāzilī #149.
[1361] Usd al-Ghābah 3:296 #3789 ('Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib).
[1362] Qur`ān 2:255.
[1363] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #4.52.253.
[1364] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #19.4450, #31.5915, #31.5919.
[1365] Sunan Tirmidhī #3724.
[1366] Musnad Ḥanbal #778, #1608, #16586, #22872.
[1367] Mustadrak Ḥākim #4342, #4575 (certifies this tradition as authentic by the criteria of Bukhārī and Muslim), #5844.
[1368] Faḍā`il Ḥanbal #950, #988, #1031, #1034, #1036, #1037, #1122.
[1369] Khaṣā`iṣ Nasā`ī 49-60 (nine traditions).
[1370] Fatḥ al-Bārī #2812, #3503, #3972.
[1371] 'Umdah al-Qārī 16:215.
[1372] Tārīkh Bukhārī vol 2 #1881 (Bukayr ibn Mismār), vol 7 #1110 (Muslim ibn Sālim).
[1373] Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb vol 7 #566 ('Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib).
[1374] Tārīkh Baghdād #4036 (Ḥusayn ibn Aḥmad).
[1375] Usd al-Ghābah 3:287, 3:291, 3:293 #3789 ('Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib).
[1376] Iṣābah 2:1295, 2:1296 #5690 ('Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib).
[1377] Istī'āb 3:203 #1875 ('Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib).
[1378] Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:147-52 (several traditions), 3:174.
[1379] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 8:119.

Athīr,[1380] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr,[1381] Tārīkh al-Khulafā`,[1382] Sīrah Ibn Hishām,[1383] Sīrah Ibn Isḥāq,[1384] Sīrah Ḥalabīyyah,[1385] and many other Sunnī sources.

This tradition proves that Allāh and His Messenger (ص) loved ʿAlī (ع) and that he loved them as well. Every companion, particularly Abū Bakr and ʿUmar, wished that the person referred to in the tradition would turn out to be them. As such, when ʿAlī (ع) was selected, they were filled with envy, as indicated by the following two traditions which appear in Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim and Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, respectively:

1. ʿUmar said: Never did I cherish for leadership but on that day. I came before him with the hope that I may be called for this, but Allāh's Messenger called ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib and he conferred [this honor] upon him and said, "Proceed and do not look about until Allāh grants you victory."[1386]

2. Sahl ibn Saʿd said: The people spent the night thinking about whom it would be given to. When it was morning, the people hastened to Allāh's Messenger, each of them hoping that it would be given to him. He asked, "Where is ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib?" They replied, "Allāh's Messenger, his eyes are sore." He then sent for him and he was brought and Allāh's Messenger applied saliva to his eyes and invoked blessings and he was alright, as if he had no ailment at all. [The Prophet then] conferred the standard to him."[1387]

Proof that Abū Bakr and ʿUmar Lacked Mutual Love with Allāh and His Messenger (ص)

After Abū Bakr and ʿUmar's defeat at the hand of the Jews of Khaybar, the Prophet (ص) said, "I will give the banner to a man who loves Allāh and His Messenger and who is loved by Allāh and His Messenger." It is clear that defeating the Jews of Khaybar required a person who (1) loved Allāh, (2) loved the Prophet (ص), (3) was loved by Allāh, and (4) was loved by the Prophet (ص). In the context in which the Prophet (ص) said this, this statement was a clear rebuke, stating not only that Abū Bakr and ʿUmar did not meet these qualifications but also that their lack of these qualifications was the reason for their defeat. Otherwise, such a comment would be meaningless. Indeed, the Prophet's (ص) comment was a statement of contrast, whereby he contrasted ʿAlī's (ع) possession of these particular virtues with Abū Bakr and ʿUmar's lack thereof, thereby citing this contrast in virtue as the reason for their initial defeat.

This contrasting statement is rather evident. For example, if someone is ill and has one neighbor treat him one day and has another neighbor treat him the next without any benefit, it would be reasonable for him to declare, "Tomorrow, I will see a physician." This statement rather clearly implies that the two neighbors are not physicians and that the inefficacy of their treatments is due to their not being physicians. If the two neighbors are both physicians, such a statement would either be absurd or would be a scathing criticism stating that they are not true physicians.

[1380] Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 1:320.

[1381] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 4:212, 7:372-6 (numerous traditions).

[1382] Tārīkh al-Khulafā` 151.

[1383] Sīrah Ibn Hishām 797.

[1384] Sīrah Ibn Isḥāq 514.

[1385] Sīrah Ḥalabīyyah 2:733, 2:736-7.

[1386] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #31.5917; Musnad Ḥanbal #8978; Faḍā`il Ḥanbal #1030, #1044, #1056; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:372; Iṣābah 2:1295 #5690 (ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib); Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:233.

[1387] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #4.52.253, #5.57.51, #5.59.521. This account is a compilation of all three traditions, which are very similar in content.

Since it is therefore clear that Abū Bakr and ´Umar lacked mutual love with Allāh and His Messenger (ص), one must wonder whether they did not love Allāh and His Messenger (ص), or whether Allāh and His Messenger (ص) did not love them, or both. In any case, their lack of faith would be established. If they did not truly love Allāh and His Messenger (ص), but professed Islām externally, they would meet the simple definition of hypocrisy. Similarly, if Allāh and His Messenger (ص) did not love them, it would only be because of their lack of faith despite their outward pretense to Islām.

In some of the traditions, the Prophet (ص) said, "I will give the banner to a man who loves Allāh and His Messenger and who is loved by Allāh and His Messenger who will not turn his back [to the enemy]."[1388] This was again a clear snub to Abū Bakr and ´Umar, explicitly stating that they were among the ones referred to in the verse previously revealed at Uḥud saying, "Will it be that if he (i.e. the Prophet) dies or is killed you will turn on your heels? And he who turns on his heels does not hurt Allāh."[1389] Clearly, the Prophet (ص) was saying that Abū Bakr and ´Umar were repeat offenders when it came to turning their backs on the enemy in the battlefield.

In fact, it was impossible for Allāh to love Abū Bakr and ´Umar because they both turned their backs in battle and fled not only at Uḥud but also at Khaybar. The Qur`ān says, "O you who believe! When you meet the disbelievers in battle, never turn your backs to them. Whoever turns his back to them on such a day, unless it is a stratagem of war or a [strategic] retreat to a company, draws on himself the wrath of Allāh, and his abode will be hell, an evil refuge."[1390] Since Allāh does not love those who belong in the fire, it is clear that He does not love those who turn their backs in the battlefield. Of note, although retreating is allowed as a stratagem of war and in order to join troops that have come to assist on the battlefield, Abū Bakr and ´Umar's retreats were neither—they simply fled to the safety of the Prophet's (ص) camp.

It is not surprising then that, according to several traditions, when the Prophet (ص) selected ´Alī (ع) at Khaybar, he also stated among the contrasting virtues that distinguished him from Abū Bakr and ´Umar that, "He is not one to flee."[1391] As such, the Prophet (ص) was chastising Abū Bakr and ´Umar for being fleers both at Uḥud and at Khaybar, an act that the Qur`ān equates with turning one's back on Islām.[1392] The Prophet's (ص) statement that ´Alī (ع) would never flee is, in fact, a proof of his purity from sin, as the Prophet (ص) knew that it would be absolutely impossible for ´Alī (ع) to flee from the battlefield because he could not commit a sin.

According to Shī´ah commentaries, the following Qur`ānic verse was revealed regarding ´Alī (ع) and his Shī´ah:

> O you who believe! If any from among you turn back on your faith, soon will Allāh produce a people whom He will love as they love Him. [They will be] humble with the believers, mighty against the disbelievers, fighting in the way of Allāh, and never afraid of the reproaches of those who find fault. That is the

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[1388] Mustadrak Ḥākim #4342; Mu´jam al-Ṣaghīr Ṭabarānī #790; Majma´ al-Zawā`id #10204.
[1389] Qur`ān 3:144.
[1390] Qur`ān 8:15-16.
[1391] Istī´āb 3:203 #1875 (´Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib); Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:373, 7:376; Faḍā`il Ḥanbal #950, #987.
[1392] Qur`ān 3:144.

> grace of Allāh, which He will bestow on whom He pleases. And Allāh encompasses all, and He knows all things.[1393]

Amazingly, some commentators have claimed that this verse was revealed regarding the companions of Abū Bakr,[1394] even though that is impossible, as the Prophet's (ص) words at Khaybar prove that he did not meet the main qualification cited in this verse—"whom He will love as they will love Him." Moreover, there was no fundamental difference between the bulk of the companions of the Prophet (ص) and the bulk of the companions of Abū Bakr, so to threaten the companions that the companions of Abū Bakr would rise against them would simply be absurd. Of course, ʿAlī (ع) and his companions did fight against the companions of the Prophet (ص) who turned their backs on Islām in the Battle of Jamal and the Battle of Ṣiffīn, so this verse makes complete sense in that regards. Moreover, ʿAlī (ع) clearly enjoyed mutual love with Allāh and His Messenger (ص), and therefore the one referred to in this verse. Furthermore, the Prophet (ص) threatened the Quraysh that ʿAlī (ع) would be the one to fight them with the sword,[1395] again showing that he and his Shīʿah were the ones being referred to in this verse.

Another astonishing fact that reveals ʿUmar's arrogance is that upon hearing that the Prophet (ص) was going to give the banner to someone who had mutual love with Allāh and His Messenger (ص), ʿUmar was craving to be the one chosen,[1396] even though he was the one who failed to complete the mission in the first place, running away from the Jews with his back turned to them, thus forcing the Prophet (ص) to choose a person with different characteristics from him to complete the mission.

The Tradition of the Bird (Ḥadīth al-Ṭāʾir) Proclaimed ʿAlī (ع) to be the Most Beloved of Allāh's Creation

According to a mutawātir tradition, Anas said,

> There was a bird with the Prophet (ص). He said, "O Allāh, grant me the most beloved of Your creation to You to eat this bird with me." ʿAlī then came and ate it.[1397]

A more detailed form of the tradition is as follows:

> The Messenger of Allāh said, "O Allāh, grant me the most beloved of Your creation to You to eat this bird with me." ʿĀʾishah said, "O Allāh, make it my father." Ḥafṣah said, "O Allāh, make it my father." Anas said, "O Allāh, make it Saʿd ibn ʿUbādah (the leader of the Khazraj)."
>
> Anas said: I heard the movement of the door. [Noticing that it was ʿAlī], I said, "The Messenger of Allāh is busy, so go away." I then heard the movement of the door [again], so I went and [again] found ʿAlī at the door. I said, "The Messenger of Allāh is busy, so go away." I heard the movement of the door [yet] again. [This time] ʿAlī greeted and the Messenger of Allāh heard his voice and said, "See who it is." I left and saw that it was ʿAlī again. I returned to the

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[1393] Qurʾān 5:54.

[1394] Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, verse 5:54.

[1395] Refer to chapter 19.

[1396] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #31.5917; Musnad Ḥanbal #8978; Faḍāʾil Ḥanbal #1030, #1044, #1056; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:372; Iṣābah 2:1295 #5690 (ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib); Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:233.

[1397] Sunan Tirmidhī #3721.

> Messenger of Allāh and informed him. He said, "Give him permission to enter upon me." I gave him permission and he came in. The Messenger of Allāh said, "O Allāh, be the walī of whoever takes him as walī."[1398]

According to another account, Anas sent ʿAlī (ع) away three times and only allowed him to enter the fourth time.[1399] He then reportedly told ʿAlī (ع), "O Abū al-Ḥasan, forgive me for I have committed a sin in regards to you."[1400] The Prophet (ص) criticized Anas for sending ʿAlī (ع) away, asking, "What made you do this?" Anas replied, "I preferred for it to be a man from my tribe."[1401] In another account,

> The Prophet (ص) said, "O Allāh, grant me the most beloved of Your creation to You to eat this bird with me." Abū Bakr then came, and he (i.e. the Prophet [ص]) sent him away, then ʿUmar came and he sent him away, then ʿUthmān came and he sent him away, and then ʿAlī came and he allowed him [to enter and eat the bird with him].[1402]

This indicates that ʿĀʾishah and Ḥafṣah did more than just wish that the man who would eat the bird with the Prophet (ص) would be Abū Bakr and ʿUmar, respectively, so they went to bring their fathers to the Prophet (ص), but he sent them away because he was not asking for them but rather for the most beloved of Allāh's creation.

The tradition of the bird has been related in numerous Sunnī texts through a large number of chains of transmission with little difference in content. Among the Sunnī works that contain this tradition are Sunan Tirmidhī,[1403] Mustadrak Ḥākim,[1404] Muʿjam al-Kabīr Ṭabarānī,[1405] Muʿjam al-Awsaṭ Ṭabarānī,[1406] Majmaʿ al-Zawāʾid,[1407] Kanz al-ʿUmmāl,[1408] Faḍāʾil Ḥanbal,[1409] Khaṣāʾiṣ Nasāʾī,[1410] ʿUmdah al-Qārī,[1411] Tārīkh Bukhārī,[1412] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr,[1413] Tārīkh Damishq,[1414] Tārīkh Baghdād,[1415] Usd al-Ghābah,[1416] Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah,[1417] Dhakhāʾir al-ʿUqbā,[1418] Kifāyah al-Ṭālib,[1419] and Manāqib Khwārazmī,[1420] among others.

1398. Tārīkh ibn Kathīr 7:387. A similar tradition appears in Mustadrak Ḥākim #4651, with the exception that the words of ʿĀʾishah and Ḥafṣah are replaced by the words of Anas saying, "O Allāh make it one of the Anṣār."
1399. Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:388.
1400. Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:390.
1401. Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:388.
1402. Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:388; Sunan al-Kubrā Nasāʾī #8398; Khaṣāʾiṣ Nasāʾī 51-2; Tārīkh Damishq 42:254.
1403. Sunan Tirmidhī #3721.
1404. Mustadrak Ḥākim #4650 (certifies this tradition as authentic by the criteria of Bukhārī and Muslim), #4651.
1405. Muʿjam al-Kabīr Ṭabarānī 1:253, 7:82, 10:282.
1406. Muʿjam al-Awsaṭ Ṭabarānī #1765.
1407. Majmaʿ al-Zawāʾid #14727 (certifies those in the chain as trustworthy).
1408. Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #36505.
1409. Faḍāʾil Ḥanbal #945.
1410. Khaṣāʾiṣ Nasāʾī 51.
1411. ʿUmdah al-Qārī 16:215.
1412. Tārīkh Bukhārī vol 1 #1132 (Ismāʿīl ibn Salmān), vol 2 #1488 (Aḥmad ibn Yazīd).
1413. Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:388-90 (numerous traditions).
1414. Tārīkh Damishq 42:245-58 (numerous chains of transmission), 42:432.
1415. Tārīkh Baghdād #1215 (Muḥammad ibn Qāsim), #4944 (Ẓafrān ibn Ḥasan), #4489 (Dīnār ibn ʿAbd Allāh), #6232 (ʿAlī ibn Ḥasan ibn Ibrāhīm).
1416. Usd al-Ghābah 3:295, 3:295-6 #3789 (ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib).
1417. Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:114-5.
1418. Dhakhāʾir al-ʿUqbā 61.
1419. Kifāyah al-Ṭālib 144-156, chapter 33 (numerous chains of transmission).
1420. Manāqib Khwārazmī #114, #125.

Ḥākim, after saying, "This tradition is authentic by the criteria of the two shaykhs (Bukhārī and Muslim), though neither have included it [in their works]," added, "A group of his companions numbering over thirty have related this from Anas."[1421] Ibn Kathīr said, "People have compiled entire treatises on this tradition, among them Abū Bakr ibn Mardawayh and Ḥāfiẓ Abū Ṭāhir Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad... I have seen an [entire] book by Abū Ja'far Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, the commentator [on the Qur'ān] and the author of the History [of al-Ṭabarī], collecting all its chains of transmission and the [exact] wording [of each account]."[1422] This tradition is absolutely explicit that 'Alī (ع) was the most beloved of all the companions to Allāh.

Proof of the Imāmate of 'Alī (ع) from These Traditions

The words of the Prophet (ص) prior to handing the banner of Islām to 'Alī (ع) during the Battle of Khaybar as well as the tradition of the bird prove the imāmate of 'Alī (ع) and the lack of qualification for the imāmate of Abū Bakr and 'Umar in a number of ways.[1423]

First, the love of Allāh and the Messenger mentioned in Khaybar was not just referring to the generic way in which Allāh and His Messenger (ص) like all believers. Had it been a generic liking, 'Umar and the rest of the companions would not have spent all night fantasizing about being the ones who would be given the banner the next day and would not have been willing to endanger themselves with the task of conquering Khaybar for it. As such, this love was a love that would contrast the one who possessed it with those who did not. As such, 'Umar cited this event as among the three main issues that made him envious of 'Alī (ع), the other two being the fact that 'Alī (ع) was entitled to live in the Prophet's Mosque whereas 'Umar was not and the fact that 'Alī (ع) was married to Fāṭimah (ع) after 'Umar was rejected as her suitor.[1424] The least one can say in this regards is that this love established a great quality for 'Alī (ع) which none of the other companions shared.

Second, the love mentioned is proof of the purity of 'Alī (ع) from all sins. This is because if he sinned, it would be necessary for Allāh and His Messenger (ص) and all the believers and in fact all of creation not to love him in that regards. Since Allāh and His Messenger (ص) expressed complete love for 'Alī (ع) in all respects, he must have never sinned.

Third, the lack of qualification of Abū Bakr and 'Umar to lead is evident. The Messenger of Allāh (ص) gave the banner to Abū Bakr and 'Umar and they both fled, so the Prophet (ص) said that he would give the banner to someone whom Allāh and His Messenger (ص) loved and who loved Allāh and His Messenger (ص). It becomes apparent that either Abū Bakr and 'Umar did not love Allāh and His Messenger (ص), or Allāh and His Messenger (ص) did not love them, or both. Had mutual love between Abū Bakr and 'Umar on the one hand and Allāh and the Prophet (ص) on the other existed, the Prophet's (ص) words would have been meaningless and contradictory to common sense. It would be like sending a man from the Quraysh one day, sending another man from the Quraysh the next day, and, after they both failed, saying, "Tomorrow, I will send a man from the Quraysh!" This would neither make sense nor would this interpretation of events contain any special virtue that would make the companions fantasize all night over being chosen the next day.

[1421] Mustadrak Ḥākim #4650.

[1422] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:390.

[1423] Refer to Ḥaqq al-Yaqīn 126-130, from which this section is summarized with some modifications.

[1424] Refer to chapter 9 for the text of this tradition.

Fourth, there are many verses in the Qur`ān that describe those whom Allāh loves and those whom he doesn't love. One whom He loves must lack any of the qualities that Allāh says He does not love, while having at least one of the qualities that Allāh loves. On the other hand, one whom Allāh does not love must lack all the qualities that Allāh loves and have at least one quality that Allāh does not love. In the cases where one has both qualities that Allāh loves and qualities that Allāh does not love, one does not enjoy the complete love of Allāh in all respects. Since ʿAlī (ع) was loved by Allāh in all respects and was the most beloved of His creation along with the Prophet (ص), he must not have been a transgressor,[1425] a performer of evil (mufsid),[1426] an oppressor,[1427] a disbeliever,[1428] a sinful disbeliever,[1429] an arrogant boaster,[1430] an ungrateful traitor,[1431] a treacherous sinner,[1432] one who would noise out wicked words without having been served injustice,[1433] wasteful,[1434] arrogant,[1435] treacherous,[1436] or one who would exult in joys,[1437] while he must have possessed qualities such as being pure,[1438] pious,[1439] patient,[1440] and repentful,[1441] as well as being one who trusted Allāh,[1442] who was a performer of good deeds,[1443] who served justice,[1444] and who was among those fighting in Allāh's cause in battle as if they were a solid cemented structure.[1445] Meanwhile, Abū Bakr and ʿUmar, who as proved earlier, did not have the pure love of Allāh, must have possessed some of the negative qualities just listed. One with any of those qualities is by no means qualified to lead the Muslim nation in all matters. In fact, he must follow ʿAlī (ع) whom Allāh truly loves for all his glorious qualities. Thus ʿAlī (ع) would be their imām whom they would be obligated to follow.

All this is in regards to love of Allāh for individuals. In regards to the love of individuals for Allāh, the Qur`ān says, "Say [O Prophet]: If you love Allāh, follow me so Allāh would love you and forgive your sins,"[1446] and, "Among men are those who take others besides Allāh as equals. They love them as they should love Allāh. But those who believe are overflowing in their love for Allāh."[1447] Therefore, those who love Allāh are the believers who follow the Messenger of Allāh (ص), while those who do not love Allāh are either disbelievers or those who do not follow the Messenger of Allāh (ص). In either case, the individuals who do not love Allāh are not qualified to be the leaders and imāms of Muslim nation, as they are either disbelievers or ones who do not follow the Messenger of Allāh (ص).

1425. Qur`ān 2:190, 5:87, 7:55.
1426. Qur`ān 5:64, 28:77. Similarly, Qur`ān 2:205.
1427. Qur`ān 3:57, 3:140, 42:40.
1428. Qur`ān 3:32, 30:45.
1429. Qur`ān 2:276.
1430. Qur`ān 4:36, 31:18, 57:23.
1431. Qur`ān 22:38.
1432. Qur`ān 4:107.
1433. Qur`ān 4:148.
1434. Qur`ān 6:141, 7:31.
1435. Qur`ān 16:23.
1436. Qur`ān 8:58.
1437. Qur`ān 28:76.
1438. Qur`ān 2:222, 9:108.
1439. Qur`ān 3:76, 9:4, 9:7.
1440. Qur`ān 3:146.
1441. Qur`ān 2:222.
1442. Qur`ān 3:159.
1443. Qur`ān 2:195, 3:134, 3:148, 5:13, 5:93.
1444. Qur`ān 5:42, 49:9, 60:8.
1445. Qur`ān 61:4.
1446. Qur`ān 3:31.
1447. Qur`ān 2:165.

Modern Corollaries to the Battle of Khaybar

Khaybar had perhaps the strongest and best-defended fortresses on the Arabian Peninsula at the time, providing the military backing for various Jewish tribes to cause mischief for Muslims. Muslim forces, when led by Abū Bakr and ʿUmar, were quickly repelled and embarrassingly routed, yet ʿAlī (ع) readily defeated Marḥab, broke through the fortress, and conquered Khaybar. The Jews were thus defeated and humiliated, and the Jewish threat to Islām at the time was vanquished. The defeat of the hostile Jews was attributed to one and only one fact—ʿAlī (ع), as commander, was a true believer, both loved by and possessing love for Allāh and His Messenger (ص). Conversely, the earlier defeats of the Muslims were attributed to one and only one fact—Abū Bakr and ʿUmar were not true believers and thereby lacked mutual love with Allāh and His Messenger (ص).

Today we find a similar situation in the heart of the Muslim world, where Zionists have set up the strongest and best-defended fortress in the Middle East and use it as a base to cause mischief in the region. Yet, battle after battle conducted by multiple Arab nations have led to embarrassingly decisive defeats for the Muslims. Even though the combined forces of several Arab nations have been readily routed within a few days, a small group of believers was formed in Lebanon that have been able to convincingly defeat the Zionist forces twice and expel them from Muslim lands on both occasions. Clearly, the reason why the combined forces of several Arab states were easily vanquished while this small group of believers could handily defeat the Zionists is that commanders of the confederated Arab forces lacked mutual love for Allāh and His Messenger (ص), while the commanders of the Lebanese resistance have enjoyed such mutual love. Until the Muslim nation deposes their leaders who are despised by Allāh and His Messenger (ص) and whose conduct show that they also despise Islām, the Muslim nation will continue to suffer humiliating defeats at the hands of the enemies of Islām. One must also pray that the righteous believers of today do not meet the fate of ʿAlī (ع), his two sons from Fāṭimah (ع), and their many true devotees, who were subjected to the nation's treachery and slain individually and en-masse by so-called Muslims.

Chapter 21
Love for ʹAlī (ع) is Mandatory for the Believers

In the last chapter, the mutual love between Allāh and His Messenger (ص) on the one hand and ʹAlī (ع) on the other was established. In this chapter, the topic of love for ʹAlī (ع) will be further explored by proving that love for ʹAlī (ع) is absolutely mandatory for all the believers. This topic will be further expounded in the next chapter which addresses the fact that love for the Prophet's Ahl al-Bayt (ع) is the reward he asked us for his prophetic mission.

Allāh Bestowed the Believers with Love for ʹAlī (ع)

The verse, "The most gracious will bestow love on those who believe and perform righteous deeds,"[1448] was revealed in regards to ʹAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib (ع). According to numerous Sunnī commentaries,

> The Prophet (ص) told ʹAlī, "O ʹAlī! Say, 'O Allāh! Make for me a covenant with You and set my love in the hearts of the believers.'" Allāh then revealed the verse, "The most gracious will bestow love on those who believe and perform righteous deeds."[1449]

This event was described in more detail by Ibn ʹAbbās as follows:

> The Messenger of Allāh (ص) took my hand and took the hand of ʹAlī and prayed four rakʹahs. He then raised his hands towards the sky and said, "O Allāh! As Moses the son of ʹImrān asked you, Muḥammad asks you to open for me my breast, to ease for me my affair, to remove any impediment from my speech so that they may understand my word, and to set for me a vizier (wazīr) from my family (ahl), ʹAlī, to strengthen me by him, and to make him a partner in my affair."[1450]
>
> Ibn ʹAbbās continued: I heard a caller call, "O Aḥmad! You have just been given what you asked for." The Prophet (ص) said, "O Abū al-Ḥasan, raise your hands to the skies and call your Lord and ask Him to grant you [His blessings]." ʹAlī raised his hands to the sky and said, "O Allāh! Set for me with you a covenant and set for me love." Allāh then revealed to His Prophet (ص), "The most gracious will bestow love on those who believe and perform righteous deeds."

1448. Qurʾān 19:96.

1449. Tafsīr Zamakhsharī, Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, Tafsīr Shawkānī, Tafsīr Nīsābūrī, Tafsīr Ālūsī, and Tafsīr Thaʹlabī, verse 19:96.

1450. The Prophet's (ص) invocation parallels that of Moses (ع) in Qurʾān 20:25-36.

> The Prophet (ص) recited this [verse] to his companions. They expressed much surprise and great amazement. The Prophet (ص) asked, "Why are you surprised? Indeed the Qur`ān has four quarters—one quarter [of the Qur`ān] is in regards to us Ahl al-Bayt alone, one quarter is in regards to our enemies, one quarter is in regards to the permissible and forbidden (ḥalāl and ḥarām), and one quarter is in regards to the obligatory acts (farā`iḍ) and rules (aḥkām). Allāh has revealed in regards to ´Alī the [greatest] virtues (karā`im) of the Qur`ān."[1451]

Accounts of the revelation of this verse in regards to ´Alī (ع) are numerous to the point that Ḥasakānī has collected twenty-one such traditions.[1452] This verse shows that Allāh has bestowed love for ´Alī (ع) to the believers, and that those who do not love him are, by necessity, either disbelievers or hypocrites.

The Prophet (ص) Loved ´Alī (ع) and His Ahl al-Bayt (ع) the Most

In accordance with this verse, the Prophet (ص) loved no one more than he loved ´Alī (ع) and his Ahl al-Bayt (ع):

1. ´Ā`ishah was asked, "Whom among the people did the Prophet love the most?" She replied, "Fāṭimah." She was asked, "And among the men?" She replied, "Her husband."[1453]

2. The Prophet (ص) told ´Ā`ishah, "O ´Ā`ishah! This (i.e. ´Alī) is the most beloved of the men to me and the one whom I [consider to be] the most noble of them (akramahum), so recognize his rights and respect his place of residence (mathwā) (i.e. in the Prophet's Mosque)."[1454]

3. Majma´ said: I entered with my father upon ´Ā`ishah and he asked her about the Battle of Jamal. She said, "It was a matter measured out by Allāh." He then asked her about ´Alī. She said, "You are asking about the most beloved of people to the Prophet and [a man who was] the husband of [his] daughter, who was [also] the most beloved of people to him."[1455]

4. ´Ā`ishah said, "I have not seen any man more loved by the Prophet than [´Alī] and no woman loved more by the Prophet than his wife (i.e. Fāṭimah)."[1456]

5. When the Prophet (ص) married Fāṭimah to ´Alī (ع), he told her, "I have married you to the most beloved of my Ahl al-Bayt to me."[1457]

Traditions like these are numerous but the above are sufficient to demonstrate the intensity of the Prophet's (ص) love for his Ahl al-Bayt (ع). If one wonders why ´Ā`ishah would relate such traditions when her hatred for the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) is well-known, the reason was that after the execution of her brother Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr and the maltreatment of her brother ´Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Bakr at the hands of the Umayyads, she became infuriated with them and started relating some truths of what the Prophet (ص) had said in regards to the evil of the Umayyads and the virtues of his Ahl al-Bayt (ع) because nothing bothered the Umayyads more than what the Prophet (ص) had said about his Ahl al-Bayt (ع). Of course, upon commencing on this path, ʿĀʾishah and her brother ʿAbd al-Raḥmān quickly met their doom, and were both found dead within a span of a few weeks.[1458]

[1451] Manāqib Ibn Mughāzilī #375.
[1452] Shawāhid al-Tanzīl #489-509, verse 19:96.
[1453] Sunan Tirmidhī #3874; Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:115; Tārīkh Damishq 42:263-4 (two traditions).
[1454] Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:116, 3:197.
[1455] Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:116.
[1456] Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:116; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:390.
[1457] Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:116.

Love for ʿAlī (ع) is a Sign of Belief and Hatred Towards Him is Proof of Hypocrisy

Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim's first section, the Book of Faith, contains a chapter entitled, "The love of the Anṣār and ʿAlī is faith (īmān) and [one of] its signs, and hatred of them is a sign of hypocrisy."[1459] According to one of its traditions that is famous and mutawātir,

> ʿAlī said, "By He Who split up the seed and created something living, the Apostle gave me a promise that none but a believer would love me, and none but a hypocrite would despise me."[1460]

Traditions according to which the Prophet (ص) told ʿAlī (ع), "None love you but a believer and none despise you but a hypocrite," are numerous and have been related in a multitude of Sunnī sources including Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim,[1461] Sunan Tirmidhī,[1462] Sunan Nasāʾī,[1463] Sunan Ibn Mājah,[1464] Musnad Ḥanbal,[1465] Faḍāʾil Ḥanbal,[1466] Sunan al-Kubrā Nasāʾī,[1467] Khaṣāʾiṣ Nasāʾī,[1468] Kanz al-ʿUmmāl,[1469] Iṣābah,[1470] Usd al-Ghābah,[1471] Istīʿāb,[1472] Tārīkh Damishq,[1473] Tārīkh al-Khulafāʾ,[1474] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr,[1475] and many others. The following are a few other traditions regarding the necessity of love for ʿAlī and the Ahl al-Bayt (ع):

1. ʿAlī (ع) said: The Prophet (ص) promised me, "None will love you but a believer and none will despise you but a hypocrite."[1476]

2. The Prophet (ص) told ʿAlī (ع), "No believer would despise you and no hypocrite would love you."[1477]

[1458] Refer to chapters 94 and 97.
[1459] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, book 1, chapter 34.
[1460] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #1.141.
[1461] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #1.141.
[1462] Sunan Tirmidhī #3736 (certifies the tradition as good-authentic [ḥasan ṣaḥīḥ]).
[1463] Sunan Nasāʾī #5018, #5022.
[1464] Sunan Ibn Mājah #114.
[1465] Musnad Ḥanbal #731, #1062, #26550.
[1466] Faḍāʾil Ḥanbal #948, #961, #1102, #1107.
[1467] Sunan al-Kubrā Nasāʾī #8153, #8485-7.
[1468] Khaṣāʾiṣ Nasāʾī 104-5 (three traditions).
[1469] Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #36385, #32878, #33026-9.
[1470] Iṣābah 2:1296 #5690 (ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib).
[1471] Usd al-Ghābah 3:292 #3789 (ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib).
[1472] Istīʿāb 3:204 #1875 (ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib).
[1473] Tārīkh Damishq 42:60, 42:271-7 (numerous chains of transmission), 42:279-280 (several chains of transmission).
[1474] Tārīkh al-Khulafāʾ 152.
[1475] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:391.
[1476] Sunan Tirmidhī #3736 (certifies the tradition as good-authentic [ḥasan ṣaḥīḥ]); Musnad Ḥanbal #731; Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #32884; Istīʿāb 3:204 #1875 (ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib); Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:189, 3:190.
[1477] Musnad Ḥanbal #26550; Faḍāʾil Ḥanbal #1059, #1169; Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:190; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:391; Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:189.

3. The Prophet (ص) told ʿAlī (ع), "Lies he who thinks that he loves me yet despises you."[1478]

4. The Prophet (ص) said, "Whoever thinks that he believes in me and what I have brought yet despises ʿAlī is a liar and not a believer."[1479]

5. According to a tradition Ḥākim certified as authentic by the criteria of both Bukhārī and Muslim, the Prophet (ص) said, "Whoever loves ʿAlī indeed loves me and whoever despises ʿAlī indeed despise me."[1480]

6. The Prophet (ص) said, "Whoever loves ʿAlī indeed loves me and whoever loves me indeed loves Allāh; and whoever despises ʿAlī indeed despises me and whoever despises me indeed despises Allāh."[1481]

7. The Prophet (ص) said, "Allāh has ordered me to love four individuals." The people said, "Tell us their names, O Messenger of Allāh!" He said, "ʿAlī is among them, ʿAlī is among them, ʿAlī is among them," three times. He then said, "And Abū Dharr, Salmān, and Miqdād al-Kindī. Allāh has informed me that He loves them and has ordered me to love them."[1482]

8. According to a tradition certified as authentic by Ḥākim, the Prophet (ص) said, "Love Allāh for what he has provided you of favors (niʿmah), love me for your love of Allāh, and love my Ahl al-Bayt for your love of me."[1483]

9. The Prophet (ص) said, "No one will move their feet at all on the Day of Judgment until they are asked of four things—their life and what it was used for, their body and what it aged on, their property and what it was spent on and from where it was obtained, and their love for us Ahl al-Bayt."[1484]

10. The Prophet (ص) said, "The main item on the paper (i.e. report of deeds) of the believers is their love for ʿAlī."[1485]

11. According to Zamakhsharī, Rāzī, and Thaʿlabī, the Prophet (ص) said, "One who dies upon the love of the family (āl) of Muḥammad has died a martyr. Indeed, one who dies upon the love of the family of Muḥammad has died forgiven. Indeed, one who dies upon the love of the family of Muḥammad has died repentful. Indeed, one who dies upon the love of the family of Muḥammad has died a believer with complete belief. Indeed, one who dies upon the love of the family of Muḥammad will be given the promise of paradise by the angel of death, then by Munkar and Nakīr[1486]. Indeed, one who dies upon the love of the family of Muḥammad will be taken to paradise the way a bride is taken to the house of

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[1478] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:391; Tārīkh Damishq 42:268, 42:283.

[1479] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:391.

[1480] Mustadrak Ḥākim #4648 (certifies the tradition as authentic by the criteria of Bukhārī and Muslim); Jāmiʿ al-Ṣaghīr Suyūṭī #8319; Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:189.

[1481] Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:122; Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #33024.

[1482] Sunan Tirmidhī #3718; Musnad Ḥanbal #23064; Faḍāʾil Ḥanbal #1176. A variation of this tradition ends after saying, "ʿAlī is among them," one or two times. This appears in Mustadrak Ḥākim #4649 and Faḍāʾil Ḥanbal #1103, #1181. Of note, Ḥākim certified his tradition (#4649) as authentic by the criteria of Muslim.

[1483] Mustadrak Ḥākim #4716 (certifies the tradition as authentic); Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #34150; Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, verse 42:23. Similarly, Fayḍ al-Qadīr #224.

[1484] Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #39013; Majmaʿ al-Zawāʾid #18370; Muʿjam al-Kabīr Ṭabarānī 11:84.

[1485] Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #32900; Jāmiʿ al-Saghīr Suyūṭī #5633; Tārīkh Damishq 5:230.

[1486] Munkar and Nakīr are two angels that appear upon death to question the dead about their beliefs.

her husband. Indeed, for one who dies upon the love of the family of Muḥammad, Allāh will open two doors from his grave to paradise. Indeed, for one who dies upon the love of the family of Muḥammad, Allāh will set his grave as the place of pilgrimage for the angels of mercy. Indeed, one who dies upon the love of the family of Muḥammad has died on the Sunnah [of the Prophet] and the consensus [of the believers] (jamā´ah). Indeed, one who dies despising the family of Muḥammad will come forth having written between his eyes, 'Without hope for the mercy of Allāh.' Indeed, one who dies despising the family of Muḥammad will die a disbeliever (kāfir). Indeed, one who dies despising the family of Muḥammad will never smell the breeze of paradise."[1487]

12. The Messenger of Allāh (ص) told ´Alī (ع), "Were it not for you, the believers after me would not be known."[1488]

13. According to a tradition Ḥākim certified as authentic by the criteria of Bukhārī and Muslim, Salmān al-Fārsī was asked, "Why do you love ´Alī so much?" He replied, "[Because] I heard the Messenger of Allāh (ص) say, 'Whoever loves ´Alī indeed loves me and whoever despises ´Alī indeed despises me.'"[1489]

14. According to Ibn ´Abbās, the Messenger of Allāh (ص) said, "Love for ´Alī eats away at sins the way fire eats away at firewood."[1490]

Of note, love for the other pure members of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) is equally important:

1. The Prophet (ص) said in regards to Ḥasan ibn ´Alī (ع), "O Allāh! I love him, so love him and those who love him."[1491]

2. According to a tradition Ḥākim certified as authentic, the Prophet (ص) said, "Ḥusayn is from me and I am from Ḥusayn. Allāh, love whoever loves Ḥusayn!"[1492]

3. The Prophet (ص) said in regards to Ḥasan and Ḥusayn (ع), "These are my two sons and the two sons of my daughter. O Allāh! I love them, so love them and love those who love them."[1493]

4. The Prophet (ص), while holding the hands of Ḥasan and Ḥusayn (ع), said, "Whoever loves me and loves these two and their father and mother will be with me at my rank on the Day of Judgment."[1494] According to Ibn Ḥajar, when Naṣr

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[1487] Tafsīr Zamakhsharī, Tafsīr Rāzī, and Tafsīr Tha´labī, verse 42:23.

[1488] Manāqib Ibn Mughāzilī #101.

[1489] Mustadrak Ḥākim #4648.

[1490] Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:190.

[1491] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #31.5952. Other traditions stating the Prophet's love for Ḥasan (ع) or Ḥasan and Ḥusayn (ع) include, Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #31.5953; Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.57.90, #5.57.92; Sunan Tirmidhī #3782 (certifies the tradition as good-authentic [ḥasan ṣaḥīḥ]); Musnad Ḥanbal #9758, #21877, #23182.

[1492] Mustadrak Ḥākim #4820 (certifies the tradition as authentic); Jāmi´ al-Ṣaghīr Suyūṭī #3727; Mu´jam al-Kabīr Ṭabarānī 3:33, 22:274; Kanz al-´Ummāl #34264, #34289, #34328; Tārīkh Damishq 14:149, 64:35.

[1493] Sunan Tirmidhī #3769; Kanz al-´Ummāl #37697, #37711; Mu´jam al-Kabīr Ṭabarānī 3:49; Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 4:62; Istī´āb 1:441 #573 (Ḥasan ibn ´Alī); Tārīkh al-Khulafā` 167.

[1494] Sunan Tirmidhī #3733; Musnad Ḥanbal #576; Tārīkh Baghdād #7255 (Naṣr ibn ´Alī ibn Naṣr); Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb vol 2 #528 (Ḥasan ibn ´Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib), vol 10 #781 (Naṣr ibn ´Alī ibn Naṣr); Kanz al-´Ummāl #34161, #37613; Faḍā`il Ḥanbal #1185; Usd al-Ghābah 3:295 #3789 (´Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib); Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:189.

ibn ʹAlī related this tradition, the ʹAbbāsīd caliph Mutawakkil ordered him to be whipped a thousand times.[1495]

5. The Prophet (ص) said, "Whoever loves Ḥasan and Ḥusayn indeed loves me, and whoever despises them indeed despises me."[1496]

6. The Prophet (ص) said, "I love whoever loves Ḥasan and Ḥusayn, and Allāh loves whomever I love. I despise whoever despises the two of them, and Allāh despises whomever I despise."[1497]

Despising ʹAlī (ع) and Breaking Away from Him are Forbidden

The fact that only hypocrites despise ʹAlī and the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) was made amply clear in the previous traditions. The following are a few more traditions regarding those who despise ʹAlī (ع) or who break away from him:

1. The Prophet (ص) said, "Allāh is the enemy of ʹAlī's enemy."[1498]

2. According to a tradition certified as authentic by Ḥākim, the Prophet (ص) told ʹAlī (ع), "Whoever breaks away from (faraqa) me breaks away from Allāh, and whoever breaks away from you breaks away from me."[1499]

3. The Prophet (ص) told ʹAlī (ع) on the day in which he set brotherhood among the Muslims, "Are you not content, O ʹAlī, that you are my brother and my vizier [who will] fulfill my obligations, promises, and dues...? Indeed, whoever loves you in your life after me, Allāh will seal [his destiny] with security and belief on the Day of Fear. And whoever dies despising you, O ʹAlī, has died the death of the Days of Ignorance."[1500]

4. The Prophet (ص) told ʹAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib (ع), "You are a chief (sayyid) in the world and a chief in the hereafter. Whoever loves you indeed loves me. Your friend is the friend of Allāh, and your enemy is the enemy of Allāh. Woe be to whoever despises you after me."[1501]

5. According to a tradition Ḥākim certified as authentic by the criteria of Bukhārī and Muslim, the Prophet (ص) looked at ʹAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib (ع) and said, "You are a chief (sayyid) in the world [and] a master in the hereafter. Your friend is my friend, and my friend is the friend of Allāh. Your enemy is my enemy, and my enemy is the enemy of Allāh, the great and glorious. Woe be upon whoever despises you after me."[1502]

[1495] Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb vol 10 #781 (Naṣr ibn ʹAlī ibn Naṣr).

[1496] Jāmiʹ al-Ṣaghīr Suyūṭī #8318; Muʹjam al-Kabīr Ṭabarānī 3:48 (two traditions).

[1497] Muʹjam al-Kabīr Ṭabarānī 6:241.

[1498] Jāmiʹ al-Ṣaghīr Suyūṭī #5362.

[1499] Mustadrak Ḥākim #4624 (certifies the tradition as authentic), #4703; Kanz al-ʹUmmāl #32975-6; Faḍāʾil Ḥanbal #962; Majmaʹ al-Zawāʾid #14733, #14771 (certifies those in the chain of transmission as trustworthy); Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:123.

[1500] Majmaʹ al-Zawāʾid #14704. Similarly, Kanz al-ʹUmmāl #36491.

[1501] Faḍāʾil Ḥanbal #1092; Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:122.

[1502] Mustadrak Ḥākim #4640 (certifies the tradition as authentic by the criteria of Bukhārī and Muslim). Similarly, Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:124 includes this tradition except for the first sentence.

6. The Prophet (ص) said, "Allāh only withheld rain from the Children of Israel because of their mistreatment of their prophets. Allāh will give this nation drought, and will withhold the water of the skies from them because of their animosity towards ʹAlī."[1503]

Those Who Despise ʹAlī and the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) are Hypocrites

The Messenger of Allāh (ص) said very explicitly, "Whoever despises us Ahl al-Bayt is a hypocrite."[1504] In fact, according to Sunnī sources, the verse, "You will recognize them (those whose hearts contain malice—i.e. the hypocrites) by their faces and you will recognize them by the tone of their speech,"[1505] was revealed regarding those who despised ʹAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib (ع).[1506] Presumably, their facial expressions and tone of speech would show their inner animosity towards ʹAlī (ع), thereby revealing their hypocrisy. Indeed, the companions admitted that they recognized the hypocrites by their hatred for ʹAlī (ع):

1. According to a tradition Ḥākim certified as authentic by the criteria of Muslim, Abū Dharr said, "We do not know the hypocrites except by their criticism of Allāh and His Messenger (ص), by their staying behind from prayer, and by their hatred for ʹAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib."[1507]

2. According to Tirmidhī and others, Abū Saʹīd al-Khudrī said, "We Anṣār recognized the hypocrites only by their hatred for ʹAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib."[1508]

3. Jābir ibn ʹAbd Allāh said, "We Anṣār would not recognize the hypocrites except by their hatred for ʹAlī."[1509]

4. Ibn Masʹūd said, "We would not recognize the hypocrites during the time of the Messenger of Allāh (ص) except by their hatred for ʹAlī."[1510]

5. Abū Saʹīd al-Khudrī said, "We would recognize the hypocrites among the Anṣār by their hatred for ʹAlī."[1511]

Indeed, the Shīʹah use the same criteria to determine faith and hypocrisy among the companions. Those who despised ʹAlī and the Ahl al-Bayt (ع), who usurped their rights, who stripped them of their inheritance, who plotted against them, who fought them in battle, and who martyred them were hypocrites, while those who truly loved them, who spent their lives devoted to them, who sacrificed for them, and who fought on their path were believers.

Those Who Despise ʹAlī (ع) are from Illegitimate Birth

[1503] Tārīkh Damishq 42:282; Manāqib Ibn Mughāzilī #186.

[1504] Faḍāʾil Ḥanbal #1126; Kanz al-ʹUmmāl #33753; Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, verse 42:23.

[1505] Qurʾān 47:30.

[1506] Tafsīr al-Durr al Manthūr, verse 47:30; Tārīkh Damishq 42:360.

[1507] Mustadrak Ḥākim #4643 (certifies the tradition as authentic by the criteria of Muslim); Kanz al-ʹUmmāl #36346; Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:190.

[1508] Sunan Tirmidhī #3717; Faḍāʾil Ḥanbal #979; Usd al-Ghābah 3:295 #3789 (ʹAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib); Tārīkh al-Khulafāʾ 152; Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:190; Tārīkh Damishq 42:286.

[1509] Faḍāʾil Ḥanbal #1086, #1146; Istīʹāb 3:210 #1875 (ʹAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib); Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:190; Dhakhāʾir al-ʹUqbā 91; Tārīkh Damishq 42:286; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 13:251. Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd refers to this as "a tradition that is famous among the narrators of tradition (al-muḥaddithīn)."

[1510] Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, verse 47:30.

[1511] Tārīkh Damishq 42:285.

The following are a few of the Sunnī traditions proving that anyone who hates ʿAlī (ع) is a product of illegitimate birth:[1512]

1. The Prophet (ص) told ʿAlī (ع), "No one hates you except one whose father shared his mother's womb."[1513]
2. Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī said, "We Anṣār knew our children by their love for ʿAlī. When a child was born from amongst us who did not love him, we knew that it was not our own."[1514]
3. ʿUbādah ibn Ṣāmit said, "We recognized our children by their love for ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib. If one of them did not love ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib, we knew that it was not our own and that it would never be guided." After citing this tradition, Ḥāfiẓ Jazarī said, "It has been widely recognized since the old days and up to today that no one hates ʿAlī except one who is born from adultery."[1515]
4. ʿAlī (ع) said, "Three people do not love me—one born of adultery, a hypocrite, and a man whose mother was impregnated during part of her menses."[1516]
5. Abū Bakr said: I saw the Messenger of Allāh setting up a tent and in it were ʿAlī, Fāṭimah, Ḥasan, and Ḥusayn. The Messenger of Allāh said, "O Muslims! I am at peace with whoever is at peace with those in the tent; I am the enemy of whoever is their enemy; and I am the master (walī) of whoever takes them as his master. No one loves them but those from a blessed lineage and a pure birth, and no one despises them but those from a wretched lineage and an illegitimate birth."[1517]

Those Who Despise the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) will Enter the Fire

The following are a few examples of traditions showing that those who have enmity towards the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) will enter the fire:

1. According to a tradition Ḥākim certified as authentic by the criteria of Muslim, the Prophet (ص) said, "By He in Whose hand is my life! No one despises us Ahl al-Bayt except that Allāh will cast him into the fire."[1518]
2. The Prophet (ص) said, "O ʿAlī! Reckless is the one who dies despising you, for he dies as a Jew or Christian!"[1519]

[1512] Refer to al-Ghadīr 4:322-4 for twelve Sunnī traditions in this regards.

[1513] Tārīkh Baghdād #1376 (Muḥammad ibn Mazyad); Tārīkh Damishq 42:290; Kifāyah al-Ṭālib 70, chapter 3.

[1514] Al-Ghadīr 4:322 quotes this tradition from Asnā al-Maṭālib fī Manāqib-i ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib of Ḥāfiẓ al-Jazarī, page 8.

[1515] Al-Ghadīr 4:322 quotes this tradition from Asnā al-Matālib fī Manāqib-i ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib of Ḥāfiẓ al-Jazarī, page 8. The first sentence of ʿUbādah ibn Ṣāmit appears in Tāj al-ʿArūs 2544 (b-w-r, nabūr) and al-Nihayah fī Gharīb al-Ḥadīth of Ibn Athīr 1:159.

[1516] Al-Ghadīr 4:322 quotes this from Kitāb al-Wilāyah of Ṭabarī.

[1517] Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:154.

[1518] Mustadrak Ḥākim #4717 (certifies the tradition as authentic); Majmaʿ al-Zawāʾid #12300; Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #34204, #39955; Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, verse 42:23.

[1519] Manāqib Ibn Mughāzilī #74.

3. The Prophet (ص) said, "O ʿAlī! If my nation despises you, Allāh, the great and glorious, will throw it into the fire."[1520]

4. According to a tradition Ḥākim certified as authentic by the criteria of Muslim, the Prophet (ص) said, "If a man stands between the rukn and maqām[1521] [in the Masjid al-Ḥarām] and prays and fasts [his entire life], then meets Allāh while he despises the Ahl al-Bayt of Muḥammad, he will enter the fire."[1522]

5. The Prophet (ص) said, "Allāh, the great and glorious, has created beings that are neither from the offspring of Adam nor from the offspring of Satan (Iblīs). They send curses upon those who hate ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib." The people asked, "O Messenger of Allāh, who are they?" He replied, "They are birds that call in the mornings on top of the trees, 'May the curse of Allāh be upon the haters of ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib!'"[1523]

The reason why the haters of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) will enter the fire is rather obvious. Such individuals, according to mutawātir traditions, are hypocrites, and the Qurʾān explicitly states, "The hypocrites are in the lowest depths of the fire."[1524] As for the last tradition, it is a reference to the verse, "Do you not see that Allāh is praised by all [beings] in the heavens and on earth, and by the birds with expanded wings? Each one knows its own [mode of] worship and its own praise."[1525] Accordingly, there are birds whose mode of worship and praise is cursing those who despise ʿAlī (ع).

ʿAlī (ع) is the Divider Between the Garden and the Fire

Since one's love for ʿAlī (ع) determines whether one is a believer or a hypocrite, ʿAlī (ع) is the one who divides paradise from hell. This is made clear in numerous Sunni traditions:

1. ʿAlī (ع) said, "I am the divider (qasīm) of the fire."[1526]

2. The Prophet (ص) said, "O ʿAlī! You are the divider (qasīm) of the fire, and you will knock on the gate of paradise and enter [whomever you please] into it without any account (bighayri ḥisāb)."[1527]

3. The Prophet (ص) said, "ʿAlī will be [standing] upon the Fount [of Kawthar] on the Day of Judgment. No one will enter paradise except the one who comes with a permission slip (jawāz) from ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib."[1528]

4. The Prophet (ص) said, "No one will be allowed [to cross] the Ṣirāṭ (the bridge leading to heaven that passes over hell), except one for whom ʿAlī has written a permission slip."[1529]

[1520] Kifāyah al-Ṭālib 116, chapter 20.

[1521] The four rukns are the four corners of the Masjid al-Ḥarām, and and the maqām refers to the Station of Abraham (ع).

[1522] Mustadrak Ḥākim #4712 (certifies the tradition as authentic by the criteria of Muslim); Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #33910.

[1523] Manāqib Ibn Mughāzilī #187.

[1524] Qurʾān 4:145.

[1525] Qurʾān 24:41.

[1526] Tārīkh Damishq 42:298-301 (fourteen chains of transmission); Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #36475.

[1527] Manāqib Khwārazmī #281; Manāqib Ibn Mughāzilī #97.

[1528] Manāqib Ibn Mughāzilī #156.

5. The Messenger of Allāh (ص) said, "When people of ancient and later times are gathered on the Day of Judgment and the Ṣirāṭ is placed as a bridge over hell, no one will be allowed [to cross it] unless he has with him a release (barā`ah) [granted based on his] devotion (wilāyah) to ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib."[1530]

6. The Messenger of Allāh (ص), "When it is the Day of Judgment and the Ṣirāṭ is placed over hell, no one will be permitted [to cross it] except for the one with whom is the book of devotion (wilāyah) to ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib."[1531]

7. Abū Bakr and ʿAlī met, and Abū Bakr stared in the face of ʿAlī. ʿAlī asked, "Why are you staring?" He replied, "I heard the Messenger of Allāh say, 'No one is permitted [to cross] the Ṣirāṭ except for one for whom ʿAlī has written a permission slip (jawāz).'"[1532]

8. When ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās was dying, he said, "O Allāh! I seek closeness to you through the wilāyah of ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib."[1533]

Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal explained the tradition that ʿAlī (ع) is the divider of the fire in the following encounter:

> A man asked Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, "O Abū ʿAbd Allāh! What do you say in regards to the tradition that has been related from ʿAlī, [according to which] he said, 'I am the divider of the fire'?" He replied, "Why would you deny this? Don't we transmit from the Prophet (ص) [the tradition], '[O ʿAlī], no one loves you but the believers and no one hates you but the hypocrites'?" We replied, "Yes." [Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal] asked, "So where is a believer?" We replied, "In heaven." He asked, "And where is a hypocrite?" We replied, "In the fire." He said, "So ʿAlī is the divider of the fire!"[1534]

ʿAlī (ع) is the Water-Giver at the Fount of Kawthar

There are numerous Sunnī traditions confirming that ʿAlī (ع) will be the one giving out water at the Fount of Kawthar in the hereafter. The following are a few examples:

1. The Prophet (ص) said in regards to ʿAlī (ع), "He will stand by the drinking place of my fount and will give water to those whom he recognizes among my nation."[1535]

2. The Prophet (ص) told ʿAlī (ع), "O ʿAlī! On the Day of Judgment, you will be holding a cane from the canes of paradise, by which you will send away the hypocrites from my fount."[1536]

1529. Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:232; Dhakhā`ir al-ʿUqbā 71.
1530. Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:130.
1531. Manāqib Ibn Mughāzilī #289.
1532. Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:137.
1533. Faḍā`il Ḥanbal #1129; Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:130-1.
1534. Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābilah 1:320.
1535. Faḍā`il Ḥanbal #1127; Dhakhā`ir al-ʿUqbā 86; Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:173-4.
1536. Muʿjam al-Ṣaghīr Ṭabarānī #1014; Majmaʿ al-Zawā`id #14772; Dhakhā`ir al-ʿUqbā 91; Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:185-6.

3. ʹAlī (ع) said, "I will send away from the fount of the Messenger of Allāh (ص) with my own hands two groups that are cut off [from Allāh's mercy]—the disbelievers (kāfirs) and the hypocrites—the same way a water-giver sends away camels that don't belong [to him] from his fount."[1537]

4. According to a tradition certified as authentic by Ḥākim, ʹAlī ibn Abī Ṭalḥah said: We were going to [the pilgrimage of] ḥajj when we passed by Ḥasan ibn ʹAlī in Madīnah. With us was Muʹāwīyah ibn Ḥudayj. Ḥasan was told, "This is Muʹāwīyah ibn Ḥudayj who curses ʹAlī." He said, "Bring him to me." He was brought to him. Ḥasan ibn ʹAlī asked him, "Are you one who curses ʹAlī?! By Allāh, if you meet [him], and I suspect that you will not meet him on the Day of Judgment, you would find him standing upon the fount of the Messenger of Allāh (ص), sending away from it the masses of hypocrites by a cane made from a thorn tree. This was related to me by the truth-teller, the oft-truthful, and any liar will be disappointed [on that day]."[1538]

More Sunnī Traditions Regarding ʹAlī's (ع) Position on the Day of Judgment

1. The Prophet (ص) told ʹAlī (ع), "You and your Shīʹah will be in paradise."[1539]

2. The Prophet (ص) told ʹAlī (ع), "O ʹAlī! Are you content that you will be with me in paradise, that Ḥasan and Ḥusayn and our [faithful] offspring will be [standing] behind us, that our [believing] wives will be behind our offspring, and that our Shīʹah will be to our right and left?"[1540]

3. The Prophet (ص) said, "Accept the glad tiding, O ʹAlī, because you, your companions, and your Shīʹah will be in paradise."[1541]

4. The Prophet (ص) said, "O ʹAlī! What is yours in paradise is such that, were it to be divided among the entirety of those on earth, it would be plenty for them."[1542]

5. When the Prophet (ص) saw ʹAlī (ع) coming, he said, "This [man] and I will be the proofs (ḥujjah) upon my nation on the Day of Judgment."[1543] In a similar tradition, he said, referring to ʹAlī (ع), "This one who is coming is my proof (ḥujjah) upon my nation on the Day of Judgment."[1544]

6. The Qurʾān says, "For those who believe and perform righteous deeds is [the Tree of] Ṭūbā and a blissful return."[1545] According to Ibn Sīrīn, "Ṭūbā is a tree in paradise whose root [lies] in the living place of ʹAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib. There is no living place in paradise except that there is a branch among its branches in it."[1546]

[1537] Faḍāʾil Ḥanbal #1157; Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:186.

[1538] Mustadrak Ḥākim #4669 (certifies the tradition as authentic).

[1539] Tārīkh Baghdād #6731 (ʹIṣām ibn Ḥakam); Tārīkh Damishq 42:332, 42:334, 42:335. Similarly, Majmaʹ al-Zawāʾid #15016.

[1540] Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:183.

[1541] Faḍāʾil Ḥanbal #1115.

[1542] Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:185.

[1543] Tārīkh Baghdād #474 (Muḥammad ibn al-Ashʹath ibn Aḥmad).

[1544] Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:159; Dhakhāʾir al-ʹUqbā 77.

[1545] Qurʾān 13:29.

[1546] Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, verse 13:29.

7. In a lengthy tradition summarized here, the Prophet (ص) told ʿAlī (ع) that the Prophet (ص) would be the first one raised from the grave in the hereafter and that ʿAlī (ع) would come to him carrying the Banner of Praise (ḥamd) with Ḥasan and Ḥusayn (ع) by his side.[1547]

8. The Prophet (ص) told ʿAlī (ع), "You will be with me in my palace in paradise with my daughter Fāṭimah."[1548]

9. The Prophet (ص) told ʿAlī (ع), "O ʿAlī! Your hand will be in my hand and you will enter with me wherever I enter on the Day of Judgment."[1549]

In case anyone doubt ʿAlī's (ع) special position on the day of the judgment, Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī states that ʿAlī (ع) said, "I shall be the first man to kneel down before [Allāh], the beneficent, and to receive His judgment on the Day of Judgment."[1550] If, as some claim, ʿAlī (ع) was an ordinary companion or fourth place in virtue, it would make no sense for him to be the first to appear in front of Allāh on the Day of Judgment. In fact, the Qur`ān makes it clear that the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) will be joined with the Prophet (ص) on the Day of Judgment where it says, "And those who believe and whose offspring follow them in faith—to them shall We join their offspring."[1551] As such, the Ahl al-Bayt of the Prophet (ص) will join him on the Day of Judgment. Even some Sunnī scholars have argued that this verse makes it clear that ʿAlī (ع) was superior to Abū Bakr as he will be joined with the Prophet (ص) on the Day of Judgment.[1552] In accordance with this fact, the Prophet (ص) said in a tradition certified as authentic by Ḥākim that he, ʿAlī, Fāṭimah, Ḥasan, and Ḥusayn (ع) "will be in one place on the Day of Judgment."[1553] Since one's status in the hereafter is reflective by one's level of faith, performance of good deeds, and avoidance of sin in this world, those who claim that Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, and ʿUthmān are superior to ʿAlī (ع) apparently believe that the first three caliphs will be in a better place than the Prophet (ص) himself on the Day of Judgment!

Proof of the Imāmate from Traditions Regarding the Love for and Hatred of ʿAlī (ع)

According to these traditions and many others, love for the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) is a sign of belief and hatred towards them is a sign of disbelief and hypocrisy. Love for any ordinary Muslim is by no means a sign of belief and is not a guarantee for entering paradise, and despising an ordinary Muslim is not a reason for disbelief, hypocrisy, being of illegitimate birth, and belonging in the fire. This is obvious because there are many Muslims who commit grave sins and who hurt the Muslim nation, and one cannot be guaranteed the fire for despising such Muslims. One would, however, deserve the fire if one despises a prophet or someone whose love and obeisance are similarly mandated. Such a person would be an imām. In fact, the necessity of loving the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) under all circumstances and the absolute prohibition against despising them under any

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[1547] Faḍā`il Ḥanbal #1131; Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:171-2.

[1548] Faḍā`il Ḥanbal #1137; Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:182; Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #25554-5; Majmaʿ al-Zawā`id #14925; Tārīkh Damishq 42:53.

[1549] Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:182.

[1550] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.59.304.

[1551] Qur`ān 52:21.

[1552] Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:180-1.

[1553] Mustadrak Ḥākim #4664 (certifies the tradition as authentic); Musnad Ḥanbal #792; Faḍā`il Ḥanbal #1183; Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:183; Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #32986, #37622; Majmaʿ al-Zawā`id #14991, #15004; Muʿjam al-Kabīr Ṭabarānī 22:406.

3. ʹAlī (ع) said, "I will send away from the fount of the Messenger of Allāh (ص) with my own hands two groups that are cut off [from Allāh's mercy]—the disbelievers (kāfirs) and the hypocrites—the same way a water-giver sends away camels that don't belong [to him] from his fount."[1537]

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[1537] Faḍāʹil Ḥanbal #1157; Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:186.
[1538] Mustadrak Ḥākim #4669 (certifies the tradition as authentic).
[1539] Tārīkh Baghdād #6731 (ʹIṣām ibn Ḥakam); Tārīkh Damishq 42:332, 42:334, 42:335. Similarly, Majmaʹ al-Zawāʹid #15016.
[1540] Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:183.
[1541] Faḍāʹil Ḥanbal #1115.
[1542] Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:185.
[1543] Tārīkh Baghdād #474 (Muḥammad ibn al-Ashʹath ibn Aḥmad).
[1544] Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:159; Dhakhāʹir al-ʹUqbā 77.
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[1546] Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, verse 13:29.

7. In a lengthy tradition summarized here, the Prophet (ص) told ʿAlī (ع) that the Prophet (ص) would be the first one raised from the grave in the hereafter and that ʿAlī (ع) would come to him carrying the Banner of Praise (ḥamd) with Ḥasan and Ḥusayn (ع) by his side.[1547]

8. The Prophet (ص) told ʿAlī (ع), "You will be with me in my palace in paradise with my daughter Fāṭimah."[1548]

9. The Prophet (ص) told ʿAlī (ع), "O ʿAlī! Your hand will be in my hand and you will enter with me wherever I enter on the Day of Judgment."[1549]

In case anyone doubt ʿAlī's (ع) special position on the day of the judgment, Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī states that ʿAlī (ع) said, "I shall be the first man to kneel down before [Allāh], the beneficent, and to receive His judgment on the Day of Judgment."[1550] If, as some claim, ʿAlī (ع) was an ordinary companion or fourth place in virtue, it would make no sense for him to be the first to appear in front of Allāh on the Day of Judgment. In fact, the Qur`ān makes it clear that the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) will be joined with the Prophet (ص) on the Day of Judgment where it says, "And those who believe and whose offspring follow them in faith—to them shall We join their offspring."[1551] As such, the Ahl al-Bayt of the Prophet (ص) will join him on the Day of Judgment. Even some Sunnī scholars have argued that this verse makes it clear that ʿAlī (ع) was superior to Abū Bakr as he will be joined with the Prophet (ص) on the Day of Judgment.[1552] In accordance with this fact, the Prophet (ص) said in a tradition certified as authentic by Ḥākim that he, ʿAlī, Fāṭimah, Ḥasan, and Ḥusayn (ع) "will be in one place on the Day of Judgment."[1553] Since one's status in the hereafter is reflective by one's level of faith, performance of good deeds, and avoidance of sin in this world, those who claim that Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, and ʿUthmān are superior to ʿAlī (ع) apparently believe that the first three caliphs will be in a better place than the Prophet (ص) himself on the Day of Judgment!

Proof of the Imāmate from Traditions Regarding the Love for and Hatred of ʿAlī (ع)

According to these traditions and many others, love for the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) is a sign of belief and hatred towards them is a sign of disbelief and hypocrisy. Love for any ordinary Muslim is by no means a sign of belief and is not a guarantee for entering paradise, and despising an ordinary Muslim is not a reason for disbelief, hypocrisy, being of illegitimate birth, and belonging in the fire. This is obvious because there are many Muslims who commit grave sins and who hurt the Muslim nation, and one cannot be guaranteed the fire for despising such Muslims. One would, however, deserve the fire if one despises a prophet or someone whose love and obeisance are similarly mandated. Such a person would be an imām. In fact, the necessity of loving the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) under all circumstances and the absolute prohibition against despising them under any

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1547. Faḍā`il Ḥanbal #1131; Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:171-2.
1548. Faḍā`il Ḥanbal #1137; Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:182; Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #25554-5; Majmaʿ al-Zawā`id #14925; Tārīkh Damishq 42:53.
1549. Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:182.
1550. Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.59.304.
1551. Qur`ān 52:21.
1552. Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:180-1.
1553. Mustadrak Ḥākim #4664 (certifies the tradition as authentic); Musnad Ḥanbal #792; Faḍā`il Ḥanbal #1183; Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:183; Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #32986, #37622; Majmaʿ al-Zawā`id #14991, #15004; Muʿjam al-Kabīr Ṭabarānī 22:406.

circumstance is proof of their immunity from sin, otherwise it would be necessary for us to despise them when they sin. The Shī'ah position on why believing in the imāmate is necessary for entering paradise is well summarized by the following comments of the Shī'ah scholar 'Allāmah Majlisī:

> It has become apparent that [accepting the] mastery (wilāyah) of 'Alī (ع) follows bearing witness to the unity of Allāh and the prophecy of Muḥammad (ص). Just as one leaves Islām by denying either the unity of Allāh or the prophecy [of Muḥammad (ص)], one leaves belief and indeed Islām by denying the wilāyah [of 'Alī (ع)] or even just giving up one's love for him. If someone says that, according to what you say, it becomes necessary for 'Alī's (ع) status to be above that of the Prophet (ص) because, even though denying prophecy necessitates entering the fire, believing in it does not necessitate entering paradise, we would say in response that even though admitting to the truth of prophecy is better as a pillar of faith, since accepting the imāmate entails accepting prophecy but accepting prophecy does not entail accepting the imāmate, and since admitting to the truth of the imāmate is part of belief, accepting the imāmate is reason for being saved, while believing in prophecy alone is not reason enough to be saved... This is like the fact that accepting the unity of Allāh is better than accepting prophecy but does not necessarily include accepting the prophecy [of Muḥammad (ص)]. Yet, accepting prophecy necessitates believing in the creator and His unity. Believing in both, however, does not necessitate being saved until acceptance of the imāmate is also added [to those two beliefs]. Believing in the imāmate and the wilāyah of the Commander of the Faithful ('Alī [ع]) and following him includes accepting the unity of Allāh and the prophecy of Muḥammad (ص), the [imāmate of the rest] of the imāms, the [existence of the] hereafter, and [all] the other necessities of religion because he is the one who completes belief for all those in the worlds.[1554]

[1554] Ḥaqq al-Yaqīn 78-79.

Chapter 22
The Reward of the Prophet (ص) is Love for His Ahl al-Bayt (ع)

The Verse of Affection for the Close Ones

The Qur`ān says,

> [O Prophet], say, "I do not ask of you any reward for it (the guidance I brought you), except for affection to the close ones. And if anyone earns any good, We shall give him an increase of good in respect thereof."[1555]

There are several interpretations of this verse that need to be discussed. Some say that the verse was revealed to the Quraysh before they had accepted Islām, and that the verse told the Quraysh to have affection towards the Prophet (ص), as he was related to them. This opinion has been adopted by many Sunnī commentators, such as Ibn Kathīr, who said,

> [This verse] means: Say, O Muḥammad, to these idolaters among the disbelievers of the Quraysh, "I do not ask you for anything in return for this message and sincere advice which I bring to you. All I ask of you is that you withhold your evil from me and let me convey the messages of my Lord. If you will not help me, then do not disturb me for the sake of the ties of kinship that exist between you and me."[1556]

However, this interpretation does not coincide with the verse of the Qur`ān. The verse starts with, "I do not ask of you any reward." One receives a reward for an appreciated service one renders. The Prophet (ص) would only deserve a reward if he had done something for the people he was asking the reward from that they appreciated. How could he ask for a reward from his enemies and those trying to kill him? Therefore, this verse must be directed towards those who believed in Islām and therefore owed the Prophet (ص) a reward for the guidance that they had received through him. One sees that there was a debate regarding these two interpretations among the companions in the following tradition from Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī:

> Ibn ʿAbbās recited this Qur`ānic verse... Saʿīd ibn Jubayr said, "[The verse implies] the kinship of Muḥammad (āl-i Muḥammad)." Ibn ʿAbbās said, "There was not a single house (i.e. sub-tribe) of the Quraysh but that it had a kinship to the Prophet, so the above verse was revealed in this connection, and its

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[1555] Qur`ān 42:23.
[1556] Tafsīr Ibn Kathīr, verse 42:23.

> interpretation is: O Quraysh! You should keep good relation between me (i.e. Muḥammad) and you."[1557]

Clearly, Ibn Jubayr had the correct interpretation of this verse. However, the comments of Ibn ʿAbbās are somewhat doubtful as other traditions show that Ibn ʿAbbās knew the correct interpretation of this verse. In a tradition narrated widely in Sunnī commentaries on the Qur`ān, Ibn ʿAbbās said,

> When the verse was revealed, the companions asked, "O Messenger of Allāh! Who are those near kin whose love Allāh has made obligatory for us?" Upon that, the Prophet (ص) said, "ʿAlī, Fāṭimah, and their two sons."[1558]

Some other interpreters say that the "close ones" refer to anyone's close relatives, not necessarily the relatives of the Prophet (ص). In other words, they say that the verse means, "I do not ask of you any reward for the guidance I have brought you except for your love towards your own close relatives." This interpretation contradicts the Qur`ān because the Qur`ān says, "You will not find people who believe in Allāh and in the Last Day having affection for the enemies of Allāh and His Messenger, even if they are their own fathers, their sons, their brothers, or anyone else from their family connection."[1559] Therefore, Allāh does not call for unconditional affection towards one's own kinsmen.

Others say that the "close ones" are those who seek closeness to Allāh. According to this interpretation, the verse says, "I do not ask of you any reward for the guidance I have brought you except your affection towards those who seek closeness to Allāh." This interpretation also contradicts the Qur`ān. According to the Qur`ān, the pagans used their idols in order to get closer to Allāh: "The ones who take guardians other than Him [say], 'We do not serve them except to bring us closer to Allāh.'"[1560] According to this interpretation, Allāh and His Messenger (ص) would be asking for affection for the pagans and their idols.

Others say that the "close ones" are the Ahl al-Bayt of the Prophet (ص). This interpretation not only does not contradict the Qur`ān, but is also supported by dozens of Sunnī tradition as well as the consensus of Shīʿah traditions. A number of traditions proving the necessity of love for ʿAlī and the Ahl al-Bayt of the Prophet (ص) have already been mentioned and need not be repeated here.[1561] Moreover, the Qur`ān clearly supports this view in the following verse: "Say: I do not ask you for any reward. It is for you."[1562] According to this verse, the reward that the Prophet (ص) asked for was not for his own benefit, but rather for the benefit of the believers. Therefore, one's love for the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) is not a favor for the Prophet (ص), but rather a benefit for oneself. This is the case with accepting the imāmate of the purified members of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع), as it primarily benefits the believers themselves.

Traditions Showing that this Verse Pertains to the Ahl al-Bayt (ع)

There are numerous Sunnī traditions showing that this verse was revealed in regards to the Prophet's Ahl al-Bayt (ع). The following are a few examples:

[1557] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #4.56.701.
[1558] Refer to tradition 1 below.
[1559] Qur`ān 58:22.
[1560] Qur`ān 39:3.
[1561] Refer to chapter 21.
[1562] Qur`ān 34:47.

Tradition 1

'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abbās said,

> When the verse, "Say: I do not ask of you any reward except for affection to the close ones," was revealed, the people asked, "O Messenger of Allāh, who are these close ones whose love is mandatory for us?" The Prophet (ص) replied, "'Alī, Fāṭimah, and their two sons."[1563]

Tradition 2

According to Ibn 'Abbās, the latter part of the verse, "And if anyone earns any good, We shall give him an increase of good in respect thereof,"[1564] refers to "affection for the family (āl) of Muḥammad (ص)."[1565]

Tradition 3

Jābir ibn 'Abd Allāh said,

> A desert Arab came to the Prophet (ص) and said, "O Muḥammad, present Islām to me." The Prophet (ص) said, "Bear witness that there is no god but Allāh, the one, with no partners, and that Muḥammad is His servant and messenger." [The man asked], "Do you ask any reward for this?" The Prophet (ص) replied, "No, except for love for the close ones." [The man asked], "My close ones or your close ones?" [The Prophet (ص) replied], "My close ones." [The man] said, "I will pledge allegiance to you based on this [stipulation]. So may the curse of Allāh be upon he who loves you but does not love your close ones." The Prophet (ص) said, "Amen!"[1566]

Tradition 4

> The Prophet (ص) said, "Allāh set the love of my Ahl al-Bayt as my reward from you, and tomorrow (i.e. on the Day of Judgment), I will question them about [whether] you [granted me my reward]."[1567]

Tradition 5

When 'Alī (ع) died, Ḥasan ibn 'Alī (ع) said as part of his speech,

> And I am from the Ahl al-Bayt whose affection Allāh has mandated (faraḍa) for every Muslim and in regards to whom Allāh revealed, "Say: I do not ask of you any reward for it (the guidance I brought you), except for affection to the close ones."[1568]

[1563] Tafsīr Rāzī, Tafsīr Tha'labī, Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, Tafsīr Qurṭubī, Tafsīr Zamakhsharī, Tafsīr Bayḍāwī, and Tafsīr Nīsābūrī, verse 42:23; Faḍā'il Ḥanbal #1141; Mu'jam al-Kabīr Ṭabarānī 3:47, 11:351; Majma' al-Zawā'id #11326, #14982; Dhakhā'ir al-'Uqbā 25.

[1564] Qur'ān 42:23.

[1565] Tafsīr Tha'labī and Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, verse 42:23.

[1566] Kifāyah al-Ṭālib 90, chapter 11.

[1567] Dhakhā'ir al-'Uqbā 26.

[1568] Majma' al-Zawā'id #14798.

Tradition 6

> When ʹAlī ibn Ḥusayn was brought as a prisoner [to Damascus after the massacre at Karbalā`], one of the Syrians said, "Praise be to Allāh Who killed you and Who destroyed you to your roots!" ʹAlī ibn Ḥusayn asked, "Have you read the Qur`ān?" The man answered, "Yes." "Have you read Āl-i Ḥā-mīm?" The man answered, "No." ʹAlī ibn Ḥusayn asked, "But have you read, 'Say: I do not ask of you any reward except for affection to the close ones'?" [The man] asked, "Are you them (i.e. the close ones)?" He replied, "Yes."[1569]

These traditions make it clear that in return for the struggles and hardships that the Prophet (ص) endured in order to bring us guidance, we must love his Ahl al-Bayt (ع), not oppose them, fight them, usurp their rights, and martyr them.

Prohibition Against Angering and Harassing the Ahl al-Bayt (ع)

It is rather intuitive that if the reward for the Prophet (ص) is to love his Ahl al-Bayt (ع), it would be forbidden to anger or harass them. The Messenger of Allāh (ص) said, "The best of you is the best of you to my family (ahl) after me,"[1570] and in numerous traditions he banned the Muslims from angering and harassing his Ahl al-Bayt (ع). The following are a few examples:

1. The Prophet (ص) said, "Whoever harasses ʹAlī has indeed harassed me."[1571]

2. The Prophet (ص) said, "Whoever harasses ʹAlī has indeed harassed me, and whoever harasses me has indeed harassed Allāh."[1572]

3. The Prophet (ص) said, "Whoever loves ʹAlī indeed loves me, and whoever loves me indeed loves Allāh. Whoever despises ʹAlī indeed despises me, and whoever despises me indeed despises Allāh."[1573]

4. Ibn ʹAbbās said: I was with the Messenger of Allāh (ص) when ʹAlī arrived angry. The Prophet (ص) asked, "Why are you angry?" ʹAlī said, "The people harassed me in regards to you, O cousin." The Prophet (ص) got up angry and said, "O people! Whoever harasses ʹAlī only harasses me. ʹAlī is the first of you in belief and the most devoted [of you] in upholding the covenant of Allāh. O people! Whoever harasses ʹAlī will be raised on the Day of Judgment as a Jew or a Christian." Jābir ibn ʹAbd Allāh al-Anṣārī asked, "O Messenger of Allāh! [Will this be the case] even though one bears witness that there is no god but Allāh and that you are the Messenger of Allāh?" [The Prophet (ص)] replied, "O Jābir! A word they use so that their blood is not spilled and so that their property is not taken and to avoid having to 'pay jizyah[1574] with willing

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[1569] Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, Tafsīr Ibn Kathīr, and Tafsīr Thaʹlabī, verse 42:23.

[1570] Kanz al-ʹUmmāl #34146; Majmaʹ al-Zawā`id #15027 (certifies those in the chain of transmission as trustworthy); Jāmiʹ al-Ṣaghīr Suyūṭī #4105.

[1571] Mustadrak Ḥākim #4619 (certifies the tradition as authentic); Musnad Ḥanbal #16002; Faḍā`il Ḥanbal #981, #1078; Kanz al-ʹUmmāl #32901, #36445; Jāmiʹ al-Ṣaghīr Suyūṭī #8266; Istīʹāb 3:205 #1875 (ʹAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib); Tārīkh al-Khulafā` 154; Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:121-2; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 5:121, 7:382-3, 7:383.

[1572] Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:122.

[1573] Kanz al-ʹUmmāl #33024; Tārīkh al-Khulafā` 154. Similarly, Istīʹāb 3:204 #1875 (ʹAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib).

[1574] Jizyah is the poll-tax for non-believers.

submission while they are subjugated'[1575] [is not sufficient on the Day of Judgment]."[1576]

5. A man mentioned ʹAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib in ʹUmar's presence. ʹUmar told him, "Do you know the owner of this grave? He is Muḥammad ibn ʹAbd Allāh ibn ʹAbd al-Muṭṭalib, and ʹAlī is the son of Abū Ṭālib ibn ʹAbd al-Muṭṭalib. Do not mention ʹAlī except with praise, for if you make him angry, you have indeed harassed this [man] in his grave."[1577]

6. The Prophet (ص) said, "Woe be to the oppressors of my Ahl al-Bayt! Their punishment will be with the hypocrites in the deepest pits of the fire."[1578]

In regards to harassing the Prophet (ص), the Qur`ān says,

1. "It is not permissible for you to harass the Messenger of Allāh."[1579]

2. "For those who harass the Messenger of Allāh will be a great torment."[1580]

3. "Allāh curses those who harass Allāh and His Messenger in this world and in the hereafter, and He will prepare a humiliating punishment for them."[1581]

The Qur`ān also says, "O you who believe, do not be like those who harassed Moses."[1582] Clearly, the Qur`ān demands that we not harass the Prophet (ص) as the Children of Israel harassed Moses (ع). The worst way in which the Children of Israel harassed Moses (ع) was by abandoning Aaron (ع) as his appointed successor (khalīf) and instead following the call of Sāmirī who led them astray. Those who abandoned ʹAlī (ع) and followed ʹUmar's call to pledge allegiance to Abū Bakr clearly were the ones who harassed the Prophet (ص) the same way the Children of Israel harassed Moses (ع).

The Prophet's (ص) Comments Regarding Those Who Curse ʹAlī (ع)

1. The Prophet (ص) said, "Whoever curses ʹAlī curses me."[1583]

2. The Prophet (ص) said, "Whoever curses ʹAlī curses me, and whoever curses me curses Allāh, the oft-high."[1584]

3. Abū ʹAbd Allāh al-Jadalī said: I entered upon Umm Salamah. She asked me, "Is the Messenger of Allāh (ص) cursed among you?" I said, "I seek refuge with Allāh from such a thing." She said, "I heard the Messenger of Allāh (ص) say, 'Whoever curses ʹAlī has indeed cursed me.'"[1585]

[1575] Qur`ān 9:29.
[1576] Manāqib Ibn Mughāzilī #76.
[1577] Faḍā`il Ḥanbal #1089; Kanz al-ʹUmmāl #36394; Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:123; Fayḍ al-Qadīr #8266.
[1578] Manāqib Ibn Mughāzilī #94.
[1579] Qur`ān 33:53.
[1580] Qur`ān 9:61.
[1581] Qur`ān 33:57.
[1582] Qur`ān 33:69.
[1583] Majmaʹ al-Zawā`id #14740 (certifies those in the chain of transmission as trustworthy); Tārīkh al-Khulafā` 154.
[1584] Mustadrak Ḥākim #4616; Musnad Ḥanbal #26791; Jāmiʹ al-Ṣaghīr Suyūṭī #8736; Kanz al-ʹUmmāl #32903, #32713; Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:122.
[1585] Mustadrak Ḥākim #4615 (certifies the tradition as authentic); Musnad Ḥanbal #26791; Faḍā`il Ḥanbal #1011; Sunan al-Kubrā Nasā`ī #8476; Khaṣā`iṣ Nasā`ī 99; Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:123; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:391.

4. Abū ʹAbd Allāh al-Bajalī said: Umm Salamah asked me, "Is there one among you who curses the Messenger of Allāh (ص) on the pulpit?" I said, "I seek refuge to Allāh [from such a thing]!" She said, "I bear witness that the Messenger of Allāh (ص) loved [ʹAlī]."[1586]

5. A person from Syria cursed ʹAlī in the presence of [ʹAbd Allāh] ibn ʹAbbās. Ibn ʹAbbās hit him with a pebble and said, "O enemy of Allāh! You have harassed the Messenger of Allāh (ص) [and the Qurʾān says], 'Allāh curses those who harass Allāh and His Messenger (ص) in this world and in the hereafter, and He will prepare a humiliating punishment for them.'[1587] Were the Messenger of Allāh (ص) alive, you would have harassed him [by what you said]."[1588]

6. Ibn ʹAbbās passed by a gathering of the Quraysh while they were cursing (sabb) ʹAlī... He asked, "Which of you is the curser of Allāh?" They said, "Subḥān Allāh! Whoever curses Allāh has indeed become a pagan (mushrik)." He asked, "Which of you is the curser of the Messenger of Allāh (ص)?" They said, "Subḥān Allāh! Whoever curses the Prophet has indeed become a disbeliever (kāfir)." He asked, "Which of you has cursed ʹAlī?" They said, "Actually, this [man] was just doing it." He said, "I bear witness by Allāh that I heard the Messenger of Allāh (ص) say, 'Whoever curses ʹAlī has cursed me, whoever curses me has cursed Allāh, and whoever curses Allāh will be cast by Allāh [into the fire] nose-first.'"[1589]

ʹAlī (ع) was Cursed During the Umayyad Caliphate

Through most of the Umayyad caliphate, the cursing of ʹAlī (ع) was mandated and people who did not comply were subject to punishment or execution. The books of history and tradition are full of accounts of these events and these facts are not really considered controversial. However, one may occasionally find Salafīs today trying to deny this fact because they try very hard to glorify the Umayyads, whom they consider among the early generations of Islām, and particularly Muʹāwīyah, whom they consider a venerable companion. For the sake of brevity and since this topic is addressed in greater detail elsewhere in this book,[1590] we will only use as examples two traditions from Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim:

Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim Tradition 1

> Sahl ibn Saʹd reported that a person from the offspring of Marwān was appointed as the governor of Madīnah. He called Sahl ibn Saʹd and ordered him to abuse ʹAlī. Sahl refused to do that. [The governor] said to him, "If you do not agree to it, [at least] say, 'May Allāh curse Abū Turāb (the father of dust, a title for ʹAlī).'"[1591]

Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim Tradition 2

[1586] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:391.
[1587] Qurʾān 33:57.
[1588] Mustadrak Ḥākim #4618 (certifies the tradition as authentic); Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, verse 33:57.
[1589] Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:122-3; Kifāyah al-Ṭālib 82-3, chapter 10.
[1590] Refer to chapter 76.
[1591] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #31.5924.

> ´Āmir ibn Sa´d ibn Abī Waqqāṣ reported on the authority of his father that Mu´āwīyah ibn Abī Sufyān appointed Sa´d as the governor and said, "What prevents you from abusing Abū Turāb (´Alī)?" whereupon he said: It is because of three things that I remember Allāh's Messenger having said about him that I would not abuse him. If I even found one of those three [qualities to be present in] me, it would be more dear to me than [all] the red camels. I heard what Allāh's Messenger said about ´Alī as he left him behind in one of his campaigns (i.e. Tabūk). ´Alī said to him, "Allāh's Messenger, you leave me behind along with women and children?!" Thereupon Allāh's Messenger said to him, "Aren't you satisfied with being unto me as Aaron was to Moses but with this exception that there is no prophethood after me?" And I [also] heard him say on the Day of Khaybar, "I will certainly give this standard to a person who loves Allāh and His Messenger and Allāh and His Messenger love him too." We had been anxiously waiting for [the standard], when [the Prophet] said, "Call ´Alī." He was called and his eyes were inflamed. He applied saliva to his eyes and handed over the standard to him, and Allāh gave him victory. [The third occasion was] when the [following] verse was revealed: "Let us summon our children and your children."[1592] Allāh's Messenger called ´Alī, Fāṭimah, Ḥasan, and Ḥusayn, and said, "O Allāh, they are my family."[1593]

These two traditions, which barely scrape the tip of the iceberg of Umayyad atrocities against the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) and their devoted followers, show that virtually all of the Prophet's (ص) companions and their successors (tābi´īn) participated in cursing ´Alī (ع) to the point that if someone did not curse him, he would be summoned to offer an explanation. When one considers the extent to which the mass cursing of ´Alī (ع) took place and the fact that relating any virtue for ´Alī (ع) was tantamount to blasphemy, it is truly miraculous that accounts of ´Alī's (ع) virtues have survived. As Allāh says, "They intend to put out Allāh's light by their mouths, but verily Allāh will complete His light even if the disbelievers detest it."[1594]

The Prophet (ص) is at War with the Enemies of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع)

The Prophet (ص) told ´Alī, Fāṭimah, Ḥasan, and Ḥusayn (ع), "I am at war with whoever is at war with you and I am at peace with whoever is at peace with you." This widely accepted and widely narrated tradition appears in Sunan Tirmidhī,[1595] Sunan Ibn Mājah,[1596] Mustadrak Ḥākim,[1597] Musnad Ḥanbal,[1598] Mu´jam al-Kabīr Ṭabarānī,[1599] Mu´jam al-Ṣaghīr Ṭabarānī,[1600] Kanz al-´Ummāl,[1601] Tārīkh Baghdād,[1602] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr,[1603] Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr,[1604] Majma´ al-Zawā`id,[1605] Dhakhā`ir al-´Uqbā,[1606]

1592. Qur`ān 3:61.
1593. Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #31.5915.
1594. Qur`ān 61:8.
1595. Sunan Tirmidhī #3870.
1596. Sunan Ibn Mājah #145.
1597. Mustadrak Ḥākim #4713-4.
1598. Musnad Ḥanbal #9696.
1599. Mu´jam al-Kabīr Tabarānī 3:40, 5:184.
1600. Mu´jam al-Ṣaghīr Ṭabarānī #767.
1601. Kanz al-´Ummāl #34159, #34164.
1602. Tārīkh Baghdād #3582 (Tulayd ibn Sulaymān).
1603. Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 3:248, 8:40.
1604. Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, verse 33:33.
1605. Majma´ al-Zawā`id #14989-90.
1606. Dhakhā`ir al-´Uqbā 23, 25.

Usd al-Ghābah,[1607] Iṣābah,[1608] Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah,[1609] and many other Sunnī sources. This tradition clearly shows that those who went to war against the Ahl al-Bayt (ع), including ʿĀʾishah, Ṭalḥah, Zubayr, Muʿāwīyah, and Yazīd, as well as those who joined them were indeed going to war against the Prophet (ص) himself.

The Claim that Sunnīs Love the Ahl al-Bayt (ع)

It is common for Sunnīs, particularly when confronted by the Shīʿah with questions about their love for the Ahl al-Bayt (ع), to claim that they do love the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) and do hate their enemies. This, of course, is not true because they do not hate ʿĀʾishah, Muʿāwīyah, and their likes, and their love for ʿAlī, Fāṭimah, Ḥasan, Ḥusayn, and the purified members of the progeny of Ḥusayn (ع) amounts to a generic love they have for all the companions. Although it is true that some Sunnī scholars were killed for their support of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع), the Sunnī religion was formed such as to include the words of the enemies of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع), while shunning the words of their loyal supporters. As such, being a "Shīʿah" or partisan of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) is, to this day, considered a reason for Sunnī scholars to reject someone's traditions, whereas open hatred towards the Ahl al-Bayt (ع), even if it is to the point of appending lies to them, is apparently not. It is no surprise that Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī is filled with the traditions of Abū Hurayrah, ʿĀʾishah, and ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar, as they were the leading opponents of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) among the companions. This same tendency to select traditions from the enemies of the Ahl al-Bayt appears in regards to Sunnī narrators of tradition from later generations as well. Examples abound, but for the sake of brevity only two examples will be cited here.[1610]

Ḥarīz ibn ʿUthmān

Ibn Ḥajar said in regards to Ḥarīz ibn ʿUthmān, "[He is] one proved to be truthful but he is accused of naṣb."[1611] Dhahabī called him "a pious, knowledgeable memorizer [of the Qurʾān and ḥadīth],"[1612] but admitted that, "He is accused of naṣb."[1613] Naṣb is the act of cursing ʿAlī (ع) or other members of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع), and those who commit naṣb are referred to as Nāṣibī. The following are what we know about this man according to Ibn Ḥajar:[1614]

1. Bukhārī, Tirmidhī, Nasāʾī, Ibn Mājah, and Abū Dāwūd have related traditions from him.
2. Numerous Sunnī scholars have praised and glorified him with the most flattering of remarks.
3. Muʿādh ibn Muʿādh said, "I do not know that I have seen anyone in Syria more virtuous than him."

[1607] Usd al-Ghābah 5:367 #7184 (Fāṭimah bint Rasūl Allāh).
[1608] Iṣābah 4:2598 #11579 (Fāṭimah al-Zahrāʾ).
[1609] Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:154.
[1610] For a more detailed discussion of this topic and numerous other examples, refer to the article entitled, "Sunnī Myth of Love and Adherence to the Ahl al-Bayt," in www.answering-ansar.org.
[1611] Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb #1184 (Ḥarīz ibn ʿUthmān).
[1612] Sīyar Aʿlām al-Nubalāʾ 7:79 (Ḥarīz ibn ʿUthmān).
[1613] Sīyar Aʿlām al-Nubalāʾ 7:80 (Ḥarīz ibn ʿUthmān).
[1614] Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb vol 2 #436 (Ḥarīz ibn ʿUthmān).

4. Abū Ḥātim said, "I do not know anyone in Syria better established [as being truthful] (athbat) than him."

5. Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal said, "He is trustworthy (thiqah)! He is trustworthy! He is trustworthy!" When a number of names were mentioned, he said, "There is none among them like Ḥarīz. There is no one better established [as being truthful] (athbat) than him." He also said, "His traditions are reliable, but he would attack ʿAlī."

6. He was a Nāṣibī who hated ʿAlī (ع). Among what is reported of him is that: (1) "He was a Sufyānī (i.e. supporter of the early Umayyads)." (2) "He would attack ʿAlī." (3) "He would cite faults for ʿAlī." (4) "He would cite faults for ʿAlī and defame him, [yet] they would relate traditions from him and reason based on his [opinions] and not abandon him." (5) He would say, "I do not like ʿAlī [because] he killed my [fore]fathers [in the Battle of Ṣiffīn]." (6) During a trip to Mecca, "he would insult ʿAlī and curse him." (7) Yaḥyā ibn Ṣāliḥ said, "I prayed the morning prayers with him for seven years, and he would never leave the mosque without cursing ʿAlī seventy times." (8) Ibn Ḥibbān said, "He would curse ʿAlī seventy times in the morning and seventy times at night. When he was asked about this, he said, 'He was the one who chopped off the heads of my fathers and forefathers.'" (9) He would say, "What people relate in terms of the Prophet saying to ʿAlī, 'You are to me as Aaron was to Moses,' is true except that the one who heard [the Prophet] erred, as [he actually] said, 'You are only to me as Qārūn was to Moses.'"

This man was clearly a Nāṣibī, as he openly hated and cursed ʿAlī (ع). As such, according to prophetic traditions, he was a hypocrite and the enemy of the Prophet (ص) and Allāh. Yet, he has been praised and glorified by the Sunnī experts of ḥadīth and his traditions are transmitted in the most authentic of Sunnī sources, including Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī. This is despite the fact that he hated ʿAlī (ع) so much that he appended an obvious lie to the Prophet (ص), claiming that the Prophet (ص) said, "ʿAlī is to me as Qārūn was to Moses." According to the Qurʾān, "Qārūn was of the tribesmen of Moses but rebelled against them."[1615] For Ḥarīz to claim such a thing about ʿAlī (ع) and then append that lie to the Prophet (ص) is proof that he was a liar and an inventor of tradition, and not the least bit trustworthy. The fact that Sunnī scholars have considered him the most trustworthy and reliable of the narrators of prophetic traditions shows that they do not consider it a problem to append a lie to the Prophet (ص), as long as the lie is against the Ahl al-Bayt (ع).

These facts clearly reveal the Sunnī double-standard in three ways. First, the Sunnī scholars criticize the Shīʿah because of their criticisms of Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, ʿUthmān, and select others among the companions. Yet, they don't appeared troubled by Ḥarīz ibn ʿUthmān spending his days and nights cursing ʿAlī (ع). Second, the Sunnī scholars reject traditions related by the Shīʿah of the Ahl al-Bayt in support of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع), assuming that they were all liars, while they consider the enemies of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) to have been the most truthful of mankind. Third, if anyone were to curse Abū Bakr seventy times in the morning and seventy times at night, his traditions would be rejected outright by the Sunnī scholars, yet if someone were to curse ʿAlī (ع) seventy times in the morning and seventy times at night, it would not be a problem at all as far as accepting his traditions go. Dhahabī said in this regards, "If one is a complete extremist Rāfiḍite, critical of Abū Bakr and ʻUmar and denouncing them, the [traditions they transmit] cannot serve as the basis for [religious] reasoning."[1616] As such, these "scholars" reject the traditions of the righteous believers who are critical of Abū Bakr and ʻUmar, while they formulate their religious beliefs based on the traditions of known liars who openly express hatred towards the Ahl al-Bayt (ع).

[1615] Qurʾān 28:76.

ʻIkrimah Mawlā ʻAbd Allāh ibn ʻAbbās

The fact that ʻIkrimah, the freedman of Ibn ʻAbbās, was a known liar was discussed briefly in chapter 14. Yet, Dhahabī states in Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb, "ʻIkrimah Abū ʻAbd Allāh the mawlā of Ibn ʻAbbās is of Birbir origin. He is proved to be trustworthy and knowledgeable to the interpretation (tafsīr) of the Qur`ān."[1617] According to Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb, we know the following about this man:[1618]

1. All six of the Sunnī ṣiḥāḥ sittah have related traditions from him.

2. He related traditions from Ibn ʻAbbās, ʻAlī (ع), Ḥasan (ع), Abū Hurayrah, Ibn ʻUmar, Muʻāwīyah, ʻĀ`ishah, and others.

3. Three hundred people narrated traditions from him.

4. He has been praised by numerous Sunnī scholars, including Shaʻbī who said, "No one remains who is more knowledgeable to the Book of Allāh than ʻIkrimah." He has been considered as being among the four most knowledgeable of the successors (tābiʻīn), along with Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, Saʻīd ibn Jubayr, and ʻAṭā`. When he died, people said, "The most knowledgeable of people has died." Bukhārī said, "There is not a single one of our companions (i.e. Sunnī scholars) who does not reason based on ʻIkrimah's [traditions]." Indeed, there are many other positive comments about and flattering endorsements of him by Sunnī scholars, and it would take up unnecessary space to include them all here.

5. Mujāhid and Ibn Jubayr learned Qur`ānic commentary from him, and he was never questioned about a verse of the Qur`ān except that he would provide a commentary on it.

6. Yet, he had numerous weaknesses as a transmitter of tradition: (1) He acknowledged that people called him a liar during his lifetime. (2) He would hear a tradition from one person, but when he was asked about it later, he would attribute it to another person (i.e. he performed tadlīs). (3) Ibn ʻUmar told Nāfiʻ, his freedman who narrated numerous traditions from him, "Fear Allāh! Woe be upon you, O Nāfiʻ! Do not append lies to me the way ʻIkrimah appends lies to Ibn ʻAbbās." (4) Saʻīd ibn Musayyab told his slave Bard, "O Bard! Do not append lies to me the way ʻIkrimah appends lies to Ibn ʻAbbās." (5) ʻAlī ibn ʻAbd Allāh ibn ʻAbbās said, "He would append lies to my father." (6) Saʻīd ibn Musayyab called him a "filthy liar." (7) ʻAṭā` said, "ʻIkrimah lied." (8) Yaḥyā ibn Saʻīd al-Anṣārī said, "He was a liar." (9) A number of scholars of tradition, including Mālik, did not like to relate traditions from him and did not

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[1616] Siyar Aʻlām al-Nubalā` 1:59..

[1617] Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb #4673 (ʻIkrimah Abū ʻAbd Allāh mawlā Ibn ʻAbbās).

[1618] Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb vol 7 #476 (ʻIkrimah Abū ʻAbd Allāh mawlā Ibn ʻAbbās).

consider him trustworthy (thiqah). (10) Abū ʿAbd Allāh said, "ʿIkrimah's traditions are shaky (muḍṭarib al-ḥadīth)." (11) Ayyūb said, "He is of low intelligence (qalīl al-ʿaql)." (12) Ibrāhīm said, "I saw ʿIkrimah and asked him about the phrase, 'al-baṭshah al-kubrā,'[1619] and he said, '[It is] the Day of Judgment.' I told him it was the Day of Badr. I heard that when he was asked about this [verse] later, he said it was the Day of Badr." (13) Ṭāwūs said, "I wish that the mawlā of Ibn ʿAbbās would fear Allāh and stop relating [false] traditions from him." (14) ʿIkrimah, after relating an odd tradition from Ibn ʿAbbās, said, "I said it based on my own opinion."

7. He was among the leaders of the Khārijītes, adopting the views of the Ṣufrīyyah as well as Najdah ibn ʿĀmir. All the Khārijītes in the northwestern Africa (al-Maghrib) and northern Africa (Ifrīqīyyah) adopted his teachings. He even went as far as claiming that Ibn ʿAbbās shared his Khārijīte beliefs.

As a Khārijīte, whom many Sunnī scholars in fact consider to be disbelievers, ʿIkrimah's core belief was that ʿAlī (ع) was a disbeliever. Regardless of this fact, most Sunnī scholars have had no problems relating traditions from him even though he is a well-known liar. All six of the ṣiḥāḥ sittah have related his traditions. In fact, Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī includes at least 116 traditions from him. The fact that the work bears the title "Ṣaḥīḥ (authentic)" is obviously an oxymoron when it contains so many traditions from this known liar. Of note, Muslim did not consider him reliable,[1620] so he only transmitted a single tradition of his from Ibn ʿAbbās. Unfortunately, ʿIkrimah's traditions fill the Sunnī books of Qurʾānic commentary, and many of the absurd commentaries ascribed to Ibn ʿAbbās have been narrated through him.

The double-standard of Sunnī scholars is very obvious here. If someone were of the belief that Abū Bakr was a disbeliever and actively spread that view throughout the world, Bukhārī and his cohorts would never have related his traditions even if he was reliable in relaying traditions and was not accused of being a liar. Yet, they have had no trouble relating the lies of this Khārijīte enemy of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) who was a well-known liar. Indeed, one can look through Sunnī works on narrator authentication (rijāl) and see a common pattern in which a tradition appearing to praise ʿAlī (ع) is cited, the tradition is labeled as unacceptable (munkar), and then the relater of the tradition is accused of being a Shīʿah and thereby disparaged as a definite liar. As such, the qualities of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) are cast aside, while definite lies that have been spread in enmity towards the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) are perpetuated. This method is similar to another method commonly employed by Sunnī polemicists, whereby they will take a tradition narrated through numerous chains of transmission, and then cite several of the weak chains, thereby concluding that they are all weak, even though they did not address the numerous authentic chains through which the same tradition has been narrated.

The reality is that liars have existed among the Sunnīs, Shīʿah, Khārijītes, Jews, Christians, and every other religion and sect, and very trustworthy individuals have existed in each sect as well. Although evaluation of the beliefs of the narrators of tradition is critical in uncovering potential bias, as far as accepting someone's traditions goes, their reliability also has to be evaluated independently of their beliefs. Most importantly, the requirement that they be reliable and truthful must never be sacrificed regardless of their beliefs.

1619. Qurʾān 44:16.
1620. Mīzān al-Iʿtidāl #5716 (ʿIkrimah mawlā Ibn ʿAbbās).

One particular problem for the Sunnīs is that much of their knowledge of Qur`ānic commentary has been based on the sayings of ʿIkrimah, Mujāhid, and Ibn ʿAbbās, and this fact is evident to anyone who reads through Sunnī works of Qur`ānic commentary. ʿIkrimah was a known Khārijīte liar, and the opinions of Ibn ʿAbbās are often cited either through ʿIkrimah or Mujāhid. However, according to Ibn Ḥajar, Mujāhid was a successor who typically left out intermediary sources when he quoted from a number of companions, including ʿAlī (ع), Ibn ʿAbbās, ʿĀ`ishah, Abū Hurayrah, ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAmr, Abū Saʿīd, Rāfiʿ ibn Khadīj, Saʿd, Muʿāwīyah, and Kaʿb ibn ʿUjrah. He did, however, take traditions directly from ʿIkrimah.[1621] As such, it appears likely that much of what he related from Ibn ʿAbbās was through ʿIkrimah, and therefore his own words of commentary became based on the teachings of ʿIkrimah, thereby introducing a significant Khārijīte element into the entire science of Sunnī Qur`ānic commentary, lacing their commentaries with antipathy to the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) whom ʿIkrimah despised.

[1621] Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb vol 10 #68 (Mujāhid ibn Jabr al-Makkī Abū al-Ḥajjāj al-Makhzūmī).

Chapter 23

The Khums of Khaybar and the Fay` of Fadak

After the Muslim victory in the Battle of Khaybar, the Prophet (ص) entered a treaty with the Jews of Khaybar. According to this treaty, their lands would belong to the Muslims. The Jews, per their own request, would remain and farm there and would be allowed to keep half of their annual produce, while giving the other half to the Muslims.[1622] The Jews of Khaybar remained there in accordance with this arrangement until ´Umar expelled them from the land during his caliphate.[1623] According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī,

> When Allāh's Apostle conquered Khaybar, he wanted to expel the Jews from it as its land became the property of Allāh, His Apostle, and the Muslims. Allāh's Apostle intended to expel the Jews, but they requested him to let them stay there on condition that they would do the labor and get half of the fruits. Allāh's Apostle told them, "We will let you stay on this condition as long as we wish." So, they kept on living there until ´Umar forced them to [leave].[1624]

Of what the Muslims would receive from Khaybar, one fifth would be taken by the Prophet (ص) as khums (one-fifth tax), while four-fifths would be divided among the Muslim warriors who had conquered the land.

Soon thereafter, the people of Fadak, who were Jews militarily protected by their alliances with the people of Khaybar, asked for peace on the same terms as those agreed with the people of Khaybar—their lands and half of their annual produce would belong to the Prophet (ص).[1625] Since the lands of Fadak were obtained diplomatically without any need for battle, the Muslim soldiers had no rights to that property. According to Ibn Hishām, "Khaybar was booty [to be held] by the Muslims, while Fadak was purely for the Messenger of Allāh (ص), for the [Muslims] did not send horses or riding camels [to conquer the land]."[1626] The reason the lands of Khaybar belonged to the Muslims while the lands of Fadak belonged specifically to the Prophet (ص) was that the Muslim troops had conquered the lands of Khaybar and therefore had rights to four-fifths of what was obtained thereof. In contrast, the lands of Fadak were not conquered by Muslim troops and they therefore had no rights to a share of that property.

The Laws of Khums (One-Fifth Tax)

[1622] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #3.36.485, #3.39.521-2, #3.39.524, #3.39.531, #3.50.881, #4.53.380; Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #10.3758, #10.3760-3763.

[1623] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #3.36.485, #3.39.531, #4.53.380; Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #10.3763.

[1624] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #3.39.531.

[1625] Sīrah Ibn Hishām 800; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 4:225; Tārīkh Ṭabarī 8:129.

[1626] Sīrah Ibn Hishām 800. Similar comments appear in Tārīkh Ṭabarī 8:129 and Haykal 371.

As for what Muslims conquer in war, such as in the Battle of Khaybar, the following verse of the Qur`ān applies:

> And know that of whatever you acquire, a fifth of it is for Allāh, and for the Messenger, and for the [Messenger's] near relatives, and the orphans, and the needy, and the wayfarer.[1627]

Ibn Kathīr said in his commentary on this verse,

> Allāh explains the spoils of war in detail, as He has specifically allowed it for this honorable nation (ummah) over all others. We should mention that the booty (ghanīmah) refers to war spoils captured from the disbelievers using armies and instruments of war. As for fay`, it refers to the property of the disbelievers that they forfeit in return for peace, what they leave behind when they die and have no one to inherit from them, jizyah (tribute tax), and kharāj (property tax). Allāh said, "And know that whatever of war booty that you may gain, verily one-fifth of it is assigned to Allāh," indicating that the one-fifth should be reserved and paid in full, whether it was little or substantial, even a yarn and needle. "And whosoever deceives [over the booty], he shall bring forth on the Day of Judgment that which he took [illegally]. Then every person shall be paid in full for what he has earned, and they shall not be dealt with unjustly."[1628]
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> Allāh's statement, "verily, one-fifth of it is assigned to Allāh and to the Messenger," was explained by Ibn ʻAbbās, as Ḍaḥḥāk reported from him, "Whenever the Messenger of Allāh sent an army, he used to divide the war booty they collected into five shares, reserving one-fifth after dividing it into five shares."
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> ...Ibn ʻAbbās said, "Allāh's statement, 'Verily, one-fifth of it is assigned to Allāh,' is inclusive [of the Messenger's share]..." So He addressed the share of Allāh and the share of His Messenger in the same statement. Ibrāhīm al-Nakhaʻī, Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafīyyah, Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, Shaʻbī, ʻAṭā` ibn Abī Rabāḥ, ʻAbd Allāh ibn Buraydah, Qatādah, Mughīrah, and several others all said that the share designated for Allāh and the Messenger is one and the same. Supporting this is what Imām al-Ḥāfiẓ Abū Bakr al-Bayhaqī recorded, with an authentic chain of narrators, that ʻAbd Allāh ibn Shaqīq said that a man from Bilqīn said, "I came to the Prophet when he was in Wādī al-Qurā inspecting a horse. I asked, `O Allāh's Messenger! What about the booty (ghanīmah)?' He said, 'Allāh's share is one fifth and four-fifths are for the army.' I asked, `None of them has more right to it than anyone else?' He said, 'No. Even if you remove an arrow that pierced your flank, you have no more right to it than your Muslim brother.'"[1629]

Clearly, there is no difference among Sunnīs and Shīʻah that the verse entitled the Prophet (ص) to separate out one fifth of the war booty. As Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim relates, "Khums was to be reserved [for Allāh and His Apostle] in all cases."[1630] Everyone agrees that the share of Allāh and His Prophet (ص) is one and the same share. However, even though Ibn Kathīr based much of his discussion of khums on the traditions of Ibn ʻAbbās, what

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1627. Qur`ān 8:41.
1628. Qur`ān 3:161.
1629. Tafsīr Ibn Kathīr, verse 8:41.
1630. Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #19.4337.

Ibn Kathīr left out is the fact that, according to Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, Ibn ʿAbbās claimed that the members of the Prophet's (ص) family had a specific right to the khums:

> Ibn ʿAbbās wrote to Yazīd ibn Hurmuz, "And you have written to me inquiring about khums as to whom it is meant for. We [kinsmen of the Messenger of Allāh] used to say it is for us, but those people (i.e. the caliphs) have denied it to us."[1631]

The Laws of Fay` (Property Obtained Non-Militarily)

In regards to fay`, or property obtained without war, the Qur`ān says,

> And any [property] of theirs that Allāh has assigned to His Messenger, since none of you spurred along any horses or riding camels to get it, Allāh gives His Messenger authority over whom He wishes, as Allāh has power over all things. Anything from the townsfolk that Allāh has assigned to His Messenger is for Allāh, and for the Messenger, and for the near relatives, and the orphans, and the needy, and the wayfarer, so that it will not be traded around merely among the rich men you have. Accept anything the Messenger gives you and keep away from anything he withholds from you. Fear Allāh, for Allāh is stern with punishment.[1632]

According to these verses, fay` is clearly for "Allāh, the Messenger, the near relatives, the orphans, the needy, and the wayfarer." There are two issues, one of control and ownership of the land or other property obtained as part of fay`, and the other of the uses for fay`. As for the uses of fay`, these verses are clear that fay` is to be used for sustenance for the Prophet (ص) and his family and for support of orphans, the needy, and the wayfarers. According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, ʿUmar described the way the Prophet (ص) used the fay` as follows: "And from this, Allāh's Apostle used to spend the yearly maintenance for his family, and whatever used to remain, he used to spend it where Allāh's property is spent."[1633]

According to Shīʿah traditions, the khums is divided into six portions—one for Allāh, one for the Messenger (ص), one for the near relatives, one for the orphans, one for the needy, and one for the wayfarers. The portions of Allāh and the Messenger (ص) belonged to the Prophet (ص) during his lifetime, and the portions of Allāh, the Messenger (ص), and the near relatives all belong to the rightful imām of the Ahl al-Bayt since the Prophet's (ص) death, for them to spend in the path of Allāh as they see fit. Furthermore, the orphans, the needy, and the wayfarers supported from half of this property must be from the descendants of the Prophet (ص) or the Banū Hāshim, as zakāt is forbidden for them. If there is property left over from the half belonging to the orphans, the needy, and the wayfarers, this portion becomes the property of the Prophet (ص) and after him the imām, whereas if that half is insufficient to provide for the orphans, the needy, and the wayfarers, the Prophet (ص) and imām are to spend their half on their provisions.[1634]

It is clear that the Prophet (ص) was in charge of the entirety of the khums of the spoils of war as well as the entirety of the fay` and that he would spend it on its proper uses as he saw fit. The main issue is over ownership of the property that belongs to Allāh, His

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1631. Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #19.4456.
1632. Qur`ān 59:6-7.
1633. Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.59.367.
1634. Tafsīr al-Mīzān of ʿAllāmah Ṭabāṭabā`ī, verse 8:41.

Prophet (ص), and the near relatives (i.e. the Ahl al-Bayt [ع]) after the death of the Prophet (ص). Indeed, mentioning close relatives in the verses of fay` and khums would be absurd in any interpretation other than the Prophet's (ص) close relatives—i.e. his Ahl al-Bayt (ع). If the near relatives of the Prophet (ص) were poor and needy, then they would get a share according to this verse. And if they were wealthy, they would not receive any share for personal wealth accumulation, as the verse of fay` says, "it will not be traded around merely among the rich men you have." Rather, their inclusion in these verses is for the issue of ownership and control of the property alongside Allāh and His Messenger (ص).

It is clear that the "near relatives" in the verse of fay` refers to the near relatives of the Prophet (ص) and not to the relatives of the Muslim fighters because fay` refers to property that was not conquered but obtained diplomatically and therefore the Muslim fighters had no rights to the fay`. Indeed, the verse makes it clear by stating that "Allāh gives His Messenger authority over whom He wishes," reflecting that all authority with these properties was to belong to the Prophet (ص) and not to the Muslims at large.

It should also be noted that the use of the word "the close ones (al-qurbā)" in the verses of khums and fay` parallels the use of the word "the close ones (al-qurbā)" in the verse of prophetic reward.[1635] As discussed in the previous chapter, "the close ones" refers specifically to the Prophet's Ahl al-Bayt (ع), namely ´Alī, Fāṭimah, Ḥasan, and Ḥusayn (ع) among the companions. As such, the near relatives in the verses of khums and fay` are the Ahl al-Bayt of the Prophet (ص).

The Source of Disagreement Among the Shī´ah and Sunnīs

Upon the Prophet's (ص) death, Abū Bakr took away the lands of Fadak under the pretense that it was the Prophet's (ص) personal property and that it ought to be taken up by the caliph as it belonged to the Muslims as opposed to the Prophet (ص) and his family. However, the entire purpose of the verses of fay` was to establish that this land must not belong to the Muslims as would four-fifths of land conquered by force, but rather to Allāh, His Messenger (ص), and the Ahl al-Bayt (ع). Of note, the confiscation of Fadak by Abū Bakr and ´Umar will be discussed in more detail in chapter 49, so the details of that topic will not be addressed here.

Both Sunnīs and Shī´ah agree that the uses of khums and fay` include sustenance for the Prophet's (ص) family. According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī,

> Fāṭimah and ´Abbās came to Abū Bakr, claiming their inheritance of the Prophet's land of Fadak and his share from Khaybar. Abū Bakr said, "I heard the Prophet saying, 'Our property is not inherited, and whatever we leave is to be given in charity. But the family of Muḥammad can take their sustenance from this property.'"[1636]

The reason their sustenance would come from the khums and fay` is twofold: (1) as accepted by all Muslims, the Banū Hāshim cannot receive zakāt,[1637] whereas they can be sustained from the proceeds of khums and fay`; and (2) the Prophet (ص) actually gave of the khums to his family during his lifetime. As an example, Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī and Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim relate the following:

[1635] Qur`ān 42:23.

[1636] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.59.368.

[1637] For example, refer to Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, book 5, chapter 46, is entitled, "It is forbidden to pay zakāt to the Messenger of Allāh and Banū Hāshim and Banū [´Abd] al-Muṭṭalib," and contains several traditions (#5.2339-2346).

> ʿAlī said, "There fell to my lot a she-camel out of the spoils of war on the Day of Badr, and Allāh's Messenger gave me [another] she-camel on that day out of the khums."[1638]

Thus, ʿAlī (ع) was provided two shares—one from the general four-fifths share of the Muslim booty, and an additional share from the portion that belonged to the Prophet's close relatives—i.e. the Ahl al-Bayt (ع). As such, the disagreement among the Shīʿah and Sunnī is solely over who is to be in control of these properties, particularly after the Prophet's (ص) death. According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī,

> After the death of Allāh's Apostle, Fāṭimah... used to ask Abū Bakr for her share from the property of Allāh's Apostle which he left at Khaybar and Fadak, and his property at Madīnah. Abū Bakr refused to give her that property... ʿUmar gave the Prophet's property at Madīnah to ʿAlī and ʿAbbās, but he withheld the properties of Khaybar and Fadak in his custody and said, "These two properties are the ṣadaqah (charity) which Allāh's Apostle used to use for his expenditures and urgent needs. Now their management is to be entrusted to the ruler."[1639]

There are three types of property listed in this tradition that were subjects of dispute: (1) khums, in particular that left from Khaybar, which comprised one fifth of the lands and one tenth of the annual produce of Khaybar; (2) fayʾ, in particular the entirety of the lands taken at Fadak and half of its annual produce; and (3) properties held personally by the Prophet (ص) in Madīnah. Although the nature of the properties held in Madīnah are not clarified here, it may be referring to the properties obtained from expelling the Banū Naḍīr,[1640] or other properties that he held as khums or fayʾ. Fāṭimah (ع) claimed her share of all three of these, but Abū Bakr and ʿUmar claimed control over all these properties. They did not disagree over their use for sustenance of the Prophet's (ص) family, as Abū Bakr allowed them to sustain themselves from these properties, but the caliphs withheld ownership rights and day-to-day control over the properties and the disposal of their incomes, which were the main subjects of dispute. Fāṭimah (ع), ʿAlī (ع) and ʿAbbās clearly believed that these belonged to the Prophet's (ص) family, while Abū Bakr and ʿUmar wanted the caliph to control the properties in question.

Abū Bakr and ʿUmar seemed to forget that the verses of khums and fayʾ have no reference to caliphs having a right of ownership over such properties. Rather, they belong to Allāh, His Messenger (ص), and the Prophet's (ص) close family. Furthermore, the verse is very explicit in differentiating those who were to have control and ownership of the property (i.e. Allāh, the Prophet [ص], and the Ahl al-Bayt [ع]) from those who were to benefit from it if they qualified (i.e. the orphans, the needy, and the wayfarers). Indeed, the first group receives a fixed share, while individuals in the latter group only receive a portion if they remain qualified. For example, an orphan cannot receive khums once he becomes an adult, a poor person cannot receive khums once he attains sufficient wealth, and a wayfarer cannot receive khums once he returns home. In contrast, Allāh, the Prophet (ص), and the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) have fixed and unqualified rights to their shares. As such, both the verses of khums and fayʾ add "li", which means "for", before Allāh

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[1638] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #23.4881; Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #4.53.324.

[1639] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #4.53.325.

[1640] Futūḥ al-Buldān 18 #60 states that the property of Banū Naḍīr was fayʾ and belonged exclusively to the Prophet (ص).

(lillāh), the Prophet (lil-rasūl), and the close ones (lidhil qurbā), while omitting it before the orphans, the needy, and the wayfarers. This emphasizes the fact that these properties indeed belong to Allāh, the Prophet (ص), and the Ahl al-Bayt (ع), while a portion of it is to be expended on the orphans, the needy, and the wayfarers. The verse regarding fay` ends with this stern warning:

> Accept anything the Messenger gives you and keep away from anything he withholds from you. Fear Allāh, for Allāh is stern with punishment.

The lands of Fadak were withheld from the Muslims by Allāh and His Prophet (ص), so the subsequent seizure of the land by the caliphs was clearly against this verse of the Qur`ān, and Allāh warned those who illegitimately took possession of those lands about Allāh's stern punishment.

ʽAlī (ع) Believed that He Had Rights to the Khums During the Prophet's (ص) Lifetime

Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī relates an event in which ʽAlī (ع) was sent to collect khums on behalf of the Prophet (ص), and took possession of a slave girl from the khums, thus upsetting the Prophet's (ص) companions:

> Narrated Buraydah: The Prophet sent ʽAlī to Khālid [ibn Walīd] to bring the khums [of the booty] and I hated ʽAlī, as ʽAlī had taken a bath. I said to Khālid, "Don't you see this (i.e. ʽAlī's action)?" When we reached the Prophet I mentioned that to him. He said, "O Buraydah! Do you hate ʽAlī?" I said, "Yes." He said, "Do you hate him, for he deserves more than that from the khums."[1641]

This shows that a portion of the khums belonged to ʽAlī (ع) even during the Prophet's (ص) lifetime, otherwise he would not be able to partake in the khums before being assigned parts thereof by the Prophet (ص). If a portion of the khums was not automatically his, his taking possession of this slave girl would be illegitimate and the Prophet (ص) would have had to admonish him instead of admonishing Buraydah. Moreover, the Prophet (ص) confirmed that ʽAlī's (ع) rights to partake of the khums was much greater than what he had actually taken thereof. This tradition also shows that the Prophet's (ص) companions hated the fact that the Prophet's (ص) and his Ahl al-Bayt (ع) had rights to the khums which they were deprived of. This explains why they quickly took away the Ahl al-Bayt's (ع) rights to the khums and fay` upon the Prophet's (ص) death with little objection except from the Ahl al-Bayt (ع).

ʽUthmān Tried to Claim a Share of the Khums During the Lifetime of the Prophet (ص)

The Battle of Khaybar was the first time in which booty of significant value fell into the Prophet's (ص) hands. Although the companions received four-fifths of the booty, it bothered them to no end that the Prophet (ص) gave a portion of the remaining fifth of it to his own family and none of that portion to the Muslim fighters. Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī has related the event as follows:

> Narrated Jubayr ibn Muṭʽim: ʽUthmān ibn ʽAffān and I went to the Prophet and said, "You have given the Banū ʽAbd al-Muṭṭalib from the khums of Khaybar's

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[1641] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.59.637.

> booty and have left us [out] in spite of the fact that we and the Banū ʹAbd al-Muṭṭalib are similarly related to you." The Prophet said, "The Banū Hāshim and the Banū ʹAbd al-Muṭṭalib only are one and the same." So the Prophet did not give anything to the Banū ʹAbd Shams (ʹUthmān's family) and the Banū Nawfal.[1642]

ʹUthmān clearly was not satisfied with what Allāh had given him and was trying to get some of the Prophet's (ص) family's share of the khums and give it to his own family. The Prophet (ص) made it extremely clear that no one had any right to the khums except for the Banū Hāshim, which is the same as the Banū ʹAbd al-Muṭṭalib because ʹAbd al-Muṭṭalib was the only one among Hāshim's children to provide him a lasting line of descent. As such, the Prophet's (ص) companions had to wait for the Prophet (ص) to die to usurp this property. It is truly amazing that despite this tradition's wide acceptance, there are those who think that ʹUthmān and the caliphs before and after him who were not from the Banū Hāshim had a right to the khums after the Prophet's (ص) death. Even if taken in the most narrow sense, this tradition proves that: (1) The khums of Khaybar belonged strictly to the Prophet's (ص) family during his lifetime; (2) Abū Bakr, ʹUmar, and ʹUthmān erred by taking it away from them as it belonged to them during the Prophet's (ص) lifetime; and (3) ʹUthmān erred the most because he had been specifically told that the khums belonged only to the Banū Hāshim and that the Banū ʹAbd Shams had no rights to the khums, yet he generously gave the khums to his own relatives from the Banū ʹAbd Shams during his caliphate.[1643]

The Khums of Other Property

The verse of khums is extremely general in scope when it says, "And know that of whatever you acquire, a fifth of it is for Allāh..."[1644] Whereas the Shīʹah claim that the khums belongs to any profit or acquired property, the Sunnīs claim that khums pertains only to booty of war. The general nature of khums and its absolute necessity as a condition of Islām are reflected in the following tradition in Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī:

> When the delegation of the tribe of ʹAbd al-Qays came to the Prophet... he ordered them to believe in Allāh alone and asked them, "Do you know what is meant by believing in Allāh alone?" They replied, "Allāh and His Apostle know better." Thereupon the Prophet said, "It means: (1) to testify that none has the right to be worshipped but Allāh and that Muḥammad is Allāh's Apostle; (2) to offer prayers perfectly; (3) to pay zakāt; (4) to observe fast during the month of Ramaḍān; and (5) to pay khums."[1645]

This tradition, which appears ten times in Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, makes it clear that payment of khums is a fundamental practice of Islām and a condition of faith. In fact, the same traditions in Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī make it clear that this tribe was very weak to the point of being unknown, and that they could not even travel except in the forbidden months due to their weakness:

> When the delegation of the tribe of ʹAbd al-Qays came to the Prophet, the Prophet asked, "Who are the people? Who are the delegates?" They replied,

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[1642] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.59.538.

[1643] Refer to chapter 66.

[1644] Qurʹān 8:41.

[1645] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #1.2.50. Similarly, Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #1.3.87, #1.10.501, #2.23.482, #4.53.327, #4.56.713, #5.59.654-5, #8.73.195, #9.91.371, #9.93.645.

> "We are from the tribe of Rabī'ah." Then the Prophet said to them, "Welcome! O people! Neither will you have disgrace nor will you regret." They said, "O Allāh's Apostle! We cannot come to you except in the sacred month and there is the infidel tribe of Muḍar intervening between you and us."[1646]

This shows that this tribe was so weak that it was in no imminent position to obtain war booty due to its weakness. Rather, the reference had to be to paying khums of any profits they would acquire. Furthermore, if this tribe were to fight alongside the other Muslims, the Prophet (ص) or his designee would collect all the booty, divide out four fifths of it to the Muslim fighters, and retain one fifth of it for the Prophet (ص) as khums. As such, it would not befall on them to pay khums, as it would be taken from the spoils of war regardless. Therefore, the khums referred to here was clearly the khums of their surplus gains. Furthermore, it is clear that khums is not merely restricted to spoils of war, as the Prophet's (ص) saying, "In buried treasures there is khums," is widely narrated, appearing in numerous traditions and in all six of the Sunnī ṣiḥāḥ sittah.[1647] This proves that khums as referred to in the verse of the Qur`ān is not just limited to the spoils of war.

1646. Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #1.2.50.

1647. Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #3.40.545, #9.83.47, #9.83.48; Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #17.4239, #17.4242; Sunan Abū Dāwūd #1710, #4593; Sunan Ibn Mājah #2509-10; Sunan Nasā`ī #2494-8; Sunan Tirmidhī #642, #1377 (certifies both traditions as good-authentic [ḥasan ṣaḥīḥ]).

Chapter 24
The Battle of Mu`tah

In the year 8 A.H., the Prophet (ص) sent an army of approximately 3,000 men northwards to avenge the unprovoked assassination of a Muslim emissary at the hands of Byzantine-allied Arab tribes. The Prophet (ص) had sent Ḥārith ibn ʻUmayr al-Azdī to Buṣrā with a letter, but when he arrived in Mu`tah, Shuraḥbīl ibn ʻAmr killed him, making him the only delegate of the Prophet (ص) to ever be killed. In response, the Prophet (ص) sent a mission to Mu`tah.[1648] According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, the Prophet (ص) appointed Zayd ibn Ḥārithah as the commander of the army and said, "If Zayd is martyred, Jaʻfar ibn Abī Ṭālib should take over his position, and if Jaʻfar is martyred, ʻAbd Allāh ibn Rawāḥah should take over his position."[1649]

The Muslim army proceeded to an area east of the Jordan River, where they encountered a large army of 200,000 men comprised of allied Eastern Roman (Byzantine) and Arab forces. When the Muslims discovered the size of the enemy army, some wanted to wait for reinforcements, but ʻAbd Allāh ibn Rawāḥah scolded them for their timidity, saying, "Men, by Allāh, what you loathe is the very thing you came out to seek—martyrdom." So they marched onwards.[1650]

On the battlefield, all three designated commanders—Zayd, Jaʻfar and ʻAbd Allāh—were martyred in succession. According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, Jaʻfar had "over ninety wounds over his body caused by stabs or [arrow] shots,"[1651] and according to another Bukhārī tradition, "none of those wounds were on his back."[1652] This shows the valor with which Jaʻfar fought. However, after the three brave commanders designated by the Prophet (ص) were martyred, Khālid ibn Walīd took over command of the Muslim forces and fled back to Madīnah. According to Ṭabarī,

> The two sides met and fought. Zayd ibn Ḥārithah fought with the banner of the Messenger of Allāh until he perished among the enemy's javelins. Jaʻfar ibn Abī Ṭālib took up the banner and fought with it. When the fighting forced him into difficulties from which he could not extricate himself, he leaped from his sorrel mare, hamstrung it (showing his intention not to flee but rather to fight to the death), and fought the enemy until he was killed. Jaʻfar was the first Muslim to hamstring his horse in the time of Islām... When Jaʻfar was killed, ʻAbd Allāh ibn Rawāḥah took up the banner and advanced with it on horseback... Then he took up his sword, advanced, and fought until he was killed. Thābit ibn Arqam, of the Banū al-ʻAjlān, then took up the banner. He said, "O Muslims, agree on a

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[1648] Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 2:128; Iṣābah 1:326 #1461 (Ḥārith ibn ʻUmayr al-Azdī).

[1649] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.59.560. Similarly, Tārīkh Ṭabarī 8:152.

[1650] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 8:153-4.

[1651] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.59.560.

[1652] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.59.560.

> man from among yourselves!" They said, "You!" He said, "I cannot do it." So the people agreed on Khālid ibn Walīd. When he took the banner, he fended off the enemy and tried to deflect them (ḥāshā or khāshā). Then he withdrew and there was a withdrawal [by the enemy] from him, so that he got away with his forces.[1653]

Textual witnesses are divided as to whether the original word translated as "tried to deflect them" was ḥāshā or khāshā.[1654] The former means, "he tried to divert," whereas the latter means, "he was cautious or wary." In either case, Khālid ibn Walīd, upon taking command, figured out a way to retreat without being chased down and killed. As Ṭabarī put it, "After Khālid ibn Walīd withdrew with the men, he returned, bringing them back."[1655] In the meanwhile, when the Messenger of Allāh (ص) received word of the death of Ja'far, he said, "Last night Ja'far, with two wings whose forefathers were stained with blood, passed by among a band of angels."[1656]

The Muslim Soldiers were Criticized for Fleeing

For some time, the companions of the Prophet (ص) scolded those who had fled the battlefield to the point that some of the troopsmen would avoid the mosque because of fear of ridicule. According to Ṭabarī, "The people began to throw dust at the army, saying: Fleers in the way of Allāh!"[1657] Furthermore,

> Umm Salamah (the wife of the Prophet) said to the wife of Salamah ibn Hishām ibn Mughīrah, "Why don't I see Salamah attending worship with the Messenger of Allāh and with the Muslims?" "By Allāh," she replied, "he cannot leave the house! Every time he goes out, people shout, 'Did you flee in the way of Allāh?' So he has stayed in his house and does not go out."[1658]

Attempts to Fabricate Honors for Khālid ibn Walīd

Khālid ibn Walīd is generally held in high esteem among the Sunnīs. However, he had a rather troubling history both during and after the Prophet's lifetime. Several examples of his atrocities and disregard for Islāmic principles, as well as the Prophet's (ص) openly expressed displeasure with him are addressed later in this book.[1659] Even according to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, the Prophet (ص) pledged, "O Allāh! I am free from what Khālid ibn Walīd has done!"[1660] Yet, despite the Prophet's (ص) public renunciation of Khālid, there has been an attempt to create lofty virtues for this man.

In the Battle of Mu`tah, instead of fighting and seeking martyrdom as the three commanders before him had done, he fled the battlefield altogether. Yet, this has been distorted into some sort of proof of bravery. The following is a tradition in Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī from Anas ibn Mālik:

[1653] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 8:156-7.
[1654] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 8:157, footnote #666.
[1655] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 8:159.
[1656] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 8:158-9.
[1657] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 8:159.
[1658] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 8:160.
[1659] Refer to chapter 25 for Khālid's massacre of the Banū Judhīmah, to chapter 48 for his attack on Fāṭimah's house at the behest of Abū Bakr, to chapter 50 for his plot to assassinate 'Alī (ع) at the behest of Abū Bakr, to chapter 51 for his assassination of Sa'd ibn 'Ubādah, and to chapter 81 for a discussion of a tradition barring him from reviling the Prophet's (ص) companions.
[1660] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.59.628, #9.89.299.

> The Prophet had informed the people of the martyrdom of Zayd, Ja´far, and Ibn Rawāḥah before the news of their deaths reached [Madīnah]. The Prophet said, "Zayd took the flag and was martyred, then Ja´far took it and was martyred, and then Ibn Rawāḥah took it and was martyred." At that time the Prophet's eyes were shedding tears. He added, "Then the flag was taken by a sword amongst the swords of Allāh (i.e. Khālid) and Allāh made them (i.e. the Muslims) victorious."[1661]

This tradition appears correct up to where it says, "he added." Up to that point is an account of the Prophet (ص) informing his companions about the martyrdom of his army's commanders and his shedding tears for their deaths. The "he added..." part is the fabrication that Anas or one of the subsequent narrators added that is far from the truth, as it refers to Khālid as the Sword of Allāh, which is his fabricated title. What really shows the added sentence to be a lie is the final claim that, "Allāh made them victorious," presumably through Khālid's sword. Indeed, the battle was a tie at best, virtuous fighting by three men followed by disgraceful fleeing from the battlefield led by Khālid in reality, and a definitive defeat of the Muslim army at worst. This is evident by the fact that the Prophet's (ص) companions saw the battle as having ended with a disgraceful flight from the battlefield and that was the reason the returning soldiers heard humiliating remarks instead of congratulations upon their return to Madīnah. Furthermore, in introducing the Battle of Mu`tah, Ibn Isḥāq said, "[The Prophet] sent to Syria his forces which met with disaster in Mu`tah,"[1662] clearly labeling this battle as a disaster for the Muslims.

The fact that events like this can be turned into a virtue for the likes of Khālid ibn Walīd demonstrates the following facts: (1) such companions lacked any true virtue, thus requiring virtues to be fabricated for them even if that required turning vices into virtues; (2) there were no qualms about inventing virtues for such companions; (3) some scholars would go to any end to disseminate these obvious lies; (4) even when these lies were completely obvious, it would not stop some scholars from propagating them; and (5) "authentic" Sunnī sources such as Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī have been complicit in spreading these lies.

Indeed, Khālid ibn Walīd went even further, claiming that nine swords broke in his hand during this battle, presumably because of the ferocity of his fighting.[1663] Given the objective historical facts and the fact that this man fled from the battlefield, this is a highly doubtful claim. Indeed, some may argue that Khālid's retreat was neither a stratagem of war nor rejoining another part of the Muslim army on the same battlefield, and therefore fell within the scope of the following verse of the Qur`ān:

> O you who believe! When you meet the disbelievers in battle, never turn your backs to them. Whoever turns his back to them on such a day, unless it is a stratagem of war or a [strategic] retreat to a company, draws on himself the wrath of Allāh, and his abode will be hell, an evil refuge![1664]

It is impossible not to contrast Khālid to Ja´far ibn Abī Ṭālib. Ja´far faced the same odds as Khālid did, yet he fought valorously, receiving over ninety stab wounds on the front of his body while never even once turning his back on the enemy to receive a stab on his back. As such, for Ja'far will be two wings in heaven for his valor in battle and subsequent martyrdom.[1665]

[1661] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.59.561. Similarly, Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #2.23.338, #4.52.55, #4.52.298, #5.57.102.

[1662] Sīrah Ibn Isḥāq 532; Tārīkh Ṭabarī 8:152 (quoting Ibn Isḥāq).

[1663] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.59.564-5.

[1664] Qur`ān 8:15-16.

[1665] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.57.58.

Chapter 25
The Conquest of Mecca

Violation of the Treaty of Ḥudaybīyyah

Two of the clans in the vicinity of Mecca were the Banū Bakr and Banū Khuzā'ah. These two tribes had deep-rooted mutual hostility that commenced when a man under the protection of the Banū Bakr was killed by the Banū Khuzā'ah. The Banū Bakr retaliated by killing a man from the Banū Khuzā'ah. In return, the Banū Khuzā'ah avenged this by killing three men from the Banū Bakr.

In the Peace of Ḥudaybīyyah, it was agreed that any tribe could enter an alliance with either the Quraysh or the Muslims. The Banū Khuzā'ah entered an alliance with the Muslims and the Banū Bakr entered an alliance with the Meccans. The peace treaty of Ḥudaybīyyah brought a period of tranquility to the two tribes. Some of the people of the Banū Bakr, however, decided that the death of the three men killed by the Banū Khuzā'ah before the treaty of Ḥudaybīyyah must not go unavenged, so they set out and killed a member of the Banū Khuzā'ah. The Quraysh supported the Banū Bakr in this act, thereby violating the treaty of Ḥudaybīyyah. The Banū Khuzā'ah sent representatives to the Prophet (ص) to inform him of the violation of the treaty of Ḥudaybīyyah by the Quraysh and to ask for his help against the perpetrators, and the Prophet (ص) promised to aid them.[1666]

Abū Sufyān Tried to Appease Madīnah

Abū Sufyān, a leader of the pagans of Quraysh, feared that when news of the breaking of the treaty would reach the Muslims, they would attack Mecca, so he set out for Madīnah to see if he could find a way to appease the situation. He first went to the house of his daughter, Umm Ḥabībah, who was married to the Prophet (ص). Abū Sufyān found himself unwelcome there, so he left for the house of the Prophet (ص). There he asked for a renewal of the treaty, but the Prophet (ص) gave him no reply. Abū Sufyān then went to the houses of Abū Bakr and 'Umar but was unsuccessful at receiving any promises of forgiveness. Abū Sufyān found no one to help him, so he went to 'Alī (ع). Abū Sufyān said, "Intercede for us with the Messenger of Allāh." 'Alī (ع) replied, "By Allāh, I know of nothing that will be of any use to you. However, since you are the lord of the Banū Kinānah, go and make peace among the people, and then return to your country." So Abū Sufyān went and stood in the mosque and called out, "People, I hereby make peace among the people (i.e. grant them protection)." Then he mounted his camel and departed. When he returned to Mecca, they asked him about what had happened.

[1666] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 8:160-3.

After hearing the story, they said, "By Allāh, he did no more than play with you." He replied, "No, by Allāh, I found nothing else to do."[1667]

This answer of ʹAlī (ع) was proper because Abū Sufyān felt some security by giving the people protection, and thought that he might have defused tensions. Had Abū Sufyān been certain of a Muslim attack, he would have prepared an army to protect Mecca. Moreover, ʹAlī (ع) had him give protection to the Muslims, thus making it incumbent on him not to allow their blood to be shed. The reason the Prophet (ص) did not give Abū Sufyān an answer was that if he disclosed the fact that he had opted for war, Abū Sufyān would have raised an army, and if he said that he would accept peace once again, then he could not attack Mecca and avenge the blood of the Banū Khuzāʹah. ʹAlī (ع) made no promises, yet he gave Abū Sufyān some vague hope and got him to promise not to shed Muslim blood.

The Interception of the Letter to Mecca

When the Prophet (ص) ordered the Muslims to prepare an army, Ḥāṭib ibn Abī Baltaʹah wrote the Meccans a letter informing them of the preparations of the Muslims for battle. He gave the letter to a woman headed to Mecca and told her to give the letter to specific individuals there. He also told her to avoid the main road lest Muslims see her on the way and intercept the letter. Gabriel (ع) informed the Prophet (ص) of the letter and the fact that a woman was carrying it to Mecca. The Prophet (ص) then sent ʹAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib (ع) and Zubayr ibn ʹAwwām to intercept the letter. The two left Madīnah in search of the woman. They eventually found her and ordered her to produce the letter, but she denied being in possession of any letter. ʹAlī (ع) said, "I swear that the Messenger of Allāh did not lie!" and then told her that if she did not produce the letter, they would strip search her since he knew that she had it. She asked ʹAlī (ع) to turn away so she could take the letter out of her hair, where she had it concealed. She removed the letter and handed it over to ʹAlī (ع). ʹAlī (ع) and Zubayr then returned to Madīnah with the letter.[1668] According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī,

> [ʹAlī said:] Allāh's Apostle sent me, Zubayr, and Miqdād, saying, "Proceed until you reach Rawḍah Khākh where there is a lady carrying a letter, and take that [letter] from her." So we proceeded on our way with our horses galloping until we reached the Rawḍah, and there we found the lady and said to her, "Take out the letter." She said, "I have no letter." We said, "Take out the letter, or else we will take off your clothes." So she took it out of her braid, and we brought the letter to Allāh's Apostle.
>
> The letter was addressed from Ḥāṭib ibn Abī Baltaʹah to some pagans of Mecca, telling them about what Allāh's Apostle intended to do. Allāh's Apostle said, "O Ḥāṭib! What is this?" Ḥāṭib replied, "O Allāh's Apostle! Do not make a hasty decision about me. I was a person not belonging to Quraysh but I was an ally to them from outside and had no blood relation with them, and all the Emigrants who were with you have got their kinsmen [in Mecca] who can protect their families and properties. So I liked to do them a favor so that they might protect my relatives as I have no blood relation with them. I did not do this to renege from my religion (i.e. Islām), nor did I do it to choose heathenism after Islām."

[1667] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 8:164-5.

[1668] These events are related in Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 4:322-4; Sīrah Ibn Hishām 858; Sīrah Ibn Isḥāq 545; Tārīkh Ṭabarī 8:166-7; Tārīkh Yaʹqūbī 2:58; Musnad Ḥanbal #827; Mustadrak Ḥākim #5309.

> Allāh's Apostle said to his companions, "As regards [Ḥāṭib], he has told you the truth." ʹUmar said, "O Allāh's Apostle! Allow me to chop off the head of this hypocrite!" The Prophet said, "He has witnessed the Battle of Badr and what could tell you, perhaps Allāh looked at those who witnessed Badr and said, 'O the people of Badr, do what you like, for I have forgiven you.'"[1669]

Of course the last sentence is a fabricated tradition that was inserted into the end of the already distorted story that has replaced ʹAlī (ع) with the generic "we" throughout the account. It would be impossible for Allāh to tell those who fought at Badr to do as they pleased, as that would constitute enjoining evil, a concept completely in opposition to the Prophet's (ص) mission, which was to avert his companions from committing acts of sin. It would be impossible for any divine religion to say, "Do what you like"; even western liberalism isn't that liberal.

The Conquest of Mecca

The Prophet (ص) prepared an army of around ten thousand men and set out for Mecca on the tenth of Ramaḍān of the year 8 A.H. Coincidentally, the Prophet's (ص) uncle ʹAbbās and his family decided to emigrate to Madīnah at that time. On their way to Madīnah, they ran into the Muslim army. ʹAbbās remained in the army but told the rest of his family to proceed onwards to Madīnah.

When the Muslims camped in the vicinity of Mecca, Abū Sufyān and Budayl ibn Warqāʾ, while searching the area, noticed numerous large fires. Budayl said, "It must be the Banū Khuzāʹah who have come to take revenge from the Banū Bakr!" Abū Sufyān said, "The Banū Khuzāʹah is much too small too prepare such a magnificent army and to prepare so much fire."

In the meanwhile, ʹAbbās was concerned that if the Meccans did not come to the Prophet (ص) and ask for protection, they would all be massacred the next day. He left for Mecca to advise the Meccans to surrender and ask for mercy. On his way to the city, he ran into Abū Sufyān and informed him that it was the Muslim army that had camped outside Mecca. Abū Sufyān begged ʹAbbās for a solution that would spare Meccan lives.

ʹAbbās proposed that he take Abū Sufyān to the Prophet (ص) and have him beg for mercy. The two proceeded towards the Prophet's (ص) tent. ʹUmar called out, "Abū Sufyān, enemy of Allāh! Praise be to Allāh who has delivered you up without agreement or word." ʹUmar then ran towards the Messenger of Allāh (ص). ʹAbbās made his mule gallop to outrun ʹUmar. When they reached the Prophet (ص), ʹUmar said, "Let me take off his head!" ʹAbbās told the Prophet (ص) that he had guaranteed Abū Sufyān's protection. ʹAbbās then went to the Prophet (ص) and said, "By Allāh, no one shall talk confidentially to him this night without my being present." ʹUmar continued to remonstrate. ʹAbbās then said, "Gently, ʹUmar! If he had been one of the Banū ʹAdī ibn Kaʹb you would not have said this; but you know that he is one of the Banū ʹAbd al-Manāf." The Prophet (ص) then decided that Abū Sufyān should be kept in the quarters of ʹAbbās overnight and that he would meet with him the next morning. The next day Abū Sufyān professed Islām to appease the situation. In response, the Prophet (ص) said,

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1669. Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.59.572.

"[When we enter Mecca], whoever goes to Abū Sufyān's house is protected; whoever shuts his door is protected; whoever goes to the Masjid al-Ḥarām is protected."[1670]

Abū Sufyān returned to Mecca and told the people to gather in his house, to lock themselves in their own homes, or to seek protection in the Masjid al-Ḥarām. The people obeyed and thus avoided military confrontation and bloodshed. The Muslim army entered Mecca on orders of not killing anyone except for armed resistors. ʿAlī (ع) was ordered to take the banner from Saʿd ibn ʿUbādah, the leader of the Khazraj, so that he would be the one carrying the Muslim banner as they triumphantly entered Mecca.[1671]

ʿUthmān Opposed the Prophet's (ص) Explicit Order to Execute His Milk-Brother, ʿAbd Allāh ibn Saʿd ibn Abī Sarḥ

The Muslims entered Mecca encountering virtually no resistance. All lives were spared except for a small handful who were ordered to be executed. According to Ḥākim,

> On the day of the conquest of Mecca, the Messenger of Allāh (ص) gave amnesty to everyone except four men and two women. He said, "Kill them, even if you find them hanging onto the curtains of the Kaʿbah." [The four men were] ʿIkrimah ibn Abī Jahl, ʿAbd Allāh ibn Khaṭal, Miqyas ibn Ṣubābah, and ʿAbd Allāh ibn Saʿd ibn Abī Sarḥ.[1672]

One of those individuals named was ʿAbd Allāh ibn Saʿd ibn Abī Sarḥ, the milk-brother of ʿUthmān ibn ʿAffān.[1673] He had accepted Islām previously but then became an apostate, re-joined the pagans, and spread many lies regarding the Prophet (ص) and Islām, going as far as claiming that he had taught part of the Qurʾān to the Prophet (ص).[1674] Upon being informed of his death sentence, ʿAbd Allāh went to ʿUthmān, begging him to intervene on his behalf to save his life. ʿUthmān went to the Prophet (ص) and pled with him to forgive his milk-brother. The Prophet (ص) remained quiet for a very long time, but eventually accepted ʿUthmān's plea. After ʿUthmān left, the Prophet (ص) told those present, "I remained quiet [for so long] so that one of you might kill him in the meanwhile." One of the Anṣār replied, "You should have indicated with your hands to me so that I would have chopped off his head." The Prophet (ص) said, "Prophets do not order people killed by the gestures of their hands."[1675]

In the meanwhile, Umm Hāniʾ, ʿAlī's (ع) sister, had given sanctuary to two of the other men who had been ordered to be killed by the Prophet (ص). ʿAlī (ع) went to Umm Hāniʾ's house and ordered her to release the men so they could be killed. Umm Hāniʾ swore that she would not do so until she was allowed to see the Messenger and bolted her house shut. She then went to the Prophet (ص) and expressed her desire for their forgiveness. The Prophet (ص) then allowed those two men to live.[1676]

[1670] The material in this section which are not particularly controversial have been quoted and/or summarized from accounts presented in Sīrah Ibn Isḥāq 546-548; Tārīkh Ṭabarī 8:171-4; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 4:330-1; Sīrah Ibn Hishām 861-2; and Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 1:329.

[1671] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 4:337; Sīrah Ibn Hishām 865; Sīrah Ibn Isḥāq 549; Tārīkh Ṭabarī 8:176-7.

[1672] Mustadrak Ḥākim #2329. Similarly, Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #30187.

[1673] Iṣābah 2:1057 #4713 (ʿAbd Allāh ibn Saʿd ibn Abī Sarḥ); Usd al-Ghābah 2:610 #2976 (ʿAbd Allāh ibn Saʿd ibn Abī Sarḥ).

[1674] Refer to chapter 66.

[1675] Sīrah Ibn Hishām 867; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 1:331; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 4:340; Tārīkh Ṭabarī 8:178-9; Sīrah Ibn Isḥāq 550. Very similar accounts appear in Sunan Abū Dāwūd #4359; Mustadrak Ḥākim #4360 (certifies the tradition as authentic by the criteria of Muslim); Usd al-Ghābah 2:610 #2976 (ʿAbd Allāh ibn Saʿd ibn Abī Sarḥ).

[1676] Sīrah Ibn Hishām 869; Sīrah Ibn Isḥāq 551-2; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 17:277-278; Tārīkh Yaʿqūbī 2:59.

This incident shows a key difference between ʿAlī (ع) and ʿUthmān. It mattered to ʿAlī (ع) neither who the person to be killed was nor who it was who had granted them refuge. ʿAlī (ع) did not heed his sister's plea until the Prophet (ص) gave an order. However, ʿUthmān was not content with the Prophet's (ص) order and wanted him to change his order simply because the person involved had been nursed by the same woman during the Days of Ignorance. As the Qurʾān says, "You will not find people who believe in Allāh and in the Last Day having affection for the enemies of Allāh and His Messenger, even if they are their own fathers, their sons, their brothers, or anyone else from their family connection."[1677] Yet, ʿUthmān had affection for his milk-brother who was an enemy of Allāh and the Messenger (ص).

The Speech of the Prophet (ص)

The Prophet (ص) and the rest of the people then gathered in the Masjid al-Ḥarām. The Prophet (ص) delivered the following speech:

> There is no god but Allāh, the One with no partners, Whose promises are true, Who aids His servants, and Who single-handedly defeats the [enemies] who are banded together. Know that all the [inherited] privileges, [unavenged] blood, and property that are claimed [by the various tribes against one another] are under my feet [and thus null and void], except for the custody of the House [of Kaʿbah] and [the privilege of] giving water to the pilgrims...
>
> O people of Quraysh! Allāh has taken away from you the pride of the Days of Ignorance and pride in forefathers. Mankind is from Adam and Adam was created from dust." He then recited the verse, "O mankind, We have created you from a male and female and set you up as nations and tribes so you may recognize one another. The noblest among you with Allāh is the most pious among you."[1678,1679]

This speech was significant because it outlawed any feelings of pride due of one's family background, tribe, nation, or race. A strong sense of tribalism was present in the Arabia of that time, and Islām sought to destroy it by unifying mankind under Islām. However, this would not be the case, as the tribalism of the Days of Ignorance continued to play a major role far into Islāmic history. As will be discussed shortly, only days after these words were spoken, Khālid ibn Walīd massacred the Banū Jadhīmah because of the tensions that had existed between them during the Days of Ignorance.

After the speech, the Prophet (ص) told the Meccans that they were all free. It must be noted that according to custom, those defeated in battle would be taken as slaves and their property as booty. Granting freedom to the Meccans was a kind gesture of goodwill meant to warm their hearts to Islām.

The Pledge of Allegiance at the Masjid al-Ḥarām

The men pledged allegiance to the Prophet (ص), followed by the women. Among the Qurayshī women who came was Hind bint ʿUtbah who came veiled and disguised because of what she had done, particularly in regards to Ḥamzah. When the women approached the Prophet (ص), he asked if they gave their word not to associate anything with Allāh. Hind said, "By Allāh, you lay in us something that you have not laid on the men and we will carry it out." He said, "And you shall not steal." She said, "By Allāh, I used to take a little of Abū Sufyān's money and I do not know whether that is lawful for me or not." Abū Sufyān, who was present when she said that, told her that as far as the past was concerned, it was lawful. The Messenger (ص) said, "Then you are Hind bint ʻUtbah?" She said, "I am; forgive me what is past and Allāh will forgive you." He said, "And do not commit adultery." She answered, "Does a free woman commit adultery, O Messenger of Allāh?" He said, "And you shall not kill your children." She said, "I brought them up when they were little and you killed them on the Day of Badr when they were grown up, so you are the one to know about them!" ʻUmar laughed immoderately at her reply. He said, "You shall not invent slanderous tales." She said, "By Allāh, slander is disgraceful, but it is sometimes better to ignore it." He said, "You shall not disobey me in carrying out orders to do good." She said, "We should not have sat all this time if we wanted to disobey you in such orders." Reportedly, ʻUmar then accepted the pledge of allegiance of the Qurayshī women.[1680] The stipulations of this pledge were based on the following verse of the Qur`ān:

[1677] Qurʾān 58:22.
[1678] Qurʾān 49:13.
[1679] Sīrah Ibn Hishām 870; Sīrah Ibn Isḥāq 552-553; Tārīkh Ṭabarī 8:181-2; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 4:344.

> O Prophet! When believing women come to you to pledge allegiance to you that they will not associate any partners with Allāh, that they will not steal, that they will not commit adultery [or fornication], that they will not kill their children, that they will not utter slander, intentionally forging falsehood, and that they will not disobey you in any just matter, then receive their pledge, and pray to Allāh for their forgiveness, for Allāh is oft-forgiving, most merciful.[1681]

The Destruction of Idols by the Hands of ʻAlī (ع)

According to a tradition certified as authentic by Ḥākim, the Messenger of Allāh (ص) and ʻAlī (ع) set off for the Kaʻbah. The Prophet (ص) rose onto ʻAlī's (ع) shoulders, but upon seeing ʻAlī's (ع) weakness in carrying the immense weight of prophecy, he descended and told ʻAlī (ع), "Stand on my shoulders." He then raised ʻAlī (ع) onto the Kaʻbah in such a way that ʻAlī (ع) said, "When he raised me, I thought that, if I wanted to, I could reach the end of the horizons of the sky." ʻAlī (ع) then broke all the idols on the roof of the Kaʻbah with his own hands.[1682]

ʻAllāmah Amīnī has compiled a list of forty-one Sunnī sources that have related traditions showing that ʻAlī (ع) destroyed the idols of the Kaʻbah.[1683] Some of these sources include Mustadrak Ḥākim,[1684] Musnad Ḥanbal,[1685] Khaṣā`iṣ Nasā`ī,[1686] Khaṣā`iṣ al-Kubrā Suyūṭī,[1687] Sīrah Ḥalabīyyah,[1688] Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah,[1689] Dhakhā`ir al-ʻUqbā,[1690] Kifāyah al-Ṭālib,[1691] Manāqib Ibn Mughāzilī,[1692] and Manāqib Khwārazmī,[1693] among others.

[1680] Sīrah Ibn Isḥāq 553; Tārīkh Ṭabarī 8:182-3; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 4:365; Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 8:9.
[1681] Qur`ān 60:12.
[1682] Mustadrak Ḥākim #3387, #3388 (certifies the tradition as authentic); Musnad Ḥanbal #644; Khaṣā`iṣ Nasā`ī 113; Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:170-1.
[1683] Al-Ghadīr 7:10-13.
[1684] Mustadrak Ḥākim #3387, #3388 (certifies the tradition as authentic).
[1685] Musnad Ḥanbal #644.
[1686] Khaṣā`iṣ Nasā`ī 113.
[1687] Khaṣā`iṣ al-Kubrā Suyūṭī 1:442-3.
[1688] Sīrah Ḥalabīyyah 3:29.
[1689] Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:170-1.
[1690] Dhakhā`ir al-ʻUqbā 85.
[1691] Kifāyah al-Ṭālib 257, chapter 62.

The Role of ʿAlī (ع) in Conquering Mecca

ʿAlī (ع) had a central role in the events surrounding the conquest of Mecca. Had ʿAlī (ع) not given Abū Sufyān some hope, however obscure, for the aversion of war, Abū Sufyān would have prepared an army and bloodshed would have ensued. Indeed, if the companions were to flee from the battlefield as they had done in Uḥud, Khaybar, and Muʾtah, there was no guarantee that the Muslims would not be handily defeated. Furthermore, had ʿAlī (ع) had not prevented the woman from taking the letter to Mecca, the Meccans would have been informed of the impending attack and would have raised an army, preventing a bloodless conquest of Mecca. While the conquest exposed the desires of companions such as ʿUthmān to protect friends and family in Madīnah, ʿAlī (ع) remained steadfast in his absolute quest to impose the decisions of Allāh and the Prophet (ص). ʿAlī (ع) was also the one by whose hands the idols of the Quraysh were destroyed, thus putting an end to idolatry in Mecca. One should not be too surprised that the bulk of the Quraysh continued to despise ʿAlī (ع) for decades to come, as he was the one who had slaughtered their sons on the Day of Badr, as he was the one who broke all the idols that they had spent a lifetime worshipping and which they would have continued to worship had they not been militarily defeated, and as he was the one who triumphantly carried the banner of Islām into a humiliated and defeated Mecca.

Khālid ibn Walīd's Massacre of the Banū Jadhīmah

While in Mecca, the Prophet (ص) sent several delegations to various tribes that were not intended as military campaigns, but rather as religious delegations.[1694] One of these delegations, led by Khālid ibn Walīd, was sent to the Banū Jadhīmah.

When Khālid reached the Banū Jadhīmah, he told them to set down all their weapons. They responded that they had already accepted Islām and were ready to pay their zakāt if that was what Khālid was sent for. However, Khālid insisted that they must set down their weapons. Eventually, the Banū Jadhīmah agreed. Khālid then ordered that they all be arrested and had their hands tied and then killed all their fighting men and took their women and children as slaves. When news of this reached the Prophet (ص), he said, "O Allāh, I renounce what Khālid has done!" The Prophet (ص) then sent ʿAlī (ع) to appease the Banū Jadhīmah. ʿAlī (ع) gave them the blood money for their dead as well as monetary compensation for whatever had been stolen. Everything was compensated for, even the dishes that dogs drank out of. After ʿAlī (ع) made sure there was nothing left uncompensated for, he had some money left over. He left the money with the Banū Jadhīmah and told them that the money would compensate for anything that they might have lost but were unaware of.[1695] According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī,

> The Prophet sent Khālid ibn Walīd to the tribe of Jadhīmah and Khālid invited them to Islām but they could not express themselves by saying, "Aslamnā (i.e. we have embraced Islām)," but they started saying "Ṣabaʾnā! Ṣabaʾnā! (i.e. we have come out of one religion to another)." Khālid kept on killing them and taking them as captives and gave every one of us his captive. When there came the day then Khālid ordered that each man should kill his captive, I said, "By

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[1692] Manāqib Ibn Mughāzilī #240.

[1693] Manāqib Khwārazmī #139.

[1694] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 8:189.

[1695] Sīrah Ibn Hishām 882-4; Sīrah Ibn Isḥāq 561-562; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 1:333; Tārīkh Ṭabarī 8:188-191; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 4:358-9, 6:355; Tārīkh Yaʿqūbī 2:61.

> Allāh, I will not kill my captive, and none of my companions will kill his captive." When we reached the Prophet, we mentioned to him the whole story. On that, the Prophet raised both his hands and said twice, "O Allāh! I am free from what Khālid has done."[1696]

It is apparent that the reason Khālid was not killed for this atrocity was that the victims' families agreed to accept blood money instead of seeking retribution, as the Qur`ān says, "Whoever is killed unjustly, we have given authority to his next-of-kin,"[1697] and as the Qur`ān says,

> O you who believe! Retaliation is prescribed to you in cases of murder: a freeman for a freeman, a slave for a slave, and a woman for a woman. But if any remission is made by the brother of the slain, then grant any reasonable demand, and compensate him with handsome gratitude.[1698]

As such, the victims kindly accepted blood money instead of seeking the revenge they were entitled to. Nonetheless, the Qur`ān says, "Whoever kills a believer intentionally, his recompense is hell, to abide therein. The wrath and curse of Allāh are upon him and a dreadful penalty is prepared for him."[1699]

Sahīh Bukhārī's Account of Khālid's Massacre of the Captives

According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī,

> Sālim's father said: The Prophet sent Khālid ibn Walīd to the tribe of Jadhīmah and Khālid invited them to Islām but they could not express themselves by saying, "Aslamnā (i.e. we have embraced Islām)," but they started saying, "Ṣaba`nā! Ṣaba`nā! (i.e. we have come out of one religion to another)." Khālid kept on killing them and taking them as captives and gave each one of us his captive. When there came the day that Khālid ordered that each man (i.e. Muslim soldier) should kill his captive, I said, "By Allāh, I will not kill my captive, and none of my companions will kill his captive." When we reached the Prophet, we mentioned to him the whole story. On that, the Prophet raised both his hands and said twice, "O Allāh! I am free from what Khālid has done."[1700]

Historical Background for Khālid's Bloodshed

In the Days of Ignorance, several members of the Quraysh including Fākih ibn Mughīrah (Khālid ibn Walīd's uncle), ʹAwf ibn ʹAbd Manāf and his son ʹAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʹAwf, and ʹAffān ibn Abī al-ʹĀṣ and his son ʹUthmān ibn ʹAffān were on a trip to Yemen. Among them was a person from the Banū Jadhīmah. This person died on the trip, so the other tradesmen who were from the Quraysh decided to take his money to his family members among the Banū Jadhīmah.

In the vicinity of the Banū Jadhīmah, several people including Khālid ibn Hishām stopped them and claimed the property of the dead man. The traders refused to surrender the money to him. A battle ensued between the two sides, and Fākih ibn Mughīrah and ʹAwf ibn ʹAbd Manāf were killed. ʹUthmān and ʹAbd al-Raḥmān were able to escape, but in the meanwhile ʹAbd al-Raḥmān was able to kill Khālid ibn Hishām, the killer of his father, and thus avenge his father's blood. The blood of Fākih ibn Mughīrah, Khālid ibn Walīd's uncle, thus remained unavenged. The Quraysh later decided to avenge the blood of their lost ones. However, the Banū Jadhīmah wrote them a letter explaining that Khālid ibn Hishām and his men had not acted based on orders from the Banū Jadhīmah and pled complete innocence in the matter. They, however, agreed to pay blood money for the two men killed. The Quraysh accepted their offer and war was thereby avoided.[1701]

[1696] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.59.628, #9.89.299.
[1697] Qur`ān 17:33.
[1698] Qur`ān 2:178.
[1699] Qur`ān 4:93.
[1700] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.59.628. Similarly, Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #9.89.299.

Despite this agreement, Khālid felt that his uncle's blood had not yet been properly avenged, and despite the Prophet's (ص) explicit order that blood spilled during the Days of Ignorance no longer mattered and was never to be avenged, Khālid still sought to avenge his uncle's blood. He even ordered the Muslims to execute their prisoners, an act against not only the laws of Islām but every principle of humanity.

Khālid ibn Walīd was Not Considered a Companion of the Prophet (ص)

After returning from his bloodshed, Khālid got in an argument with ʹAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʹAwf, whose father had been killed in the initial dispute between the Meccan traders and the men from the Banū Jadhīmah. According to numerous Sunnī sources,

> ʹAbd al-Raḥmān said to Khālid, "You acted in the time of Islām according to the ways of the Time of Ignorance." Khālid replied, "I only took vengeance for your father." ʹAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʹAwf said, "You are lying. I have already killed my father's murderer. You only took vengeance for your paternal uncle, Fākih ibn Mughīrah." This developed into a quarrel between them. When it was reported to the Messenger of Allāh, he said, "Take it easy, Khālid. Leave my companions alone; for, by Allāh, though you had a mountain of gold the size of Uḥud and spent it for the sake of Allāh, you would in no wise become the equal of one of my companions."[1702]

Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim has related this tradition by two chains of transmission, but has truncated it as follows:

> There was some altercation between Khālid ibn Walīd and ʹAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʹAwf and Khālid reviled him. Thereupon Allāh's Messenger said, "No one should revile my companions, for if one amongst you were to spend as much gold as Uḥud, it would not amount to as much as one mudd (a dry measure) of one of them or half of it."[1703]

This tradition, often cited to prove that we must not criticize the companions, if true, hardly proves that point. When the Prophet (ص) said, "If one amongst you reviles my companions," he was speaking to Khālid ibn Walīd. This shows that Khālid ibn Walīd was not only not the Prophet's (ص) companion but also of such a low standing that if he were give away the mount of Uḥud in charity, it would not help his cause on the Day of Judgment. The words of the Prophet (ص) are confirmed by the Qurʹān, which says,

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[1701] Sīrah Ibn Hishām 885; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 4:359; Sīrah Ibn Isḥāq 562. This is also referred to summarily in Tārīkh Ṭabarī 8:189.

[1702] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 8:191; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 1:333; Sīrah Ibn Hishām 884; Sīrah Ibn Isḥāq 562; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 4:359.

[1703] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #31.6168-9.

> Surely, those who disbelieve and die while they are disbelievers, the earth full of gold shall not be accepted from one of them, though he should offer to ransom himself with it; these it is who shall have a painful chastisement, and they shall have no helpers.[1704]

As such, there are those for whom no amount of charity would equal an ounce of deeds performed by the Prophet's (ص) true, believing, devoted, and pious companions. This tradition proves that the true believing companions of the Prophet (ص) have an immense reward for them, something that no Muslim, Sunnī or Shī῾ah, denies. Yet, it also shows that people such as Khālid ibn Walīd, who fit the Sunnī definition of companion and who are in fact revered by Sunnīs, would not receive any reward no matter what they do. The only explanation for this is that they were hypocrites and therefore any deed of theirs would be worthless due to the disbelief they hid in their hearts:

> Say, "Shall we inform you of those whose deeds are the most lost—those whose efforts in the life of [this] world have been wasted, though they think that they have done good work? They are those who disbelieve in the signs of their Lord and in the meeting with Him, so their deeds are nullified, and on the Day of Judgment, We assign no weight to them."[1705]

1704. Qur῾ān 3:91.
1705. Qur῾ān 18:103-105.

Chapter 26
The Battle of Ḥunayn

When news of the Muslim conquest of Mecca reached the pagan tribe of Hawāzin, Mālik ibn ʿAwf al-Naṣrī gathered his men and those of other tribes, including the Thaqīf, to attack the Muslims and free Mecca from their presence. The Prophet (ص) was informed of the impending attack, so he sent ʿAbd Allāh ibn Abī Ḥadrad to the Hawāzin to obtain information regarding their intentions. ʿAbd Allāh returned and informed the Prophet (ص) that a Hawāzin attack was imminent. ʿUmar retorted, "ʿAbd Allāh ibn Abī Ḥadrad is lying!" ʿAbd Allāh was upset and replied, "ʿUmar, it is not just me that you deny. There have been many realities that you have denied. You have even considered a person better than me to be a liar," referring to ʿUmar's state of belief before Islām when ʿUmar was an avowed enemy of the Prophet (ص). ʿUmar complained to the Prophet (ص), "O Messenger of Allāh, do you not hear what Ibn Abī Ḥadrad says?" The Prophet (ص) replied, "You were in error and Allāh guided you [to Islām], O ʿUmar."[1706]

The Prophet (ص) left ʿAttāb ibn Asīd in charge of Mecca and in charge of the ḥajj pilgrimage of the year 8 A.H.[1707] The Muslims then set out for Ḥunayn, the region where the Banū Hawāzin and Banū Thaqīf had their troops encamped. The Muslim army numbered twelve thousand men, ten thousand of whom had been involved in the conquest of Mecca, and the other two thousand comprised Meccans who had just accepted Islām.[1708] The banner of the Muhājirīn was held by ʿAlī (ع) in this battle.[1709] The Muslims were certain of their victory, thinking that since they had been victorious in earlier battles despite their small numbers, they could not possibly be defeated now that they had twelve thousand amply-armed men.

The Muslim Fighters Fled the Battlefield

The Muslims approached the valley of Ḥunayn, where the enemy troops lay in ambush. The Muslims were stunned by the unexpected pagan attack, and all but a few of them fled in panic, yet again abandoning the Prophet (ص) on the battlefield. Shaybah ibn ʿUthmān ibn Abī Ṭalḥah, seeing that the Prophet (ص) had been left with only a handful of companions, set forth to kill him. Shaybah, whose father had been killed by the Muslims during the Battle of Uḥud, said, "I set out for the Messenger of Allāh in order to kill him but something happened. I was overcome by a state of inertness and was unable to do it. I then realized that he was protected from me [by Allāh]."[1710]

The following verses of the Qurʾān were revealed regarding Ḥunayn:

[1706] Sīrah Ibn Hishām 889-91; Sīrah Ibn Isḥāq 566-7; Tārīkh Ṭabarī 9:6-7; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 4:368-71.

[1707] Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 2:145. Similarly, Tārīkh Ṭabarī 9:8; Sīrah Ibn Isḥāq 568; Sīrah Ibn Hishām 892.

[1708] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 9:8; Sīrah Ibn Isḥāq 567-8; Sīrah Ibn Hishām 892.

[1709] Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 2:150.

[1710] Sīrah Ibn Hishām 895; Sīrah Ibn Isḥāq 569; Tārīkh Ṭabarī 9:10-11; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 4:381-2.

> Allāh has supported you on many battlefields and on the day of Ḥunayn when your numbers pleased you but did not avail you in any way. The earth seemed cramped for you, spacious as it is. You then turned back in retreat. So Allāh sent down His serenity on the Messenger and on the believers. He [also] sent down armies you could not see and punished those who disbelieved. Such is the reward for the disbelievers.[1711]

When the Muslims fled in fear, the Prophet (ص) moved to the right side of the valley and cried out, "Where are you, O men? Come to me! I am the Messenger of Allāh! I am Muḥammad the son of ʿAbd Allāh!" but these words were of no avail.[1712] The Muslims, with few exceptions, continued to flee in panic. The following is a list of those who stayed with the Prophet (ص): ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib (ع), ʿAbbās ibn ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, Faḍl ibn ʿAbbās, Qutham ibn ʿAbbās, Abū Sufyān ibn Ḥārith ibn ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib and possibly his son Jaʿfar, Rabīʿah ibn Ḥārith, Usāmah ibn Zayd, and Ayman ibn ʿUbayd who was martyred that day.[1713]

Abū Bakr and ʿUmar have been listed by Ṭabarī, Ibn Hishām, Ibn Kathīr, and other Sunnī sources, but are not included by Shīʿah historical works such as Kitāb al-Irshād of Shaykh Mufīd.[1714] This can be reconciled by the fact that Abū Bakr and ʿUmar fled at the beginning, but returned to the Prophet (ص) after hearing the call of either the Prophet (ص) or ʿAbbās. This incident is similar to what happened in Uḥud when, according to Ṭabarī and other sources, Abū Bakr and ʿUmar fled initially along with the other companions but later re-joined the Prophet (ص). In many Sunnī books intended for mass dissemination, the authors make it appear that Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, and ʿUthmān never fled in battle, but that was clearly not the case in Uḥud and Khaybar, and was likely not the case at Ḥunayn either. In any case, everyone agrees that the vast majority of the Prophet's (ص) companions fled instead of fighting for Islām or seeking martyrdom. As described by Ṭabarī, one of the companions said, "By Allāh, were we frightened! ...[Our] people were routed and fled, no one turning around to look back at the other."[1715] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī describes the fleeing of the companions as follows:

> When it was the day of Ḥunayn, the tribes of Hawāzin and Ghaṭafān and others, along with their animals and offspring [and wives] came to fight against the Prophet. The Prophet had with him ten thousand men and some of the ṭulaqāʾ (recent converts from Mecca). The companions fled, leaving the Prophet alone. The Prophet then made two calls which were clearly distinguished from each other.[1716]

According to Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim,

> Barāʾ was asked by a man from the Qays tribe, "Did you run away from the Messenger of Allāh on the Day of Ḥunayn?" Barāʾ said, "[Yes], but the Messenger of Allāh did not run away. On that day, the Banū Hawāzin took part in the battle as archers... [they] advanced towards us with arrows [and we fled].

1711. Qurʾān 9:25-26.
1712. Tārīkh Ṭabarī 9:8-9; Sīrah Ibn Hishām 893; Sīrah Ibn Isḥāq 570; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 1:336.
1713. Sīrah Ibn Hishām 894; Tārīkh Ṭabarī 9:9; Sīrah Ibn Isḥāq 569; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 1:336.
1714. Kitāb al-Irshād of Shaykh Mufīd 96.
1715. Tārīkh Ṭabarī 9:8.
1716. Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.59.626.

> I saw the Messenger of Allāh riding on his white mule... saying, "I am the Prophet. This is no untruth."[1717]

During the escape, the hypocrisy of some of the companions, particularly of the new converts, became apparent. Of course, all those who fled only did so out of their fear of martyrdom, because they believed that what they had in this world was better than what Allāh had promised them as a reward for martyrdom in the hereafter. Abū Sufyān ibn Ḥarb, the father of Mu´āwīyah, gleefully declared, "Their stampede will not stop until they reach the ocean!" Kaladah ibn Ḥanbal said, "Indeed sorcery is useless today." His half-brother Ṣafwān, who was still a pagan, said, "Shut up! May Allāh smash you mouth! By Allāh, I would prefer to be ruled by a man from the Quraysh rather than a man from Hawāzin!"[1718] The comment of Kaladah indicates the ever-present belief among the Meccans who had recently converted under duress that the Prophet (ص) was a sorcerer as opposed to a genuine prophet.

The Battle was Won by ´Alī (ع) and the Prophet's (ص) Miracle

The Prophet (ص) told ´Abbās to call the Muslims to return. ´Abbās called out for the Muslims and around one hundred of them, including Abū Bakr and ´Umar, came and gathered around the Prophet (ص). Among those who remained with the Prophet (ص) throughout was ´Alī (ع), whose bravery turned the tide of the battle. The Hawāzin standard was held by a fierce fighter. While riding a red-haired camel and holding a black standard, he would attack any Muslim he met and would also order his companions to attack any fleeing Muslims. Thus, he was the central figure of the Hawāzin army. ´Alī (ع) and a man from the Anṣār attacked him together. ´Alī (ع) cut off the camel's legs and the standard-bearer fell off. This gave the man from the Anṣār the opportunity to finish him off.[1719] Then the Muslims were aided by the Prophet's (ص) miracle. As Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim describes,

> The Messenger of Allāh got down from his mule, picked up a handful of dust from the ground, threw it into their faces and said, "May these faces be deformed." There was no one among the enemy whose eyes were not filled with the dust from this handful. So they turned back fleeing, and Allāh, the exalted and glorious, defeated them.[1720]

The killing of the enemy leader followed by the miraculous filling of the enemies' eyes with dust and the dispatch of invisible armies to aid the Muslims[1721] forced the pagans to flee and resulted in victory for the Muslims.

Khālid ibn Walīd Committed Murder Yet Again

During this battle, the Prophet (ص) passed by a woman whom Khālid ibn Walīd had killed. When the Prophet (ص) heard what had happened, he sent word to Khālid and forbade him to kill child, or woman, or hired slave.[1722]

Comments

[1717] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #19.4390.
[1718] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 9:10; Sīrah Ibn Hishām 894; Sīrah Ibn Isḥāq 569.
[1719] Sīrah Ibn Hishām 896; Sīrah Ibn Isḥāq 570; Tārīkh Ṭabarī 9:12.
[1720] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #19.4392.
[1721] Qur`ān 9:25-26.
[1722] Sīrah Ibn Isḥāq 576; Sīrah Ibn Hishām 905; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 4:385-6.

As we can see, the victory of Ḥunayn, which was the last main battle the Prophet (ص) fought against the pagans in the Arabian Peninsula came about through ʿAlī's (ع) sword and the angels that came to aid the Prophet (ص) and the believers. Had it not been for ʿAlī (ع) and his bringing down the standard-bearer of the pagan army, the battle would have resulted in much bloodshed and possibly a loss for the Muslims and a re-conquest of Mecca by the pagans. Had it not been for ʿAlī (ع) and a few other members of the Banū Hāshim, the Prophet (ص) would have been completely abandoned in the midst of battle. The victory that came about through ʿAlī's (ع) hands in every battle cannot be attributed to any other of the Prophet's (ص) companions. This is why the verse, "O Prophet, suffices you Allāh and one who follows you among the believers,"[1723] was revealed in regards to ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib (ع).[1724] Indeed, while ʿAlī (ع) was bringing glory for Islām on the battlefield, Khālid was busy killing helpless women. Moreover, had the Prophet (ص) listened to ʿUmar's unfounded accusations against ʿAbd Allāh ibn Abī Ḥadrad instead of preparing for war, the Muslims would have been in for a most unpleasant surprise.

The Aftermath of the Battle of Ḥunayn

After Ḥunayn, the pagans fled the battlefield. Some fled to the valley of Nakhlah, others went to Awṭās, and the Thaqīf sought protection in a fort in the city of Ṭā`if. The ones who were sent to Nakhlah were chased down by a group of Muslims and defeated. The Prophet (ص) then sent some troops to defeat those at Awṭās under the leadership of Abū ʿĀmir al-Ashʿarī. Abū ʿĀmir was martyred, but his brother, Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī took the flag and fought until Allāh granted the Muslims victory. The Prophet (ص) then set out for Ṭā`if, where the pagans had shut the gates of the town, preventing the Muslims from entering. The Muslims placed the city under siege for fifteen to twenty days. Then an order was received for the Muslims to leave their positions and avoid fighting the Thaqīf.[1725]

The Companions Expressed Their Jealousy Towards ʿAlī (ع) Due to the Prophet's (ص) Lengthy Private Conversation with Him

During the siege of Ṭā`if, the Prophet (ص) had a long private conversation with ʿAlī (ع), and that induced much jealousy among the companions. Jābir ibn ʿAbd Allāh said,

> The Messenger of Allāh (ص) called for ʿAlī on the Day of Ṭā`if and spoke to him privately. [His private conversation with him took long], so people said, "Your private conversation with your uncle's son has really taken very long." He said, "It was not I who had private conversation with him. Rather, Allāh had private conversation with him."[1726]

This event, which is widely recounted in Sunnī sources including the ṣiḥāḥ sittah, shows that: (1) the Prophet (ص) had lengthy, private, secret conversations with ʿAlī (ع); (2) other companions were banned from attending these meetings; (3) these meetings aroused jealousy in other companions; (4) the Prophet (ص) chastised those who criticized

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1723. Qur`ān 8:64.

1724. Refer to chapter 4.

1725. Tārīkh Ṭabarī 9:16-26.

1726. Sunan Tirmidhī #3726; Tārīkh Baghdād #3945 (Ḥasan ibn Fahd); Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #32882, #33049, #36438; Usd al-Ghābah 3:292 #3789 (ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib); Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:170; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:393; Muʿjam al-Kabīr Ṭabarānī 2:186; Tārīkh Damishq 42:315-7 (five chains of transmission); Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 7:24, 9:173.

these conversations; and (5) these conversations were truly Allāh's conversations with ʹAlī (ع), as the Prophet (ص) was relaying the entirety of the knowledge that was revealed to him to ʹAlī (ع) so hat he would be prepared to serve as the imām. In fact, the following are three examples of the many Sunnī traditions that show that ʹAlī (ع) was the keeper of the Prophet's (ص) secrets:

1. The Prophet (ص) said, "The keeper of my secret (ṣāḥib-i sirrī) is ʹAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib."[1727]

2. The Prophet (ص) said, "Every prophet has a keeper of his secrets and the keeper of my secrets is ʹAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib."[1728]

3. ʹĀʹishah said: My father told me, "ʹAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib is the location where [the message] of the Messenger of Allāh is held and the location of his secrets."[1729]

The Qurʹān Scolded the Companions at Ḥunayn

The Qurʹān says,

> Allāh has supported you on many battlefields and on the day of Ḥunayn when your numbers pleased you but did not avail you in any way. The earth seemed cramped for you, spacious as it is. You then turned back in retreat. So Allāh sent down His serenity on the Messenger and on the believers; He sent down armies you could not see, and punished those who disbelieved. Such is the reward for the disbelievers.[1730]

These are the words of Allāh regarding the events at Ḥunayn. Allāh scolded the Muslims for turning back and withdrawing, as the Qurʹān is clear that Muslims are not to retreat in battle except as a stratagem of war:

> O you who believe! When you meet the disbelievers in battle, never turn your backs to them. Whoever turns his back to them on such a day, unless it is a stratagem of war or a [strategic] retreat to a company, draws on himself the wrath of Allāh, and his abode will be hell, an evil refuge![1731]

After the of Battle Aḥzāb, the Muslims were also told,

> Fleeing will never help you. If you should flee from death or slaughter, then you will enjoy [this world] only briefly.[1732]

In a struggle to save the faces of those who fled in battle, some have claimed that the Muslims did not turn away because of their fear, but rather as part of a military strategy. This does not match the historical accounts or the verses of the Qurʹān. If it was a military tactic, the Prophet (ص) should have been the leader of the retreat, as opposed to having been left behind alone, calling the people back to the battlefield. Moreover, the Qurʹān would not have scolded the Muslims for their retreat at Ḥunayn. The reason these scholars feel compelled to provide such an interpretation is because the Qur`ān says, "Whoever turns his back to them on such a day... draws on himself the wrath of Allāh, and his abode will be hell."[1733] This is rather troubling because it explicitly states that those who fled in Ḥunayn will belong in hell, even though some claim that it is impossible for a companion to burn in hell.

[1727] Tārīkh Damishq 42:317; Yanābīʹ al-Mawaddah 2:77.
[1728] Yanābīʹ al-Mawaddah 2:239.
[1729] Manāqib Ibn Mughāzilī #108.
[1730] Qurʹān 9:25-26.
[1731] Qurʹān 8:15-16.
[1732] Qurʹān 33:16.

Even more problematic is the fact that there is no indication the companions were forgiven for their flight from the battlefield at Ḥunayn, as they were at Uḥud.[1734] In fact, it would make no sense for their repentance to be accepted, because the Qur`ān says, "Repentance with Allāh is only for those who commit evil [acts] due to ignorance, then turn [to Allāh in repentance] soon thereafter."[1735] The companions were no longer ignorant of the fact that fleeing in battle was forbidden, as they had been told that in the Battle of Uḥud, and as the same concept was reiterated in the Battle of Aḥzāb.

The Companions Fought with the Prophet (ص) over the Division of Booty

In the Battle of Ḥunayn, a significant amount of booty was obtained by the Muslims. According to Ṭabarī, this included "six thousand captives from the children and women and innumerable camels and sheep."[1736] Wāqidī said that in addition to the 6,000 captives, they captured 24,000 camels, 40,000 sheep, and 4,000 ūqīyah of silver, which was equivalent to 160,000 dirhams.[1737] The Prophet (ص) then distributed the property that had been captured. According to Ṭabarī, "Every man got four camels and forty sheep, while each horseman received an additional share for his horse."[1738]

The Prophet (ص) agreed to the request of the Hawāzin that the Muslims would keep captured livestock and property but return the women and children who were held captive. The Prophet (ص) announced to the Muslims that he would free all the captives within his possession from the khums. Although many agreed to free their captives as well, a number of Muslim tribes refused to comply with the Prophet's (ص) command. Since the property was technically theirs, the Prophet (ص) could not force them to release the captives. Instead, he had to promise to later pay them six camels from the khums of the spoils of future battles for each captive released by these insubordinate Muslim tribes, which included the Banū Tamīm and the Banū Fazārah.[1739]

The companions then physically assaulted the Prophet (ص) to make sure they would get a share from the khums as well, as they were not content with their four-fifths share of the spoils. According to Ṭabarī,

> After the Messenger of Allāh had completed the return of the captives of Ḥunayn to their families, he rode away and the people followed him saying, "O Messenger of Allāh, divide our booty of camels and small cattle among us," until they forced him back against a tree and his mantle was pulled away from him. He said, "O men, give me back my mantle! By Allāh, if I had as many sheep as the trees of the Tihāmah I would have divided them among you. You have not

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[1733] Qur`ān 8:15-16.
[1734] Qur`ān 3:155 says, "It was Satan who caused those of you who turned back on the day the two groups met (i.e. Uḥud) to fail because of some of what they had done. Allāh has now forgiven them."
[1735] Qur`ān 4:17.
[1736] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 9:26.
[1737] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 9:26, footnote #196 quotes this from Kitāb al-Tārīkh wa al-Maghāzī of Wāqidī 3:943-4.
[1738] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 9:38.
[1739] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 9:28.

> found me miserly or cowardly or a liar." Then he stood near his camel and took a hair from its hump and holding it aloft in his fingers said, "O men, by Allāh, I do not have anything of your booty, even to this hair, except the fifth, and that fifth will be returned to you. So bring back the needle and the thread, for dishonesty will be a shame, a flame, and a disgrace on the Day of Judgment."[1740]

This account is explicit that the Prophet (ص) had already distributed the four-fifths share of the spoils that belonged to the Muslim fighters, and that what the companions were fighting for was the khums, which they wanted as well.

The Prophet (ص) then distributed the khums of what had been captured. In order to warm the hearts of the newly converted Meccans, he granted them a share out of his personal portion of the khums, granting up to 200 camels to a number of the new Meccan converts, such as Abū Sufyān and his two sons Mu´āwīyah and Yazīd, who received one hundred camels and 40 ūqīyah[1741] of silver each.[1742] This was in accordance with the Qur`ān which allows the use of charitable properties to help warm people's hearts to Islām.[1743] Ibn Sa´d said, "[The Prophet (ص)] gave away all of this out of the khums."[1744]

The Anṣār became jealous and complained bitterly. According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, "On the day of Ḥunayn, Allāh's Apostle favored some people in the distribution of the booty... Then a person came and said, 'By Allāh, in this distribution justice has not been observed, nor has Allāh's pleasure been aimed at.'"[1745] According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī and Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, word of this got back to the Prophet (ص):

> When the Prophet distributed the war booty of Ḥunayn, a man from the Anṣār said, "He did not intend to please Allāh in this distribution." So I came to the Prophet and informed him of that [statement], whereupon the color of his face changed and he said, "May Allāh bestow His mercy on Moses, for he was troubled with more than this, but he remained patient."[1746]

According to Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, when the Prophet (ص) was informed that the Anṣār were accusing him of injustice, "the color of his face turned red like blood."[1747] This statement clearly shows that the Prophet (ص) was tortured by his companions just as Moses (ع) had been tortured by the Children of Israel. The Anṣār then complained as a group. According to Ṭabarī,

> Sa´d ibn ´Ubādah (the leader of Khazraj) went to the Messenger of Allāh and said, "O Messenger of Allāh, this group of Anṣār have a grudge against you for what you did with the booty and how you divided it among your own people, and by giving great gifts to the Bedouin tribes while this group of Anṣār got nothing."

[1740] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 9:31.
[1741] According to the account cited earlier that 4,000 ūqīyah of silver was equivalent to 160,000 dirhams, 40 ūqīyah would be equal to 1,600 dirhams.
[1742] Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 2:152-3. Also refer to Tārīkh Tabarī 9:32-33.
[1743] Qur`ān 9:60.
[1744] Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 2:153.
[1745] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #4.53.378. Similarly, Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.59.625.
[1746] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.59.624. Similarly, Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #5.2314-5.
[1747] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #5.2314.

> He said, "Where do you stand in this matter, O Sa'd?" He said, "I stand with my kinsfolk." The Prophet said, "Then gather your people in [this] enclosure."[1748]

According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, the Prophet (ص) then addressed the Anṣār as a group:

> The Anṣār said, "When there is a difficulty, we are called [to battle], but [when we are victorious], the booty is given to other than us." The news reached the Prophet and he gathered them in a leather tent and said, "What is this news reaching me from you, O group of Anṣār?" They kept silent. He added," O group of Anṣār! Won't you be happy that the people take the worldly things and you take Allāh's Apostle to your homes, reserving him for yourselves?" They said, "Yes." Then the Prophet said, "If the people took their way through a valley, and the Anṣār took their way through a mountain pass, surely, I would take the Anṣār's mountain pass."[1749]

What the Prophet (ص) was referring to was the fact that the Quraysh would take back with them a handful of sheep and camels to Mecca, while the Anṣār would take the Messenger of Allāh (ص) back with them to Madīnah. According to Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, he said, "Don't you feel happy that the people should go away with goats and camels, and you go to your places along with the Messenger of Allāh?"[1750]

In order to cover up the misdeeds and misconceptions of the Anṣār, variations of the following words have been attributed to the Prophet (ص) and added to a number of accounts: "If all the people went one way and the Anṣār another, I would take the way of the Anṣār." This statement, if referring to anything except the Prophet's (ص) residence in Madīnah, would clearly be untrue. If the way of the Anṣār was to be followed and if they were the guides of the Prophet (ص), then there would be no need for the Prophet (ص) himself. And if the Anṣār were on the right path, then the Prophet (ص) should have distributed the khums of the spoils of war according to their wishes. He also would not say that he was being tortured by the Anṣār as Moses (ع) had been tortured by the Children of Israel. Indeed, the companions complained about the distribution of booty in a number of battles (e.g. when 'Uthmān expressed his desire for a share of the khums of the Battle of Khaybar[1751]), but their complaints were most widespread and best documented as they pertained to the Battle of Ḥunayn. The following is one other example of the complaints of the companions regarding the distribution of booty cited in Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī:

> Narrated Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī: While the Prophet was distributing [war booty] one day, Dhū al-Khuwayṣirah, a man from the tribe of Banū Tamīm, said, "O Allāh's Apostle! Act justly." The Prophet said, "Woe to you! Who else would act justly if I did not act justly?" 'Umar said, "Allow me to chop his neck off." The Prophet said, "No, for he has companions [who appear so pious that] if any of [you compares his prayer with] their prayer, he will consider his prayer inferior to theirs, and similarly his fasting inferior to theirs, but they will desert Islām as an arrow goes through the victim's body, in which case if its head is examined nothing will be seen thereon, and if its butt end is examined, nothing will be seen thereon, and if its notch is examined, nothing will be seen thereon, for the arrow has gone out too fast even for the excretions and blood to smear over it.

[1748] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 9:36.
[1749] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.59.626.
[1750] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #5.2313.
[1751] Refer to chapter 23.

> Such people will come out at the time of difference among the people and the sign by which they will be recognized will be a man one of whose two hands will look like the breast of a woman or a lump of flesh moving loosely." Abū Sa'īd added, "I testify that I heard that from the Prophet and also testify that I was with 'Alī when 'Alī fought against those people (i.e. the Khārijītes). ['Alī] ordered that the man [described by the Prophet] be looked for. The man described by the Prophet was searched for among the killed, and was found. The man was brought and I looked at him and noticed that he looked exactly as the Prophet had described him." The following verses were revealed in connection with that very person: "And among them are men who accuse you in the matter of [the distribution of] the alms."[1752,1753]

This incident shows that some Muslims can appear to be truly pious on the surface even though they enjoy not one benefit of true Islām whatsoever. They should be left alone until the day when they openly express their true nature, and they should then be dealt with accordingly. Since such individuals existed among the companions and their successors (tābi'īn), then the Salafī view that everyone in the early generations was virtuous, pious, and just is simply incorrect.

The Qur'ān Discusses the Hypocrisy of Some Companions with Regards to the Spoils of War

The following verse of the Qur'ān reveals the true attitude of many companions:

> They hold back from you [when it comes to fighting]. When fear comes, you see them looking at you, their eyes rolling back like one fainting from death, but when the fear is gone, they smite you with sharp tongues, coveting the spoils [of war]. These have not believed. Therefore Allāh has made their deeds naught, and this is easy for Allāh to do.[1754]

The Qur'ān also describes the hypocrites as follows:

> Some of them criticize you in the [distribution of] the alms. If they are given of it, they are pleased, while if they are not given of it, they act resentful. Had they been pleased with what Allāh and His Messenger had given them, they would have said, "Suffices for us Allāh. Allāh and His Messenger will give us something out of His bounty. To Allāh do we turn our hopes."[1755]

This verse is absolutely clear that displeasure with the way in which the Messenger of Allāh (ص) divided the booty arose from the hypocrisy of the companions. Apparently the companion who said, "He (the Prophet) did not intend to please Allāh in this distribution," was ignorant of the following verse of the Qur'ān:

> By the star as it sets, your companion (the Prophet) has neither strayed nor is he misguided. He does not speak from some whim; it is merely inspiration that is revealed [to him].[1756]

1752. Qur'ān 9:58.
1753. Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #8.73.184, #9.84.67, #4.56.807 (a composite of all three accounts is presented here).
1754. Qur'ān 33:19.
1755. Qur'ān 9:58-59.
1756. Qur'ān 53:1-4.

These companions also disobeyed the following verse of the Qur`ān:

> Accept anything the Messenger may give you and keep away from anything he withholds from you.[1757]

Companions who could not be trusted to be content with the Prophet (ص) giving them no share of livestock from the khums can certainly not be trusted to be content with the Prophet (ص) giving them no share of the imāmate and caliphate after him.

[1757] Qur`ān 59:7.

Chapter 27
The Verses of Taḥrīm (Prohibition) Addressing ʻĀʼishah and Ḥafṣah

The Qurʼān says:

1. O Prophet! Why do you forbid that which Allāh has made lawful for you, seeking to please your wives? And Allāh is oft-forgiving, most merciful...

3. When the Prophet confided a fact unto one of his wives and she then divulged it and Allāh informed him of that, he made known [to her] part thereof and passed over part. And when he told it to her, she said, "Who has told you this?" He said, "The knower, the aware has told me."

4. If you two (i.e. ʻĀʼishah and Ḥafṣah) turn to Allāh in repentance [it would be appropriate], as your hearts desired this [ban]. But if you aid one another against him (i.e. the Prophet), then lo! Allāh is He who is his guardian, and Gabriel, and the righteous among the believers[1758]; and furthermore the angels will back him up.

5. Perhaps if he divorces you, his Lord will give him instead of you wives better than you—[wives who are] Muslims (muslimāt), faithful (muʼmināt), devout (qānitāt), penitent (tāʼibāt), worshipful (ʻābidāt), [and] inclined to fasting (sāʼiḥāt), [from among] the previously married and virgins.[1759]

The revelation of Sūrah Taḥrīm[1760] in regards to ʻĀʼishah and Ḥafṣah is mentioned in several traditions in Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī and Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim,[1761] and is widely accepted, mutawātir, and undisputed. There are two backgrounds that have been related regarding the secret that ʻĀʼishah and Ḥafṣah passed amongst themselves in their plotting against the Prophet (ص). First is that the Prophet (ص) forbade himself from drinking honey. Second is that the Prophet (ص) forbade himself from being with his wife Mārīyah.

First Account: Forbidding Drinking Honey

According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī,

> ʻĀʼishah said: The Prophet used to stay for a long time with Zaynab bint Jaḥsh and drink honey at her house. So Ḥafṣah and I decided that if the Prophet came

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[1758] As discussed in chapter 1, "the righteous among the believers" is to ʻAlī (ع).

[1759] Qurʼān 66:1, 3-5.

[1760] Taḥrīm means prohibition or forbiddance, referring to the Prophet's (ص) act of forbidding something that was lawful to him due to the plots of ʻĀʼishah and Ḥafṣah.

[1761] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #3.43.648, #7.72.734, #6.60.435-7, #7.62.119; Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #9.3507-8, #9.3510-11.

> to any one of us, she should say to him, "I detect the smell of maghāfīr (a foul smelling gum) in you. Have you eaten maghāfīr?" So the Prophet visited one of them and she said to him similarly. The Prophet said, "Never mind, I have taken some honey at the house of Zaynab bint Jaḥsh, but I shall never drink of it anymore." So it was revealed, "O Prophet! Why do you ban [for yourself] that which Allāh has made lawful for you? ...If you two [wives of the Prophet] turn in repentance to Allāh,"[1762] addressing ´Ā`ishah and Ḥafṣah. [It was also revealed], "When the Prophet disclosed a matter in confidence to some of his wives,"[1763] namely his saying, "But I have taken some honey."[1764]

According to this account, ´Ā`ishah and Ḥafṣah secretly plotted to put an end to the Prophet's (ص) habit of drinking a honey drink at Zaynab's house, and he was informed of this by Allāh. The two of them apparently had no qualms about appending a lie to the Prophet (ص), accusing him of being foul-smelling when he was not, and thereby upsetting him, in order to attain some lowly worldly gain.

Second Account: Forbidding His Wife Mārīyah

After the Prophet (ص) returned from Ḥudaybīyyah, which was in the month of Dhū al-Qi´dah of the year 6 A.H., he sent Ḥāṭib ibn Abī Balta´ah to Muqawqis, the patriarch of Alexandria, and sent with him a letter calling him to Islām. Although he did not convert to Islām, he sent the Prophet (ص) Mārīyah al-Qibṭīyyah, her sister Sīrīn, a donkey named Ya´fūr (or ´Ufayr), a white mule named Duldul that was the only white mule among the Arabs of the time, twenty fine garments, and 1,000 mithqāls[1765] of gold. The two women accepted Islām. The Prophet (ص) married Mārīyah, who was described as being "fair-skinned with beautiful curls," and married her sister to Ḥassān ibn Thābit, the poet.[1766] Mārīyah bore the Prophet (ص) a son who was named Ibrāhīm in Dhū al-Ḥijjah of the year 8 A.H.[1767] The wives of the Anṣār competed to nurse him, but he was given to Umm Burdah bint Mundhir ibn Zayd.[1768] ´Ā`ishah said in regards to Mārīyah,

> I was not envious of any woman as much as I was of Mārīyah. This is because she was beautiful and had curly hair and the Messenger of Allāh admired her. At the beginning, her house was in the house of Ḥārithah ibn Nu´mān and she was our neighbor. The Messenger of Allāh was with her most of the night and day until we tried to get rid of her. She became annoyed [at us], so the Prophet moved her to ´Āliyah and would go to her there. This was even more intolerable for us. Then Allāh granted her a child and deprived us of one.[1769]

´Ā`ishah also said,

> When Ibrāhīm was born, the Messenger of Allāh brought him to me. He said, "Look at how similar he is to me." I said, "I see no similarity." [He said], "Don't

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[1762] Qur`ān 66:1, 66:4.

[1763] Qur`ān 66:3.

[1764] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #7.63.192. Similarly, Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #6.60.434, #8.78.682; Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #9.3496.

[1765] 1 mithqāl is approximately 4 grams.

[1766] Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 1:134-135; Iṣābah 4:2631 #11733 (Mārīyah al-Qibṭīyyah).

[1767] Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 1:135, 8:212.

[1768] Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 1:136.

[1769] Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 8:212-213. Similarly, Iṣābah 4:2631 #11733 (Mārīyah al-Qibṭīyyah) (omits the last sentence).

> you see his whiteness and flesh?" [I said], "Whoever takes a camel for milk becomes white and grows plump."[1770]

In another account, ´Ā`ishah said, "Whoever drinks the milk of sheep becomes plump and white."[1771] According to Ibn Sa´d,

> The Messenger of Allāh (ص) became intimate with Māriyah in the house of Ḥafṣah. The Prophet (ص) left and found Ḥafṣah sitting by his door. She said, "O Messenger of Allāh, in my house and on my day?!" The Prophet (ص) replied, "She is forbidden for me, so let me go!" She said, "I will not accept it unless you swear to me." He said, "By Allāh, I will never touch her [again]."[1772]

According to this account of the revelation of the verses of taḥrīm (prohibition),[1773] the Prophet (ص) confided with Ḥafṣah that he would avoid his wife Māriyah, and Ḥafṣah ran over and told ´Ā`ishah of her success in fighting off his other wife. However, Allāh said that the Prophet (ص) could not forbid to himself what is permissible to him (i.e. his wife Māriyah), and scolded the two women for their cunning behavior.

Regardless of the background for the secret passed between the wives, there is no question regarding who the two wives were who are addressed in the verses of taḥrīm, and that the problem was that the two of them were the ones carrying out reprehensible plots among the Prophet's (ص) wives. Indeed, ´Umar tried to blame the entirety of the problems with the Prophet's (ص) wives on ´Ā`ishah because she was the one who set a sense of competition among the Prophet's (ص) wives. Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī and Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim relate from ´Umar,

> [´Umar was told], "Ḥafṣah surely argues with Allāh's Apostle so much that he remains angry for a full day." ´Umar then reported how, at once, he put on his outer garment and went to Ḥafṣah and said to her, "O my daughter! Do you argue with Allāh's Apostle so [much] that he remains angry the whole day?" Ḥafṣah said, "By Allāh, we do argue with him." ´Umar said, "Know that I warn you of Allāh's punishment and the anger of Allāh's Apostle. O my daughter! Don't be betrayed by the one who is proud of her beauty (i.e. ´Ā`ishah)."[1774]

´Ā`ishah and Ḥafṣah Upset the Messenger of Allāh (ص) to the Point of Forcing Him to Abstain from His Wives for One Month

´Umar gave a detailed account of the aftermath of the event in which ´Ā`ishah and Ḥafṣah plotted against the Prophet (ص). According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī and Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim,

> Narrated ´Abd Allāh ibn ´Abbās: I had been eager to ask ´Umar about the two ladies from among the wives of the Prophet (ص) regarding whom Allāh said [in the Qur`ān], "If you two [wives of the Prophet, namely ´Ā`ishah and Ḥafṣah] turn in repentance to Allāh; your hearts are indeed so inclined [to oppose what

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[1770] Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 1:137.

[1771] Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 1:137.

[1772] Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 8:213-214.

[1773] Both accounts of the events pertaining to the revelation of this verse (i.e. the Prophet [ص] forbidding himself Māriyah and forbidding himself the honey drink at Zaynab's house) are discussed in Tafsīr Ṭabarī, Tafsīr Zamakhsharī, Tafsīr Rāzī, Tafsīr Qurṭubī, Tafsīr Shawkānī, and Tafsīr Ibn Kathīr, verse 66:1.

[1774] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #6.60.435; Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #9.3508.

the Prophet likes],"[1775] till I performed the ḥajj along with ʿUmar [and on our way back from ḥajj] he went aside [to answer the call of nature] and I also went aside along with him carrying a tumbler of water. When he had answered the call of nature and returned, I poured water on his hands from the tumbler and he performed ablution. I said, "O Commander of the Faithful! Who were the two ladies from among the wives of the Prophet to whom Allāh said, 'If you two return in repentance'?" He said, "I am astonished at your question, O Ibn ʿAbbās. They were ʿĀʾishah and Ḥafṣah."

Then ʿUmar went on relating the narration and said: I and an Anṣārī neighbor of mine from the Banū Umayyah ibn Zayd who used to live in the ʿawālī (outskirts) of Madīnah, used to visit the Prophet in turns. He used to go one day, and I another day. When I went, I would bring him news of what had happened that day regarding the instructions and orders and when he went, he used to do the same for me. We, the people of Quraysh, used to have authority over women, but when we came to live with the Anṣār, we noticed that the Anṣārī women had the upper hand over their men, so our women started acquiring the habits of the Anṣārī women. Once I shouted at my wife and she paid me back in my coin and I disliked that she should answer me back. She said, "Why do you take it ill that I retort upon you? By Allāh, the wives of the Prophet retort upon him, and some of them may not speak with him for the whole day till night." What she said scared me, and I said to her, "Whoever amongst them does so will be a great loser."

Then I dressed myself and went to Ḥafṣah and asked her, "Do any of you keep Allāh's Apostle angry all day long till night?" She replied in the affirmative. I said, "She is a ruined losing person! Doesn't she fear that Allāh may get angry for the anger of Allāh's Apostle and thus she will be ruined? Don't ask Allāh's Apostle too many things, and don't retort upon him in any case, and don't desert him. Demand from me whatever you like, and don't be tempted to imitate your neighbor (i.e. ʿĀʾishah) in her behavior towards the Prophet, for she is more beautiful than you, and [thus] more beloved to Allāh's Apostle."

In those days it was rumored that the Ghassān (a tribe living in Syria allied to the Byzantines) was preparing their horses to invade us. My companion went [to the Prophet] on the day of his turn and returned to us at night and knocked at my door violently, asking whether I was sleeping. I was scared [by the hard knocking] and came out to him. He said that a great thing had happened. I asked him, "What is it? Have the Ghassān come?" He replied that it was worse and more serious than that, and added that Allāh's Apostle had divorced all his wives. I said, "Ḥafṣah is a ruined loser! I expected that would happen some day."

So I dressed myself and offered the morning (fajr) prayer with the Prophet. Then the Prophet entered an upper room and stayed there alone. I went to Ḥafṣah and found her weeping. I asked her, "Why are you weeping? Didn't I warn you? Has Allāh's Apostle divorced you all?" She replied, "I don't know. He is there in the upper room." I then went out and came to the pulpit and found a group of people around it and some of them were weeping. Then I sat with them for some time but could not endure the situation. So I went to the upper room where the Prophet was and asked a black slave of his, "Will you get the permission of [Allāh's Apostle] for ʹUmar [to enter]?" The slave went in, talked to the Prophet about it and came out saying, "I mentioned you to him but he did not reply." So, I went and sat with the people who were sitting by the pulpit, but I could not bear the situation, so I went to the slave again and said, "Will you get his permission for ʹUmar?" He went in and brought the same reply as before. When I was leaving, behold, the slave called me saying, "Allāh's Apostle has granted you permission." So, I entered upon the Prophet and saw him lying on a mat without bedding on it, and the mat had left its mark on the body of the Prophet, and he was leaning on a leather pillow stuffed with palm fires. I greeted him and while still standing, I said, "Have you divorced your wives?" He raised his eyes to me and replied in the negative. And then while still standing, I said chatting, "Will you heed what I say, O Allāh's Apostle! We, the people of Quraysh used to have the upper hand over our women (wives), and when we came to the people whose women had the upper hand over them...[1776]"

[1775] Qurʾān 66:4. Note that the two comments that appear in brackets in the translation of this verse appear in the English translation of Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī.

ʹUmar told the whole story [about his wife]. On [hearing] that, the Prophet smiled. ʹUmar further said, "I went to Ḥafṣah and said to her, 'Do not be tempted to imitate your companion (i.e. ʹĀʾishah) for she is more beautiful than you and more beloved to the Prophet.'" The Prophet smiled again. When I saw him smiling, I sat down and cast a glance at the room, and by Allāh, I couldn't see anything of importance but three hides. I said [to Allāh's Apostle], "Invoke Allāh to make your followers prosperous, for the Persians and the Byzantines have been made prosperous and given worldly luxuries, though they do not worship Allāh?" The Prophet was leaning then, [but upon hearing my words, he sat straight] and said, "O Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb! Do you have any doubt [that the hereafter is better than this world]? These people have been given rewards for their good deeds in this world only." I asked the Prophet, "Please ask Allāh's forgiveness for me."

The Prophet did not go to his wives because of the secret which Ḥafṣah had disclosed to ʹĀʾishah, and he said that he would not go to his wives for one month as he was angry with them when Allāh admonished him (for his oath that he would not approach Mārīyah).[1777] When twenty-nine days had passed, the Prophet went to ʹĀʾishah first. She said to him, "You took an oath that you would not come to us for one month, and today only twenty-nine days have passed, as I have been counting them day by day." The Prophet said, "The month is also of twenty-nine days." [Indeed], that month consisted of twenty-nine days. ʹĀʾishah said, "When the divine revelation of choice[1778] was revealed, the Prophet started with me, saying to me, 'I am telling you something, but you needn't hurry to give the reply until you can consult your parents.'" ʹĀʾishah knew that her parents would not advise her to part with the Prophet. The Prophet said that Allāh had said, "O Prophet! Say To your wives: If you desire the life of this world and its glitter, then come! I will make a provision for you and set you free in a handsome manner. But if you seek Allāh and His Apostle and the home of the hereafter, then verily Allāh has prepared for the good-doers amongst you a great reward."[1779] ʹĀʾishah said, "Am I to

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[1776] The ellipsis (...) appears in the original English translation of Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī.
[1777] The parenthetical comment appears in the English translation of Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī.
[1778] The verses of choice refer to Qurʾān 33:28-29 and its text appears later in this tradition.
[1779] Qurʾān 33:28-29.

> consult my parents about this? I indeed prefer Allāh, His Apostle, and the home of the hereafter." After that the Prophet gave the choice to his other wives and they also gave the same reply as 'Ā'ishah did.[1780]

This tradition mostly speaks for itself. One point, however, is worthy of reiteration. 'Umar lived so far outside Madīnah that it was impossible for him to come to the city every day. As such, he could not have been a close, constant companion of the Prophet (ص) as is often claimed. In fact, Abū Bakr also had a house in the suburbs, in the neighborhood of Sunḥ,[1781] which was apparently a good distance away,[1782] making it difficult for him to be constantly present with the Prophet (ص), at least on the days he spent in that house. This is in contrast to 'Alī, Fāṭimah, Ḥasan, and Ḥusayn (ع) whose house, according to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, was "in the midst of the houses of the Prophet,"[1783] allowing them to be the only truly constant companions of the Prophet (ص). His wives were also not his constant companions because each of them spent only one night out of nine with him on average, and he would typically spend only a short time with them, abandoning them for late night prayers, visits to the Baqī' cemetery, and other acts of worship. Indeed, the Prophet (ص) was not even obligated to spend one night out of nine with each of his wives, as the Qur'ān said, "You may defer any one of them you wish, and take to yourself any you wish; and if you desire any you have set aside, [no sin is chargeable to you],"[1784]

An Example of a Cover-Up in Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī

Although the events surrounding the revelation of the verses of taḥrīm are clear based on numerous Sunnī traditions in Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, and elsewhere, there is one account in Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī that is a good example of cover-up attempts. In trying to explain why the Prophet (ص) avoided his wives for a whole month, Anas blamed it on a sprained foot!

> Narrated Anas: Allāh's Apostle took an oath that he would not go to his wives for one month as his foot had been sprained. He stayed in an upper room when 'Umar went to him and said, "Have you divorced your wives?" He said, "No, but I have taken an oath that I would not go to them for one month." The Prophet stayed there for twenty-nine days, and then came down and went to his wives.[1785]

It is completely senseless for someone to vow to avoid his wives because of a sprained foot. Moreover, it does not explain the verses of the Qur'ān that blame the entire incident on two of the Prophet's (ص) wives. Yet, Bukhārī included such an absurd tradition in his collection.

'Umar's Criticism of the Prophet's (ص) Wives

According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, 'Umar said,

[1780] Ṣaḥīh Bukhārī #3.43.648. Also refer to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #6.60.435-7, #7.62.119, #7.72.734; Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #9.3507-11.

[1781] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #2.23.333, #5.57.19. Also refer to chapter 39 for more accounts of Abū Bakr's house in Sunḥ.

[1782] Accoridng to Mu'jam al-Buldān 3:265, it was one mile (mīl) from the Prophet's Mosque. For a sixty year old man walking on unpaved gravel and desert, it could take an hour or longer to walk this distance.

[1783] Ṣaḥiḥ Bukhārī #5.57.54.

[1784] Qur'ān 33:51.

[1785] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #3.43.649.

> The wives of the Prophet, out of their jealousy, backed each other against the Prophet, so I said to them, "It may be, if he divorced you all, that Allāh will give him instead of you wives better than you." So this verse [saying, "Perhaps if he divorces you, his Lord will give him instead of you wives better than you—(wives who are) Muslims, faithful, devout, penitent, worshipful, (and) inclined to fasting, (from among) the previously married and virgins,"[1786]] was revealed.[1787]

This tradition shows that ʿUmar believed that the Prophet (ص) could marry better women than some of his wives. Why anyone would think that his wives were the best of women despite the Qurʾān, the traditions of the Prophet (ص), and even the saying of ʿUmar is unclear.

Proof of the Lack of Faith and Virtue of ʿĀʾishah and Ḥafṣah Based on These Verses

The Qurʾān says,

> Perhaps if he divorces you, his Lord will give him instead of you wives better than you—[wives who are] Muslims (muslimāt), faithful (muʾmināt), devout (qānitāt), penitent (tāʾibāt), worshipful (ʿābidāt), [and] inclined to fasting (sāʾiḥāt), [from among] the previously married and virgins.[1788]

In this verse, Allāh threatened ʿĀʾishah and Ḥafṣah with divorce and replacement with wives that would have different qualities than they possessed. Indeed, saying that the Prophet (ص) would divorce them and in their stead marry other women with certain qualities is proof that ʿĀʾishah and Ḥafṣah lacked those qualities. For example, if Allāh said, "The Prophet will divorce you and in your stead marry women from the Quraysh," it would be an absurd concept, as they were from the Quraysh in the first place. Rather, the verse only makes sense if it were to enumerate features that new wives would have that his current wives who were being addressed, namely ʿĀʾishah and Ḥafṣah, lacked. These features, as explicitly enumerated in the verse, included: (1) being Muslim, (2) being faithful, (3) being devout, (4) being repentful, (5) being worshipful, and (6) being inclined to fasting. If any of his wives lacked those qualities, yet professed Islām, it means that they were expressing Islām outwardly, yet internally, as revealed by Allāh, they were lacking in belief in Islām, faith, piety, and worship, and a tendency to repent. This is a clear example of the Qurʾān revealing to the Prophet (ص) what was in the hearts of the people.

Indeed, Fakhr Rāzī had trouble explaining this verse when he asked, "How is it that the women they would be replaced with would be better than them when there are no women better than the mothers of the faithful on the face of the earth?"[1789] Of course, the answer is clear—ʿĀʾishah and Ḥafṣah were not the best women on earth, just like Lot's (ع) wife was not the best woman on earth at his time. It is clear that the view that the Prophet's (ص) wives were the best of women directly contradicts the Qurʾān.

The Qurʾān says in Sūrah Taḥrīm, "Allāh sets forth an example for those who disbelieve—the wife of Noah and the wife of Lot, both of whom were under two of our righteous servants, but they betrayed them and they profited not before Allāh. It was said [to them], 'Enter the fire along with those who enter.'"[1790] For anyone to claim that these stories have no applications with respect to the Muslim nation and the wives of the Prophet (ص) is simply absurd. And for anyone to claim that the Prophet's (ص) wives will necessarily enter paradise by virtue of being married to him in this world is clearly wrong, as the Qur`ān says, "Enter [the believers] into the gardens of eternity that You have promised them and *to the righteous among* their fathers, wives, and offspring."[1791] Specifically referring to the wives of the Prophet (ص), the Qur`ān says, "And if you seek Allāh, His Messenger and the abode of the hereafter, then indeed Allāh has prepared *for the virtuous among you* a great reward."[1792] Clearly, the wives of the Prophet (ص) are only guaranteed to enter paradise if they are righteous and virtuous.

[1786] Qurʾān 66:5.
[1787] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #6.60.438.
[1788] Qurʾān 66:1, 3-5.
[1789] Tafsīr Rāzī, verse 66:4.

Proof of the Imāmate from the Verses of Taḥrīm

The Qur`ān says,

> If you two (i.e. ʿĀ`ishah and Ḥafṣah) turn to Allāh in repentance [it would be appropriate], as your hearts desired this [ban]. But if you aid one another against him (i.e. the Prophet), then lo! Allāh is He who is his guardian, and Gabriel, and the righteous among the believers (ʿAlī); and furthermore the angels are his helpers.[1793]

This verse shows that even if the Prophet's (ص) own wives were to turn against him, it would not matter, as all the Prophet (ص) needed were (1) Allāh, (2) angels including Gabriel (ع), and (3) ʿAlī (ع), as it is widely reported that the phrase, "the righteous one among the believers," refers to ʿAlī (ع).[1794] This verse shows that among the entirety of humanity, the only one the Prophet (ص) could reliably rely on was ʿAlī (ع), which is because he was purified from sin, the imām after him, his partner in his affair, and to him as Aaron (ع) was to Moses (ع). If the nation were to follow in the footsteps of the Prophet (ص), then ʿAlī (ع) would, by necessity, be the only one the nation could completely trust and rely upon, and therefore, upon the Prophet's (ص) death, ʿAlī (ع) would be the rightful imām.

Moreover, the verses of taḥrīm prove Shīʿism in a much more general sense. Sunnīs believe that the companions were all virtuous individuals and that the wives of the Prophet (ص) were the highest of holies. Sunnīs act upon the words of ʿĀ`ishah without questioning her character. ʿĀ`ishah was one of the leading narrators of prophetic tradition among the companions, and Sunnīs cherish her traditions. Yet, she was rather troublesome according to the Qur`ān and was deceitful with the Prophet (ص) and his other wives according to her own accounts. She even admitted to appending lies to the Prophet (ص) during his lifetime. Can we trust the sayings of a person who caused mischief during the Prophet's (ص) life and even greater mischief afterwards? Can we trust a person who was prone to jealousy and causing discord, and who admittedly followed her own devil?[1795] The next chapter is devoted to further discussion of

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[1790] Qur`ān 66:10.
[1791] Qur`ān 40:8.
[1792] Qur`ān 33:29.
[1793] Qur`ān 66:4.
[1794] Tafsir al-Durr al-Manthūr (3 traditions), Tafsīr Ibn Kathīr (2 traditions), and Tafsīr Thaʿlabī (2 traditions), verse 66:4; Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #4675; Tārīkh Damishq 42:361, 42:362. Refer to chapter 1 for a discussion of this verse.
[1795] Refer to chapter 28.

ʹĀʾishah's personal qualities, and these assertions will all be borne out in some further detail.

In fact, the existence of someone like ʹĀʾishah is proof that there is a need for an imām who can never be led astray, and who can properly guide us so that we are not forced to take dubious characters with various personal agendas as our guides. Indeed, even the companions realized that there are two paths in life—the path of obeying Allāh and the path of obeying ʹĀʾishah. According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī,

> When Ṭalḥah, Zubayr, and ʹĀʾishah moved to Baṣrah [during the Battle of Jamal], ʹAlī sent ʹAmmār ibn Yāsir and Ḥasan ibn ʹAlī who came to us at Kūfah and ascended the pulpit. Ḥasan ibn ʹAlī was at the top of the pulpit and ʹAmmār was below Ḥasan. We all gathered before him. I heard ʹAmmār saying, "ʹĀʾishah has moved to Baṣrah. By Allāh! She is the wife of your Prophet in this world and in the hereafter. But Allāh has put you to test whether you obey Him (Allāh) or her (ʹĀʾishah)."[1796]

This shows that following ʹAlī (ع) was equivalent to following Allāh and that, conversely, following ʹĀʾishah was not. This is exactly what the Shīʹah believe. Of course, the phrase "in the hereafter" was later added to make it appear that ʹAmmār believed that she was headed to paradise. However, if ʹAmmār believed that, he would not be fighting her. In any case, the paths for the nation were clear—one must either follow ʹĀʾishah or follow Allāh by following ʹAlī (ع).

[1796] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #9.88.220.

Chapter 28
An Examination of the Personal Qualities of ʽĀʼishah

As discussed in the last chapter, Sūrah Taḥrīm addressed ʽĀʼishah and Ḥafṣah, who were two of the Prophet's (ص) wives, and the daughters of Abū Bakr and ʽUmar, respectively. Since ʽĀʼishah played an important political role later on in her life by leading the Battle of Jamal, thereby creating political crises from whose consequences the Muslim nation still suffers today, it is appropriate to discuss some of the events pertaining to her conduct during the lifetime of the Prophet (ص).

A complete examination of the personality of ʽĀʼishah is beyond the scope of this book. Indeed, detailed books have been written regarding her. Perhaps the best work on the subject is by ʽAllāmah ʽAskarī, which has been translated into English under the title, "The Role of ʽĀʼishah in the History of Islām." For much of our brief discussion here, I will primarily relate what appears in Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī and Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, whose traditions are widely accepted by the Sunnīs.

ʽĀʼishah's Envy Towards Khadījah

ʽĀʼishah often openly expressed the intense envy she harbored towards the other wives of the Prophet (ص). She was particularly envious of Khadījah, even though she had died before ʽĀʼishah married the Prophet (ص). The traditions in regards to ʽĀʼishah's envy towards Khadījah are numerous, and the following are a few such accounts from Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī:

1. ʽĀʼishah said, "I did not feel as jealous of any of the wives of the Prophet as I did of Khadījah [even though] she had died before he married me, for I often heard him mentioning her, and Allāh had told him to give her the good tidings that she would have a palace of qaṣab (pipes of precious stones and pearls) [in paradise], and whenever he slaughtered a sheep, he would send her women-friends a good share of it."[1797]

2. ʽĀʼishah said, "I did not feel as jealous of any woman as much as I did of Khadījah because Allāh's Apostle used to mention her very often. He married me three years after her death, and his Lord ordered him to give her the good news of having a palace of qaṣab in paradise."[1798]

3. ʽĀʼishah said, "I never felt as jealous of any wife of Allāh's Apostle as I did of Khadījah because Allāh's Apostle used to remember and praise her too often and

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1797. Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.58.164.
1798. Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.58.165.

because it was revealed to Allāh's Apostle that he should give her the glad tidings of her having a palace of qaṣab in paradise."[1799]

4. 'Ā`ishah said, "I did not feel as jealous of any of the wives of the Prophet as I did of Khadījah. Though I did not see her, the Prophet used to mention her very often, and whenever he slaughtered a sheep, he would cut its parts and send them to the women friends of Khadījah. When I sometimes said to him, '[You treat her] as if there is no woman on earth except Khadījah,' he would say, 'Khadījah was such-and-such, and from her I had children.'"[1800]

5. 'Ā`ishah said, "I never felt as jealous towards any woman as I did towards Khadījah, even though she had died three years before the Prophet married me, and that was because I heard him mentioning her too often, because his Lord had ordered him to give her the glad tidings that she would have a palace in paradise made of qaṣab, and because he used to slaughter a sheep and distribute its meat among her friends."[1801]

6. 'Ā`ishah said, "I never felt as jealous of any woman as I felt of Khadījah, for Allāh ordered [the Prophet] to give Khadījah the glad tidings of a palace in paradise."[1802]

Based on 'Ā`ishah's words, it is clear that she was envious of Khadījah because of the following facts:

1. The Prophet (ص) would speak of Khadījah's virtues. Indeed, 'Ā`ishah was so loath to mention those virtues that instead of enumerating them, she instead said, "Khadījah was such-and-such." Of course, "such-and-such" is a substitute for lofty virtues which presumably 'Ā`ishah was devoid of, as her entire statement was one of contrast, expounding qualities of Khadījah that distinguished her from 'Ā`ishah, thereby inducing envy.

2. Khadījah was promised a palace of qaṣab in paradise, while 'Ā`ishah was not. If 'Ā`ishah had also been promised a palace in paradise, then she would have had no reason to be jealous of Khadījah.

3. The Prophet (ص) was loyal to Khadījah and never married another woman during her lifetime. Yet, after she died, he married several women. This was a special privilege that Khadījah had that 'Ā`ishah did not. 'Ā`ishah pointed this out in a tradition in Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim which states, "'Ā`ishah reported that Allāh's Apostle did not marry any other woman until [after Khadījah's] death."[1803]

4. Khadījah brought forth children for the Prophet (ص), while 'Ā`ishah did not. This may be part of the reason why 'Ā`ishah despised Khadījah's offspring as well.

No one can summarize 'Ā`ishah's envy towards Khadījah better than herself. According to Musnad Ḥanbal,

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1799. Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #7.62.156.
1800. Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.58.166.
1801. Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #8.73.33.
1802. Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #9.93.576.
1803. Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #31.5975.

> ʹĀʹishah said that the Messenger of Allāh said, "Allāh, the great and glorious, has not given me better than [Khadījah]. She believed in me when the people disbelieved in me; she believed in my truthfulness when the people considered me a liar; she made me a partner in what she had when the people forbade me [from trade and from making a living]; and Allāh, the great and glorious, granted me her offspring while He forbade me any offspring from [other] women."[1804]

ʹĀʹishah Insulted Khadījah According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī and Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim

According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī and Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim,

> ʹĀʹishah reported that Hālah bint Khuwaylid (the sister of Khadījah) sought permission from Allāh's Messenger to see him, and he was reminded of Khadījah's [manner of] asking permission to enter. He [was overwhelmed] with emotions thereby and said, "O Allāh, it is Hālah, the daughter of Khuwaylid!" I felt jealous and said, "Why do you remember one of those old women of the Quraysh with [edentulous] red gums who is long dead, while Allāh has given you a better [wife] in her stead?"[1805]

According to Musnad Ḥanbal, ʹĀʹishah continued the story as follows:

> At hearing this, the face of the Messenger of Allāh changed so much that I had not seen it turn that way except when revelation was being revealed or when he had visions and would be anxious as to whether it was going to be a blessing or a punishment.[1806]

This event established a number of facts about ʹĀʹishah. First, she was envious. Second, she insulted Khadījah, who was the most virtuous of the Prophet's (ص) wives, one of the four best women of all time,[1807] and one promised a palace in paradise, by calling her a dead old woman with edentulous red gums. Third, ʹĀʹishah thought that she was better than Khadījah even though from her own traditions it is clear that she was not. Moreover, the Prophet (ص) was very clear that the best women of all times were none other than Fāṭimah (ع), Khadījah, Mary (ع), and Āsīyah, not ʹĀʹishah.[1808] Fourth, she displaced her hatred for Khadījah onto her sister, Hālah, simply because the Prophet (ص) was fond of his sister-in-law because she reminded him of Khadījah, his best wife. Envy, insulting Muslims, considering oneself above other Muslims, and hating Muslims are all not the most flattering of qualities. Furthermore, if ʹĀʹishah despised Hālah because she would remind the Prophet (ص) of Khadījah, one can only imagine her hatred towards those of Khadījah's offspring who comprised the Ahl al-Bayt (ع).

ʹĀʹishah Insulted the Qurʹān

According to Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, ʹĀʹishah said,

> I felt jealous of the women who offered themselves to Allāh's Messenger. Then, when Allāh, the exalted and glorious, revealed, "You may defer any one of them

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[1804] Musnad Ḥanbal #24908.

[1805] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #31.5976; Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.58.168.

[1806] Musnad Ḥanbal #25251.

[1807] Refer to chapters 7 and 50.

[1808] Refer to chapter 50.

> you wish, and take to yourself any you wish; and if you desire any you have set aside, [no sin is chargeable to you],"[1809] I said, "It seems to me that your Lord hastens to satisfy your desire."[1810]

She was obviously suspicious of Allāh, the Qur`ān, and the Prophet (ص) and accused them of making laws to satisfy the Prophet's (ص) personal desires.

ʹĀ`ishah was Under the Influence of Her Devil

According to Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim,

> ʹĀ`ishah, the wife of Allāh's Apostle, reported that one day Allāh's Messenger came out of her [apartment] during the night and she felt jealous. Then he came and he saw her [in the agitated state of mind] she was [in]. He said, "ʹĀ`ishah, what has happened to you? Do you feel jealous?" Thereupon she said, "How can it be [that a woman like me] should not feel jealous in regards to a husband like you." Thereupon Allāh's Messenger said, "It was your devil who had come to you," and she said, "Allāh's Messenger, is there along with me a devil?" He said, "Yes." She said, "Is a devil attached to everyone?" He said, "Yes." She again said, "Allāh's Messenger, is it with you also?" He said, "Yes, but my Lord has helped me against him, and as such, I am absolutely safe from his mischief."[1811]

This tradition shows that ʹĀ`ishah used to obey her devil, whereas that the Prophet (ص) was completely immune to any insinuations of the devil. This is proof that the Prophet (ص) was immune to all sin, as the Shīʹah believe.

ʹĀ`ishah's Mistrust of the Prophet (ص)

ʹĀ`ishah was mistrustful of the Prophet (ص) himself. The Prophet (ص) would spend parts of each night at his wives' houses, but when they would fall asleep, he would rise and enter the mosque or go to the cemetery of Baqīʹ to pray to Allāh. ʹĀ`ishah would notice her husband missing at night and would go searching for him to make sure that he was not with any of his other wives. According to Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, ʹĀ`ishah said,

> When it was my turn for Allāh's Messenger to spend the night with me, he turned to his side, put on his mantle, took off his shoes and placed them near his feet, spread the corner of his shawl on his bed, and then lay down until he thought that I had gone to sleep. He took hold of his mantle slowly and put on his shoes slowly and opened the door and went out and then closed it lightly. I covered my head, put on my veil and tightened my waist wrapper, and then went out following his steps until he reached Baqīʹ. He stood there and he stood for a long time. He then lifted his hands three times, and then returned and I also returned. He hastened his steps and I also hastened my steps. He ran and I too ran. He came [to the house] and I also came [to the house]. I, however, preceded him and I entered [the house first]. As I lay down in the bed, he entered the [house] and said, "Why is it, O ʹĀ`ishah, that you are out of breath?" I said, "There is nothing." He said, "Tell me, or [Allāh], the subtle and

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[1809] Qur`ān 33:51.

[1810] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #8.3453.

[1811] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #39.6759.

> the aware, will inform me." I said, "Messenger of Allāh, may my father and mother be ransom for you, and then I told him [the whole story]. He said, "Was it the darkness [of your shadow] that I saw in front of me?" I said, "Yes." He struck me on the chest [in a way that] caused me pain, and then said, "Did you think that Allāh and His Apostle would deal unjustly with you?" She said, "Whatsoever the people conceal, Allāh will know it." He said, "Gabriel came to me when you saw me. He called me and he concealed it from you. I responded to his call, but I too concealed it from you, [for he did not come to you], as you were not fully dressed. I thought that you had gone to sleep, and I did not like to awaken you, fearing that you may be frightened. [Gabriel] said, 'Your Lord has commanded you to go to the inhabitants of Baqī´ [who are lying in the graves] and beg pardon for them.'" I said, "Messenger of Allāh, how should I pray for them?" He said, "Say, 'Peace be upon the inhabitants of this city (i.e. graveyard) from among the believers and the Muslims, and may Allāh have mercy on those who have gone ahead of us and those who come later on, and we shall, Allāh willing, join you.'"[1812]

This shows that ´Ā`ishah did not trust the Prophet (ص) and went around spying on him even though the Qur`ān clearly decrees, "Do not spy."[1813] It also shows the permissibility of offering prayers at Baqī´ and praying to Allāh there, despite the restrictions placed on such acts of worship by Wahhābīs today.

´Ā`ishah's Severe Envy Towards the Prophet's (ص) Other Wives

We have examined ´Ā`ishah's envy towards Khadījah, even though Khadījah had died before ´Ā`ishah married the Prophet (ص). This envy made her despise and insult Khadījah and hold a lasting grudge against her offspring. The Prophet's (ص) other wives suffered from her envy on a day to day basis. There are many traditions related by leading Sunnī sources regarding the friction and in many instances clear expressions of vice and hatred that existed between ´Ā`ishah and the Prophet's (ص) other wives. This jealousy was so severe that, according to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, the companions would not even dare to take the Prophet (ص) a gift when he was at the house of any of his other wives lest they would arouse ´Ā`ishah's ire.[1814] The stories involving ´Ā`ishah's severe envy are numerous, so just a few of the accounts will be cited here, some of them summarily. In fact, all these events merely depict what ´Ā`ishah best summarized herself in one sentence: "I felt jealous of the women who offered themselves to Allāh's Messenger."[1815]

´Ā`ishah and Ḥafṣah

Tradition 1: According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, ´Ā`ishah said,

> Allāh's Apostle was fond of honey and sweet edible things and [it was his habit] that after finishing the afternoon prayer he would visit his wives and stay with one of them at that time. Once he went to Ḥafṣah, the daughter of ´Umar, and stayed with her more than usual. I got jealous and asked the reason for that. I was told that a lady of her folk had given her a skin filled with honey as a present and that she made a syrup from it and gave it to the Prophet to drink [and that was the reason for the delay].

[1812] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #4.2127.
[1813] Qur`ān 49:12.
[1814] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.57.119.
[1815] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #8.3453.

> I said, "By Allāh we will play a trick on him [to prevent him from doing so again]." So I said to Sawdah bint Zamʹah, "The Prophet will approach you, and when he comes near you, say, 'Have you taken maghāfīr (a bad-smelling gum)?' He will say, 'No.' Then say to him, 'Then what is this bad smell which I smell from you?' He will say to you, 'Ḥafṣah made me drink honey syrup.' Then say, 'Perhaps the bees of that honey had sucked the juice of the tree of ʹurfuṭ.' I shall also say the same. O you, Ṣafiyyah, say the same."
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> Later Sawdah said, "By Allāh, as soon as [the Prophet] stood at the door, I told him what you had ordered me to say because I was afraid of you." So when the Prophet came near Sawdah, she said to him, "O Allāh's Apostle! Have you taken maghāfīr?" He said, "No." She said, "Then what is this bad smell which I detect on you?" He said, "Ḥafṣah made me drink honey syrup." She said, "Perhaps its bees had sucked the juice of the ʹurfuṭ tree."
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> When he came to me, I also said the same, and when he went to Ṣafiyyah, she also said the same. And when the Prophet again went to Ḥafṣah, she said, "O Allāh's Apostle! Shall I give you more of that drink?" He said, "I am not in need of it." Sawdah said, "By Allāh, we deprived him [of it]." [I] said to her, "Keep quiet."[1816]

This tradition shows several things: (1) ʹĀʾishah was intensely jealous of the Prophet's (ص) other wives; (2) the Prophet's (ص) other wives were scared of ʹĀʾishah, as Sawdah said in regards to ʹĀʾishah, "I was afraid of you"; (3) a number of the Prophet's (ص) other wives obeyed ʹĀʾishah in her deceitful pranks; (4) ʹĀʾishah tried to cover up the story at the end by telling Sawdah to keep quiet; (5) these wives prohibited the Prophet (ص) from something that was permissible to him; (6) they lied to the Prophet (ص), confirming that their traditions cannot be trusted; (7) they insulted the Prophet (ص) by calling him foul-smelling; and (8) a number of the Prophet's (ص) wives banded together to perform these acts.

Tradition 2: According to Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, ʹĀʾishah said,

> When Allāh's Messenger set out on a journey, he used to cast lots amongst his wives. Once this lot came out in my favor and that of Ḥafṣah. [We] both went along with him and Allāh's Messenger used to travel [on a camel] when it was night... Ḥafṣah said to ʹĀʾishah, "Would you like to ride upon my camel tonight and allow me to ride upon your camel and you would see [what I do not generally see] and I would see [what you do not generally see]?" She said, "Yes." So ʹĀʾishah rode on the camel of Ḥafṣah and Ḥafṣah rode on the camel of ʹĀʾishah. Allāh's Messenger came towards the camel of ʹĀʾishah [although] Ḥafṣah was riding on it. He greeted her and then rode with her until they came down. [ʹĀʾishah] thus missed [the company of the holy Prophet] and when they sat down, ʹĀʾishah felt jealous. She put her foot in the grass and said, "O Allāh, let the scorpion sting me or the serpent bite me. And so far as thy Messenger is concerned, I cannot say anything about him."[1817]

[1816] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #7.63.193.

[1817] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #31.5991.

Tradition 3: According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, ʹĀʹishah reported that when the Prophet (ص) was in his final illness:

> Ḥafṣah said to me, "I never got any good from you."[1818]

Tradition 4: According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, ʹUmar warned his daughter not to be misled by ʹĀʹishah:

> ʹUmar entered upon Ḥafṣah and said, "O my daughter! Do not be misled by the manners of she who is proud of her beauty because of the [apparent] love of Allāh's Apostle for her." By "she," he meant ʹĀʹishah. ʹUmar added, "Then I said that to Allāh's Apostle, and he smiled [on hearing that]."[1819]

ʹĀʹishah and Ṣafiyyah

Once, the Messenger of Allāh (ص) found Ṣafiyyah crying. He asked her the reason for it. She replied, "I found out that Ḥafṣah and ʹĀʹishah are saying bad things about me; they say, 'We are better than her [because] we are the daughters of the uncles of the Messenger of Allāh and his wives.'" The Prophet (ص) said, "Why didn't you say, 'How can you be better than me when my father is Aaron, my uncle is Moses, and my husband is Muḥammad'?"[1820]

ʹĀʹishah and Sawdah

According to Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim,

> ʹĀʹishah reported: Never did I find any woman more loving to me than Sawdah bint Zamʹah. I wished I could be exactly like her [as she] was passionate. As she became old, she handed over her day with Allāh's Messenger to me. She said, "I have handed over my day with you to ʹĀʹishah." So Allāh's Messenger allotted two days to me, my own day and that of Sawdah.[1821]

This shows that ʹĀʹishah was so pressing for time with the Prophet (ص) that Sawdah gave up her own day. As is apparent, ʹĀʹishah had no consideration for the rights of Sawdah.

ʹĀʹishah and Zaynab bint Jaḥsh

According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī,

> [Zaynab] raised her voice and abused ʹĀʹishah to her face... ʹĀʹishah started replying to Zaynab till she silenced her. The Prophet then looked at ʹĀʹishah and said, "She is really the daughter of Abū Bakr!"[1822]

This tradition quite clearly shows that the Prophet (ص) believed that ʹĀʹishah had inherited her personality from her father. Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim also states:

[1818] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #1.11.684.
[1819] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #7.62.145.
[1820] Mustadrak Ḥākim #6790. The account summarily appears in Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 8:127.
[1821] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #8.3451.
[1822] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #3.47.755.

> Anas reported that the Messenger of Allāh had nine wives. So when he divided [his stay] with them, the turn of the first wife did not come but on the ninth [day]. [All the wives] used to gather every night in the house of the one [in whose house] he had to come [to stay for the night]. It was [the night that he had to spend] in the house of ʿĀʾishah when Zaynab came there. He stretched his hand towards [Zaynab], whereupon, [ʿĀʾishah] said, "It is Zaynab!"
>
> Allāh's Messenger withdrew his hand. There was an altercation between the two until their voices became loud [and it was at that time] that the iqāmah (the second call) was pronounced for prayer. There happened to come Abū Bakr and he heard their voices and said, "Messenger of Allāh, come for prayer, and throw dust in their mouths." So the Prophet went out. ʿĀʾishah said, "When Allāh's Messenger would finish his prayer, there would also come Abū Bakr and he would do as he does [on such occasions (i.e. reprimand me)]." When Allāh's Messenger had finished his prayer, Abū Bakr came to [ʿĀʾishah] and spoke to her in stern words, saying, "Do you behave like this?!"[1823]

This tradition clearly demonstrates ʿĀʾishah's strict envy towards the other wives of the Prophet (ص). She was not even willing to allow the Prophet (ص) to stretch his hands towards any of his other wives in her house. The translator of Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Ṣiddīqī, has a footnote that clarifies ʿĀʾishah's behavior as follows: "Since it was the turn of ʿĀʾishah, she therefore wanted that she only should be the object of the Prophet's love for that night, and none should share with her his love. It is the natural desire of a woman and there is nothing unusual in it."[1824] However, if it was natural for women to act as ʿĀʾishah did, then the other wives should have acted in the same manner. Yet, we do not hear of any of the other wives of the prophets consistently behaving as ʿĀʾishah would. Abū Bakr's strong disapproval of his daughter's behavior makes it even more evident that ʿĀʾishah was not acting as a pious woman should. Moreover, for the wives to have a loud altercation in front of the Prophet (ص) was clearly in violation of the Qurʾān, which says, "O you who believe! Raise not your voices above the voice of the Prophet, nor speak aloud to him as you may speak aloud to one another, lest your deeds become nullified and you perceive not."[1825]

ʿĀʾishah Broke Up the Prophet's (ص) Marriage to Mulaykah

Mulaykah's father was killed by Khālid ibn Walīd during the conquest of Mecca.[1826] When the Prophet (ص) married her, ʿĀʾishah actively undermined the marriage as follows:

> The Prophet (ص) married Mulaykah bint Kaʿb, who was renowned for her great beauty. ʿĀʾishah visited her and said, "Aren't you ashamed to marry the murderer of your father?" She sought refuge from the Messenger of Allāh (ص) so he divorced her. Her relatives went to the Messenger of Allāh (ص) and said, "O Messenger of Allāh, she is young, her decision is not valid, and she was duped [by ʿĀʾishah]. Take her back." The Messenger of Allāh (ص) refused.[1827]

[1823] Ṣaḥīh Muslim #8.3450.

[1824] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim 2:747, footnote #1915.

[1825] Qurʾān 49:2.

[1826] Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 8:148.

[1827] Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 8:148; Iṣābah 4:2637 #11765 (Mulaykah bint Kaʿb al-Kinānīyyah); Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 5:320.

Of note, the Qur`ān cites the spreading of discord between husband and wife as among the works of the devils: "[They] learned from [the devils] the means to sow discord between man and wife."[1828]

´Ā`ishah Broke Up the Prophet's (ص) Marriage to Asmā`

´Ā`ishah disrupted yet another of the Prophet's (ص) marriages. According to Ibn ´Abbās,

> The Messenger of Allāh (ص) married Asmā` bint Nu´mān, who was among the most beautiful and lovely [women] of her time. As the Messenger of Allāh (ص) was going to marry non-related women [from outside the Quraysh], ´Ā`ishah said, "He has now started marrying the strangers. They will soon turn him away from us." Her marriage occurred when the tribe of Kindah came to the Prophet (ص) with her father. When the wives of the Prophet (ص) saw her, they became jealous. They told her, "If you wish to have good fortune with him, seek refuge with Allāh from him when he enters upon you." When he entered, removed her cover, and stretched his hands towards her, she said, "I seek refuge with Allāh from you." The Prophet (ص) said, "Whoever seeks refuge with Allāh is secure. Go join your family."[1829]

´Ā`ishah and Mārīyah

According to Haykal,

> Muḥammad did not expect to have any more children as none of his wives except the late Khadījah had ever conceived, though some of them were quite young and capable of bearing children. When Mārīyah gave birth to Ibrāhīm, the event brought to Muḥammad, a man past sixty years of age, great joy and filled his heart with reassurance and jubilation. By giving birth to a child, the status of Mārīyah was raised in the Prophet's esteem... It was natural that this change would incite no little jealousy among his other wives who continued to be barren. It was also natural that the Prophet's esteem and affection for the newborn child and his mother increased that jealousy... [One day the Prophet] pointed out [to ´Ā`ishah] his great resemblance to his offspring. ´Ā`ishah looked at the baby and said that she saw no resemblance at all. When the Prophet observed how much the child was growing, ´Ā`ishah responded waspishly that any child given the amount of milk which Ibrāhīm was getting would grow just as big and strong as he.[1830]

´Ā`ishah and the Foods Prepared by the Prophet's (ص) Other Wives

One of the causes of friction between ´Ā`ishah and the other wives of the Prophet (ص) was that sometimes the other wives would send him food. This would enrage her, whereby she would shatter the dishes, ruin the food, and thereby violate the sanctity of Allāh's provisions. According to Ḥanbal, ´Ā`ishah said,

1828. Qur`ān 2:102.

1829. Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 8:145. Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #7.63.181; Mustadrak Ḥākim #6814; and Iṣābah 3:2001 #8737 (Nu´mān ibn Abī al-Jawn) and 4:2420 #10806 (Asmā` bint Nu´mān) refer to this event, but censor ´Ā`ishah's role, likely because the tradition they have transmitted in this regards was from ´Ā`ishah herself.

1830. Haykal 433.

> I made the Prophet food and so did Ḥafṣah. I told my slave-girl, "If she comes with the food before I bring it, take it and throw it away!" Ḥafṣah came with the food and my slave-girl threw out her food and broke her dish. The Messenger of Allāh collected the food and told me, "Bring a dish of your own to replace this dish [that you broke]."[1831]

ʿĀʾishah related yet another similar incident:

> Ṣafiyyah sent the Messenger of Allāh food that she had made him while he was with me. When I saw the slave-girl [bringing the food], lightening struck me [in rage], I lost control, and threw the dish, and it broke. I looked at the Messenger of Allāh and saw the anger in his face. I said, "I seek refuge with the Messenger of Allāh from cursing me on this day." He said, "Repent." I said, "How can I undo my act?" He said, "With food like her food and a dish like her dish."[1832]

According to Nasāʾī and Ḥanbal, ʿĀʾishah said,

> I have not seen anyone prepare food like Ṣafiyyah. She sent the Prophet a dish containing food, and I could not stop myself from breaking it. So I asked the Prophet about its recompense, and he said, "A dish like that dish and food like that food."[1833]

One clearly sees that ʿĀʾishah suffered from rage so severe that she could no longer control herself. Even she admitted that, "I could not control myself."[1834]

The Reasons for ʿĀʾishah's Hatred Towards ʿAlī (ع)

There were several reasons for ʿĀʾishah's hatred towards ʿAlī (ع). One was that he was married to Fāṭimah (ع), who was Khadījah's daughter. ʿĀʾishah did not like Khadījah and did not like the fact she had borne children for the Prophet (ص) and had thus given him a line of descendants while ʿĀʾishah was barren. Second, Fāṭimah (ع) was around the same age as she was and the Prophet's (ص) intense love for Fāṭimah (ع) created intense envy in ʿĀʾishah. Even ʿĀʾishah had to admit that the most beloved woman to the Prophet (ص) was Fāṭimah (ع).[1835] Third, "whenever the Prophet (ص) would return from a trip, he would first go to her daughter, Fāṭimah,"[1836] instead of to his wife, ʿĀʾishah. Each time he did this, it would presumably cause ʿĀʾishah intense envy and pain. Fourth, the Prophet (ص) spent a lot of time every single day with his Ahl al-Bayt (ع), but would spend only a few hours once or perhaps later twice every ninth night with ʿĀʾishah. Fifth, when questions regarding ʿĀʾishah's chastity arose, ʿAlī (ع) recommended that the Prophet (ص) divorce her because she was not worth the trouble. According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, ʿĀʾishah related this event as follows:

> Whenever Allāh's Apostle intended to go on a journey, he would draw lots amongst his wives and would take with him the one upon whom the lot fell. During a campaign of his, he drew lots amongst us and the lot fell upon me, and I proceeded with him after Allāh had decreed the use of the veil by women. I

1831. Musnad Ḥanbal #24844.
1832. Musnad Hanbal #26409.
1833. Sunan Nasāʾī #3957; Musnad Ḥanbal #25196.
1834. Sunan Nasāʾī #3957.
1835. Refer to chapter 50 for a number of traditions in this regards.
1836. Usd al-Ghābah 5:367 #7184 (Fāṭimah bint Rasūl Allāh).

was carried in a howdah (a carriage mounted on a camel) [which was] dismounted while [I was] still in it. When Allāh's Apostle was through with his campaign and was returning home, as we approached the city of Madīnah, Allāh's Apostle ordered us to proceed at night. When the order of setting off was given, I walked until I was past the army to answer the call of nature. After finishing, I returned [to the camp] to depart [with the others] but suddenly realized that the necklace over my chest was missing. So, I returned to look for it and was delayed because of that. The people who used to carry me on the camel came to my howdah and put it on the back of the camel, thinking that I was in it, as, at that time, women were light in weight and thin and lean, as [they] did not use to eat much. So, those people did not feel the difference in the heaviness of the howdah while lifting it, and they put it over the camel. At that time I was a young lady. They set the camel moving and proceeded onwards. I found my necklace after the army had gone, and came to their camp to find nobody. So, I went to the place where I used to stay, thinking that they would discover my absence and come back in my search. While in that state, I felt sleepy and slept.

Ṣafwān ibn Mu'aṭṭal al-Sulamī al-Dhakwānī was behind the army and reached my abode in the morning. When he saw a sleeping person, he came to me, and he used to see me before veiling. So, I got up when I heard him saying, "Innā lillāh wa innā ilayhi rāji'ūn (We are from Allāh, and we will return to Him)." He made his camel kneel down. He got down from his camel, and put his leg on the front legs of the camel and then I rode and sat over it. Ṣafwān set out walking, leading the camel by the rope till we reached the army which had halted to rest at midday. Then whoever was meant for destruction fell into destruction (i.e. some people accused me falsely) and the leader of the false accusers was 'Abd Allāh ibn Ubayy ibn Salūl. After that we returned to Madīnah, and I became ill for one month while the people were spreading the forged statements of the false accusers. I was feeling during my ailment as if I was not receiving the usual kindness from the Prophet which I used to receive from him when I got sick. But he would come, greet, and say, "How is that [girl]?" I did not know anything of what was going on till I recovered from my ailment and went out with Umm Misṭaḥ to the manāṣi'[1837] where we used to answer the call of nature, and we used not to go to answer the call of nature except from night to night, as that was before we had lavatories near our houses. And this habit of ours was similar to the habit of the old Arabs in the open country. So Umm Misṭaḥ bint [Abī] Ruhm and I went out walking. Umm Misṭaḥ stumbled because of her long dress and on that she said, "Let Misṭaḥ be ruined." I said, "You are saying a bad word. Why are you abusing a man who took part in [the Battle of] Badr?" She said, "O you there, didn't you hear what they said?" Then she told me the rumors of the false accusers.

My sickness was aggravated, and when I returned home, Allāh's Apostle came to me, and after greeting he said, "How is that [girl]?" I requested him to allow me to go to my parents. I wanted then to be sure of the news through them. Allāh's Apostle allowed me, and I went to my parents and asked my mother, "What are the people talking about?" She said, "O my daughter! Don't worry much about this matter. By Allāh, never is there a charming woman loved by her husband who has other wives, but the women forge false news about her." I said, "Glorified be Allāh! Are the people really talking of this matter?" That night I kept on weeping and could not sleep till the morning. In the morning, Allāh's Apostle called ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib and Usāmah ibn Zayd when he saw the divine inspiration delayed, to consult them about divorcing [me]. Usāmah ibn Zayd said what he knew of the good reputation of his wives and added, "O Allāh's Apostle! Keep you wife, for, by Allāh, we know nothing about her but good." ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib said, "O Allāh's Apostle! Allāh has not imposed restrictions on you, and there are many women other than her, yet you may ask the woman-servant who will tell you the truth."

[1837] According to Mu'jam al-Buldān 5:202, "Al-manāṣi' was the place where women went to urinate and defecate."

On that Allāh's Apostle called Burayrah and said, "O Burayrah! Did you ever see anything which roused your suspicions about her?" Burayrah said, "No, by Allāh Who has sent you with the truth, I have never seen in her anything faulty except that she is a girl of immature age, who sometimes sleeps and leaves the dough for the goats to eat." On that day Allāh's Apostle ascended the pulpit and requested that somebody support him in punishing ʿAbd Allāh ibn Ubayy ibn Salūl. Allāh's Apostle said, "Who will support me to punish that person who has hurt me by slandering the reputation of my family? By Allāh, I know nothing about my family but good, and they have accused a person about whom I know nothing except good, and he never entered my house except in my company."

Saʿd ibn Muʿādh got up and said, "O Allāh's Apostle! By Allāh, I will relieve you from him. If that man is from the tribe of Aws, then we will chop his head off, and if he is from our brothers, the Khazraj, then order us, and we will fulfill your order." On that, Saʿd ibn ʿUbādah, the chief of the Khazraj who before this incident had been a pious man, got up, motivated by his zeal for his tribe, and said, "By Allāh, you have told a lie; you cannot kill him, and you will never be able to kill him." On that Usayd ibn Ḥuḍayr got up and said [to Saʿd ibn ʿUbādah], "By Allāh, you are a liar! By Allāh, we will kill him; and you are a hypocrite, defending the hypocrites." On this, the two tribes of Aws and Khazraj got excited and were about to fight each other, while Allāh's Apostle was standing on the pulpit. He got down and quieted them till they became silent and he kept quiet. On that day I kept on weeping so much that neither did my tears stop, nor could I sleep.

In the morning my parents were with me and I had wept for two nights and a day, till I thought my liver would burst from weeping. While they were sitting with me and I was weeping, a woman from the Anṣār asked my permission to enter, and I allowed her to come in. She sat down and started weeping with me. While we were in this state, Allāh's Apostle came and sat down and he had never sat with me since the day they forged the accusation. No revelation regarding my case came to him for a month. He recited tashahhud (i.e. "There is no god but Allāh and Muḥammad is the Messenger of Allāh") and then said, "O ʿĀʾishah! I have been informed such-and-such about you; if you are innocent, then Allāh will soon reveal your innocence, and if you have committed a sin, then repent to Allāh and ask Him to forgive you, for when a person confesses his sin and asks Allāh for forgiveness, Allāh accepts his repentance." When Allāh's Apostle finished his speech, my tears ceased completely and there remained not even a single drop of it. I requested my father to reply to Allāh's Apostle on my behalf. My father said, "By Allāh, I do not know what to say to Allāh's Apostle."

> I said to my mother, "Talk to Allāh's Apostle on my behalf." She said, "By Allāh, I do not know what to say to Allāh's Apostle."
>
> ...Then I turned to the other side of my bed hoping that Allāh would prove my innocence. By Allāh, I never thought that Allāh would reveal divine inspiration in my case, as I considered myself too inferior to be talked of in the holy Qur`ān. I had hoped that Allāh's Apostle might have a dream in which Allāh would prove my innocence. By Allāh, Allāh's Apostle had not gotten up and nobody had left the house before divine inspiration came to Allāh's Apostle. So, there overtook him the same state that used to overtake him [when he would receive revelation]. He was sweating so much that the drops of sweat were dropping like pearls though it was a [cold] wintry day. When that state of Allāh's Apostle was over, he was smiling and the first word he said was, "'Ā`ishah! Thank Allāh, for Allāh has declared your innocence." My mother told me to go to Allāh's Apostle. I replied, "By Allāh I will not go to him and I will not thank but Allāh." So Allāh revealed, "Verily! They who spread the slander are a gang among you..."[1838]
>
> ...Allāh's Apostle also asked Zaynab bint Jaḥsh (another of his wives) about me, saying, "What do you know and what did you see?" She replied, "O Allāh's Apostle! I refrain from claiming to have heard or seen what I have not heard or seen. By Allāh, I know nothing except good about 'Ā`ishah." 'Ā`ishah further added, "Zaynab was competing with me [in her beauty and for the Prophet's love][1839], yet Allāh protected her [from being malicious], for she had piety."[1840]

Other traditions relay 'Alī's (ع) recommendation to the Prophet (ص) as, "Allāh does not put you in difficulty [with respect to your wives] and there are plenty of women other than her,"[1841] and "Allāh has not put any unnecessary burden upon you [in regards to your wives]."[1842] These clearly show that 'Alī (ع) thought of 'Ā`ishah as worthy of divorce, as does Allāh in the Qur`ān in the verses of choice,[1843] even though he did not think that she was adulterous. Indeed, some apparently believed that 'Alī (ع) thought she was adulterous, but that was not the case. Rather, he just recommended that the Prophet (ص) divorce her. According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī,

> Narrated Zuhrī: Walīd ibn 'Abd al-Malik said to me, "Have you heard that 'Alī was one of those who slandered 'Ā`ishah?" I replied, "No, but two men from your people [named] Abū Salamah ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān and Abū Bakr ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Ḥārith have informed me that 'Ā`ishah told them that 'Alī remained silent about her case."[1844]

[1838] Qur`ān 24:11. The verse is cut off in the quoted tradition as per its appearance in the English translation of Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī. The full verse reads, "Surely they who brought forth the slander are a group from among you. Do not regard it a bad thing for you; rather, it is good for you. Every man of them shall have what he has earned of sin; and [as for] the one who took upon himself the main part thereof, he shall have a grievous penalty."

[1839] The comments in brackets appear in the English translation of Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī.

[1840] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #3.48.829. Also refer to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.59.462, #6.60.274; Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #37.6673.

[1841] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.59.462.

[1842] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #37.6673.

[1843] The verse of choice reads, "O Prophet! Tell your wives, 'If you seek the life of this world and its adornment, come! I will let you enjoy them and will divorce you in a generous fashion.'" (Qur`ān 33:28) Refer to chapters 14 and 27.

[1844] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.59.463.

ʹĀʹishah took ʹAlī's (ع) recommendation regarding her divorce to heart and despised him as a result. She loathed him to the point that she could not even bear to mention his name in traditions she narrated. The following is one such example in Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī:

> Narrated ʹĀʹishah: "When the ailment of Allāh's Apostle became aggravated... [he was] walking between two men with his feet dragging on the ground, between ʹAbbās ibn ʹAbd al-Muṭṭalib and another man." ʹUbayd Allāh said, "I told ʹAbd Allāh [ibn ʹAbbās] of what ʹĀʹishah had said." ʹAbd Allāh ibn ʹAbbās said to me, "Do you know who the other man whom ʹĀʹishah did not name is?" I said, "No." Ibn ʹAbbās said, "It was ʹAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib."[1845]

If ʹĀʹishah could not even mention ʹAlī's (ع) name and therefore doctored her accounts to keep ʹAlī's (ع) name out of them, one cannot trust the accuracy of her traditions, as she would distort them as she saw fit.

The Reason why the Prophet (ص) Married ʹĀʹishah

It is sometimes claimed that the fact that the Prophet (ص) married ʹĀʹishah, the daughter of Abū Bakr, and Ḥafṣah, the daughter of ʹUmar is proof that Abū Bakr and ʹUmar were beloved companions and devoted believers. Yet, this conclusion cannot be deduced from the facts. While married to Khadījah, the Prophet (ص) was most loyal to her. Upon her death, the Prophet (ص) married a number of women for various reasons:

1. He married Sawdah bint Zamʹah after her husband was martyred to show that if Muslim fighters are martyred, their wives would be married and well taken care of.[1846]

2. He married Zaynab bint Khuzaymah, who was called Umm al-Masākīn (mother of the destitute), for similar reasons, as her husband was martyred during the Battle of Badr.[1847]

3. He similarly married Umm Salamah after her husband Abū Salamah died as a martyr from a wound he had sustained during the Battle of Uḥud.[1848]

4. He married Ramlah (Umm Ḥabībah), the daughter of the pagan leader Abū Sufyān, because her husband ʹUbayd Allāh ibn Jaḥsh converted to Christianity in Abyssinia while she remained steadfast in Islām.[1849] This showed that believing Muslims would be taken care of regardless of the status of faith of their fathers or previous husbands.

5. By marrying Zaynab bint Jaḥsh, he showed that it was permissible to marry the ex-wife of an adopted son, as adoption in Islām, unlike in pagan Arabia, does not confer blood rights.[1850]

6. As for Ṣafīyyah, Haykal wrote, "When a companion learned of Ṣafīyyah's captivity, he approached the Prophet with the suggestion that, since she was the

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[1845] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.59.727. Similarly, Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #1.11.655.
[1846] Haykal 291.
[1847] Haykal 291-2.
[1848] Haykal 292.
[1849] Haykal 377.
[1850] Haykal 296-7.

lady of the [Jewish tribes of] Banū Qurayẓah and Banū Naḍīr, she was fit to become the wife of the Prophet alone. The Prophet granted her freedom and then married her, following the example of the great conquerors who married the daughters and wives of the kings whom they had conquered, partly in order to alleviate their tragedy and partly to preserve their dignity."[1851]

7. Juwayrīyah's marriage was similar. She was one of the captives of the Banū Muṣṭaliq, and was the daughter of Ḥārith ibn Abī Ḍirār, the leader of that tribe. The Prophet (ص) agreed to pay for her freedom and marry her. According to Haykal, when news of this reached the people, everyone who had a captive from the Banū Muṣṭaliq freed them "in deference to the new status the captives had acquired as the in-laws of the Prophet." As such, 'Ā'ishah said, "I know of no woman who brought as much good for her people as Juwayrīyah."[1852]

8. As for Mārīyah, when the Prophet (ص) sent Muslim delegations abroad, the Coptic archbishop of Egypt gave the Muslim delegation a warm reception. He also offered the Prophet (ص) a number of gifts, including Mārīyah and Sīrīn. Since they were sisters, the Prophet (ص) married only one of them, Mārīyah, while marrying Sīrīn to Ḥassān ibn Thābit.[1853] In this context, rejecting Mārīyah as a wife may have been interpreted as an offensive act.

9. As for Maymūnah, she became attracted to Islām during the Peace of Ḥudaybīyyah. According to Haykal, "Muḥammad sought to make of his marriage to Maymūnah an occasion to consolidate the mutual understanding between him and the Quraysh which the Ḥudaybīyyah Treaty had brought about.. Muḥammad asked [the Meccan delegates] that his marriage be performed in Mecca, and invited the Quraysh to attend both the ceremony and the banquet which the Muslims would prepare for the occasion. Muḥammad issued this invitation to them knowing very well the powerful reconciliatory effect his performance of the pilgrimage ritual had had on the hearts of the Quraysh. The Prophet sought to further this feeling by having them participate in a joyous occasion, one which would undoubtedly furnish the Meccans with further evidence of Muḥammad's sincerity and love of peace. He had hoped that if he could talk to them leisurely and in an atmosphere such as one a wedding ceremony and banquet would provide, he could further allay their fears and, perhaps, Mecca would then open its gate and heart freely to its Muslim children... Hence, [the Meccan delegates] answered, 'No.'"[1854]

As is obvious from all of his marriages, the Prophet (ص) had the interest of the Muslim nation at mind, not his own personal interest. He married women to establish principles and to solidify political connections that would benefit the nation. He did not, as the ignorant enemies of Islām claim, marry them for sexual pleasure or beauty, as had that been his goal, he could have availed himself of any number of beautiful young women. What is even more evident is that he did not marry them for the faith of their fathers. Indeed, a number of them were the daughters of the foremost enemies of Islām, men who were the leaders of adversarial tribes and who are guaranteed to spend an eternity in hell. As such, he married the daughters of men such as Abū Sufyān and Ḥārith, the

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1851. Haykal 373.
1852. Haykal 333.
1853. Haykal 376.
1854. Haykal 384.

leaders of the pagans, as well as Ṣafīyyah, whose father led the Jewish tribes against the Muslims.

To claim that marriage to ʿĀʾishah and Ḥafṣah proves the faith of their fathers is absurd, as such a principle did not hold for the other wives because the Prophet (ص) did not marry any of the others because of the faith of their fathers. As such, the level of faith of one's father was not a criterion in the Prophet's (ص) selection of wives. Indeed, the lack of faith of a wife's father appeared to be the rule rather than the exception. Political marriages of convenience such as these have always been common among leaders. By marrying the daughters of those whose betrayal one may fear, a leader can effectively reduce the chance of such men wreaking havoc on his nation. Indeed, the Prophet's (ص) strategy worked rather well during his lifetime, but as his marriage ties to ʿĀʾishah and Ḥafṣah were severed upon his death, so were the ties that kept their fathers under check.

The Claim that the Prophet's (ص) Daughters were Married to ʿUthmān

Another issue that is raised is why the Prophet (ص) would allow ʿUthmān to marry two of his daughters if he was of weak faith. The answer to this question is rather obvious, as the Prophet (ص) had only one daughter, Fāṭimah (ع), and the other daughters who married ʿUthmān were his adoptive daughters from Khadījah's previous marriages or perhaps girls whom she had adopted upon the death of their parents. As such, the Prophet (ص) had two sons and one daughter from Khadījah—Qāsim, Ṭayyib (or Ṭāhir), and Fāṭimah (ع). Zaynab, Ruqayyah, and Umm Kulthūm were therefore adoptive daughters of the Prophet (ص) whom he had helped raise and were therefore referred to as the daughters of the Prophet (ص) because they were raised in his household. Designation of adoptees as one's own children was the norm until the Qurʾān forbade it, demanding that everyone be referred to by the name of their own fathers; if the name of one's father were not known, then one would be referred to as a mawlā or as a brother in religion.[1855]

In fact, any rational person would find it highly unlikely that a forty year old woman would suddenly give birth to six children at that age. Although not absolutely impossible, such an event is pretty much unheard of and remains in the realm of possibilities so remote that no one can base beliefs on it. Even more astonishingly, Sunnīs continue to claim that ʿUthmān was the "possessor of two lights," because he married two of the Prophet's (ص) daughters, yet the Wahhābīs deny the Prophet (ص) was made of light in the first place! In addition, there is little if anything narrated regarding the virtues of Zaynab, Ruqayyah and Umm Kulthūm, showing that Fāṭimah (ع) was in a different league, which is consistent with the Shīʿah claim that she was the only one among them who was the biological daughter of the Prophet (ص). In any case, it was not forbidden for anyone to marry ʿUthmān at the time of the Prophet (ص), as he professed Islām and he therefore had a right to be treated as a Muslim and hypocrites are legally treated according to their externally professed faith until their inner disbelief is openly expressed.

The Fictitious Marriage of ʿAlī's (ع) Daughter Umm Kulthūm to ʿUmar

The claim that ʿUmar married Umm Kulthūm, ʿAlī's (ع) daughter from Fāṭimah (ع), is another commonly stated myth. ʿUmar did have several wives named Umm Kulthūm, but none of them were the daughters of ʿAlī (ع). Imaginative scholars later claimed that

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[1855] Qurʾān 33:5. Refer to chapter 94 for a discussion of paternity in Islām.

ʹUmar's wife Umm Kulthūm was the daughter of ʹAlī (ع). An example of this type of imaginative play appears in the translation of the following tradition in Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī:

> ʹUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb distributed some garments amongst the women of Madīnah. One good garment remained, and one of those present with him said, "O Commander of the Faithful! Give this garment to *your wife*, the [grand]daughter of Allāh's Apostle." They meant Umm Kulthūm, the daughter of ʹAlī. ʹUmar said, "Umm Salīṭ has more right [to have it]." Umm Salīṭ was amongst those Anṣārī women who had given the pledge of allegiance to Allāh's Apostle. ʹUmar said, "She (i.e. Umm Salīṭ) used to carry the water skins for us on the day of Uḥud."[1856]

The tradition in Arabic, however, says nothing about Umm Kulthūm being ʹUmar's wife. Rather it says, "this daughter of the Messenger of Allāh who is present with you." In fact, the tradition is clear that that she was present with ʹUmar (ʹindaka), just as the other women there were present with him (ʹindahu) to receive the garments. Unless all the women of Madīnah were his wives, there is no reason to believe that Umm Kulthūm was his wife based on the phrasing of this tradition. According to this tradition, ʹUmar was giving out clothing to everyone except to the daughter of ʹAlī (ع), and someone said something to him in that regards, yet ʹUmar found someone he felt was more deserving of that article of clothing.

Sunnī traditions claiming that Umm Kulthūm bint ʹAlī (ع) married ʹUmar are extremely hard to believe.[1857] The following is one example:

> ʹUmar asked [her father] ʹAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib for [her hand in] marriage. He replied, "She is too young." He said, "Marry her to me, O Abū al-Ḥasan. I have been waiting for her the way no one else has been waiting for her." ʹAlī said, "I will send her to you. If you like her, I will marry her to you." He sent her a garment and told her, "Tell him that this is the garment I was talking about." She said this to ʹUmar and he said, "Tell him that I accept, may Allāh be pleased with you." He placed his hands on her leg. She said, "You have done this [to me]?! Were you not the Commander of the Faithful, I would have broken your nose!" She then went to her father and told him what happened and said, "You have just sent me to a filthy old man (shaykhun sawʹ)." He said, "O daughter, he is your husband." ʹUmar then sat among the Muhājirīn in a garden and said, "Congratulate me!" They asked, "For what, O Commander of the Faithful?" He said, "For my marrying Umm Kulthūm the daughter of ʹAlī. I heard the Messenger of Allāh say, 'Every family relation and blood tie will be severed on the Day of Judgment except for my family relations and blood ties.' There is [now] a blood tie and a family relation between him and me."[1858]

The following is another example:

> ʹUmar asked for the hand of ʹAlī's daughter from Fāṭimah in marriage and was very pushy in this regards... ʹAlī told his daughter from Fāṭimah to beautify

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1856. Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #4.52.132, #5.59.398.

1857. Those interested in further discussion of this topic should refer to the article entitled, "Nikah of Lady Umm Kulthum," at www.answering-ansar.org which contains an extensive discussion of this topic including twenty-seven serious objections to the claim in this regards.

1858. Istīʹāb 4:509 #3638 (Umm Kulthūm bint ʹAlī). Similarly, Usd al-Ghābah 5:489 #7587 (Umm Kulthūm bint ʹAlī). A shorter version appears in Iṣābah 4:2746 #12229 (Umm Kulthūm bint ʹAlī).

> herself and then sent her to the Commander of the Faithful ʿUmar. When he saw her, he got up and grabbed her leg and said, "Tell your father that I am pleased, I am pleased, I am pleased!" The girl returned to her father and said, "He called me and came to me and grabbed my leg. He then said, 'Tell your father, I am pleased.'" [ʿAlī] then married her to him.[1859]

It is hard to imagine forgeries more obvious than these. According to these traditions, ʿAlī (ع) had his daughter dress up all pretty for ʿUmar, and then sent her over to his place even though they were not married. ʿUmar then touched her body as he pleased, and ʿAlī (ع) let ʿUmar have her. No one in their right mind would imagine ʿAlī (ع) acting like this. None of the "scholars" who invented and passed on these traditions would allow their daughters to put on make-up for some man and allow him to touch her. Obviously those who forged this tradition were doing nothing but belittling ʿAlī (ع) and Umm Kulthūm.

These traditions are also absurd because they claim that ʿAlī (ع) told Umm Kulthūm that she was married to ʿUmar, yet there was never any marriage ceremony (nikāḥ) and no witnesses, as no one in Madīnah knew about it when ʿUmar asked to be congratulated. Why this marriage would be held in such secrecy and without a proper marriage ceremony and nuptial contract is beyond imagination. Moreover, according to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, the Prophet (ص) said, "A matron should not be given in marriage except after consulting her; and a virgin should not be given in marriage except after her permission."[1860] Obviously, Umm Kulthūm did not consent according to these traditions, as she thought that ʿUmar was a "filthy old man" whose nose she wanted to smash.

Since there is no real historical evidence of Umm Kulthūm being the wife of ʿUmar and having a son named Zayd, it is claimed that both Umm Kulthūm and Zayd died completely independently on the same day, with the mother dying of illness and the son from a traumatic skull fracture![1861] The chances of both deaths occurring spontaneously are so remote that one could only conclude that the forger of the tradition left a clear mark of its being a forgery.

In reality, ʿAlī (ع) withheld Umm Kulthūm from ʿUmar because ʿAlī (ع) told him, "I have kept my daughters [from Fāṭimah] only for the sons of Jaʿfar [ibn Abī Ṭālib]."[1862] As such, Umm Kulthūm was married to ʿAwn ibn Jaʿfar; when he died, she married his brother Muḥammad ibn Jaʿfar; and when he died, she married ʿAbd Allāh ibn Jaʿfar after her sister Zaynab who had been married to him previously passed away. She remained married to ʿAbd Allāh ibn Jaʿfar until the end of her life.[1863] It is so clear from the fact that she married three brothers, all the sons of Jaʿfar ibn Abī Ṭālib, that she held true to her father's wish that she only marry the sons of his brother. For anyone to claim that ʿUmar deflowered her is not only untrue but also insulting given ʿAlī's (ع) purpose for her. In fact, according to Muḥibb Ṭabarī, ʿAlī (ع) married all eighteen of his daughters, except for Umm Kulthūm, to the offspring of Jaʿfar ibn Abī Ṭālib, ʿAqīl ibn Abī Ṭālib, and ʿAbbās ibn ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib.[1864] Umm Kulthūm being the one exception is simply untrue.

[1859] Tārīkh Baghdād #3237 (Ibrāhīm ibn Mihrān).

[1860] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #7.62.67.

[1861] Iṣābah 4:2746 #12229 (Umm Kulthūm bint ʿAlī).

[1862] Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 8:463; Iṣābah 4:2746 #12229 (Umm Kulthūm bint ʿAlī).

[1863] Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 8:463; Iṣābah 4:2746 #12229 (Umm Kulthūm bint ʿAlī).

[1864] Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:240-1.

The reality is that the truth is too painful for some to bear. It is evident that Umm Kulthūm would not marry those who had attacked her mother.[1865] ʿAlī (ع) was upset with Abū Bakr and ʿUmar and would have never given consent for the granddaughter of the Messenger of Allāh (ص) to marry them, especially when her mother died furious at them and swore never to forgive them.[1866] Moreover, ʿAlī (ع) would only marry Fāṭimah's (ع) daughters to the offspring of Jaʿfar ibn Abī Ṭālib because no one else in the nation would be suitable for them, just as no one in the nation was suitable for Fāṭimah (ع) except for ʿAlī (ع).[1867] ʿAlī's (ع) belief that his family was superior to the rest of the Quraysh was unpalatable to others, so they came up with this absurd story to claim that ʿUmar fooled around with ʿAlī's (ع) daughter and married her before she could marry the sons of Jaʿfar as her father wished.

The fact that no one except ʿAlī (ع) and the sons of Jaʿfar, all from the lineage of Abū Ṭālib, married the daughter or the granddaughters of the Messenger of Allāh (ص) creates a clear superiority for Abū Ṭālib and his offspring over the other clans of Quraysh. As such, the Quraysh biologically ascribed ʿUthmān's wives to the Prophet (ص) and claimed that ʿUmar sexually assaulted and then married Umm Kulthūm bint ʿAlī (ع). Unfortunately, such lies do not change the truth.

It should be noted that ʿUmar also asked to marry Umm Kulthūm bint Abī Bakr, but was also rejected. According to Ṭabarī, ʿĀʾishah exclaimed to her younger sister, "You are turning down the Commander of the Faithful?!" Umm Kulthūm replied, "Yes [because] he leads a rough life and is severe with his womenfolk." ʿAmr ibn ʿĀṣ took this message to ʿUmar, and when ʿUmar expressed his disappointment with her decision, ʿAmr said, "How will it be with [Umm Kulthūm] if she disobeys you on any matter and you punish her physically?"[1868] It is therefore clear that it was widely known that ʿUmar was a wife-beater. In fact, ʿUmar's personality scared off other women as well. When he sought to marry Umm Abān bint ʿUtbah ibn Rabīʿah, she said, "He closes his door, keeping away any goodness he has [from others] (i.e. is miserly and uncharitable); he enters wearing a frown and comes out wearing a frown!"[1869] It would simply be inconceivable for the granddaughter of the Messenger of Allāh (ص) to want to or to be allowed by her father to marry to such a man.

The Naming of ʿAlī's (ع) Sons[1870]

Another claim one hears is that ʿAlī (ع) named three of his fourteen[1871] sons after the first three caliphs—Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, and ʿUthmān—and that this proves that he admired them. This claim could not be farther from the truth. The basic error in this logic is that his use of those names for his sons, if true, in no way shows that he was naming them after the first three caliphs who happened to carry those names. This is rather obvious. Suppose an American man has fourteen sons and they are named Anthony, Christopher, Dan, Dick, Dwight, George, Gerald, Herbert, John, Matthew, Nelson, Richard, Ronald, and William. If someone were to claim that this man is most definitely a follower of the Republican Party based on the names of his sons, everyone would consider him mad, even though his sons carry the names of the last seven Republican presidents—George W. Bush, George H. W. Bush, Ronald Reagan, Gerald Ford, Richard Nixon, Dwight Eisenhower, and Herbert Hoover. In fact, one could point out that the man's sons are also named after the last five Republican vice presidents—Dick Cheney, Dan Quayle, George H. W. Bush, Nelson Rockefeller, and Gerald Ford. Yet, this would be considered a coincidence. Only centuries later, if there was a particular reason to prove that this man was a Republican partisan, would such coincidences be substituted for proofs. Such circumstantial evidence is too weak to base any serious matter of faith on.

[1865] Refer to chapter 48.

[1866] Refer to chapter 50.

[1867] Refer to chapter 7.

[1868] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 14:101-2.

[1869] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 14:102.

[1870] Refer to the article entitled, "The names of Imām ʿAlī[ع]'s sons," in www.answering-ansar.org.

[1871] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:368. Refer to the Shīʿah source Kitāb al-Irshād of Shaykh Mufīd 268-9 for a list of the names of his fourteen sons and thirteen daughters.

Indeed, anyone who studies books of rijāl (biography) would note that Abū Bakr, ʹUmar, and ʹUthmān were all common Arab names. As with any common name, its use typically does not lend itself to claims that a child was named after a particular individual. For example, the name Yazīd was very common among the early generations (salaf), even though it is hard to imagine that they were all named after the caliph Yazīd. Similarly, Muslim, the Sunnī scholar of prophetic traditions, was not likely to have been named after Muslim ʹUqbah, Yazīd's military commander who led the pillage and rape of the inhabitants of Madīnah in the Battle of Ḥarrah and died soon thereafter on his way to doing the same in Mecca.[1872] There are many Muslims named ʹAbd al-Raḥmān and ʹUbayd Allāh, yet no one claims that they were named after the killers of ʹAlī (ع) (ʹAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Muljam) and Ḥusayn (ع) (ʹUbayd Allāh ibn Zīyād), respectively. Similarly, all the Muslims who are named ʹAbd Allāh are most certainly not named after ʹAbd Allāh ibn Ubayy ibn Salūl, the lead hypocrite among the Anṣār, and to use the fact that Muslims are named ʹAbd Allāh to prove that they are hypocrites would be most illogical.

Of note, ʹAlī (ع), according to Sunnī traditions, wanted to name his first three sons Ḥarb.[1873] One would then have to conclude then that he wanted to name them after the father of Abū Sufyān (Ṣakhr ibn Ḥarb), who was the archenemy of Islām at the time. In fact, if ʹAlī (ع) was naming his sons after the first three caliphs, he would have utilized those names in succession, which he did not. Furthermore, ʹAlī (ع) could have easily named his son ʹUthmān after ʹUthmān ibn Maẓʹūn, not ʹUthmān ibn ʹAffān. ʹUthmān ibn Maẓʹūn was an early companion who migrated to Abyssinia and later to Madīnah. He died in Madīnah soon after fighting in the Battle of Badr and was the first Emigrant to be buried in the Baqīʹ cemetery.[1874] The Prophet (ص) sobbed at his funeral,[1875] and when he was informed of a dream in which ʹUthmān had a flowing spring, he said, "That flowing spring symbolizes his good deeds."[1876] In fact, when the Prophet's (ص) son Ibrāhīm died, he said, "He has joined our righteous predecessors (salaf al-ṣāliḥ), ʹUthmān ibn Maẓʹūn."[1877] Similarly, had ʹAlī (ع) named his son ʹUmar after someone, it could have easily been ʹUmar ibn Abī Salamah, the son of the Prophet's (ص) wife Umm Salamah. ʹUmar ibn Abī Salamah was an ardent devotee of ʹAlī (ع) who joined him in the Battle of Jamal and then became his governor in Baḥrayn.[1878] ʹAlī (ع) could have similarly named his son Abū Bakr after any one of the many Abū Bakrs around if he were actually naming him after someone. In fact, according to Shīʹah sources, Abū Bakr ibn Ḥazm al-Anṣārī was among ʹAlī's (ع) closest devotees and most ardent Shīʹah.[1879] The basic point is that when a Muslim hears the names Abū Bakr, ʹUmar, and ʹUthmān today, he thinks only of the first three caliphs, whereas at the time 'Alī (ع) named his sons, these names were very generic names with no political significance and also happened to be the names of some of his most devoted Shī'ah. Anyone trying to prove anything based on these names is just pulling at straws.

[1872] Refer to chapter 97.
[1873] Refer to chapter 7.
[1874] Iṣābah 2:1240-1 #5455 (ʹUthmān ibn Maẓʹūn).
[1875] Sunan Tirmidhī #989 (certifies the tradition as good-authentic [ḥasan ṣaḥīḥ]).
[1876] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #9.87.132. Similarly, Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #3.48.852, #5.58.266, #9.87.145.
[1877] Iṣābah 2:1241 #5455 (ʹUthmān ibn Maẓʹūn).
[1878] Tārikh Ṭabarī 16:42; Iṣābah 2:1309 #5742 (ʹUmar ibn Abī Salamah).
[1879] Jāmiʹ al-Ruwāt 2:369 #2601 (Abū Bakr ibn Ḥazm al-Anṣārī).

Chapter 29
The Mubāhalah Established the Inseparability and Legal Equivalence of ʿAlī (ع) and the Prophet (ص)

A group of Christians from Najrān near Yemen arrived in Madīnah and argued with the Prophet (ص) regarding the divinity of Jesus (ع). Although it was explained to them that Jesus (ع) was not divine, was not born to Allāh, and was not part of a divine trinity, they continued arguing until the following verse of the Qur`ān was revealed:

> So tell whoever argues with you in this matter (i.e. the trinity) after knowledge has come you, "Come, we will swear upon our children and your children, and our women and your women, and ourselves and yourselves. Then we will solemnly pray (nabtahil) and invoke the curse of Allāh upon the liars."[1880]

Because of the word "nabtahil" in the verse, this event has been referred to as the "Mubāhalah," or mutual cursing, an act in which each side asks Allāh to curse their opponents if they are lying. According to numerous Sunnī Qur`ānic commentaries,

> When the Messenger of Allāh (ص) recited this verse to the delegation from Najrān and invited them to [engage in the] Mubāhalah (mutual cursing), they said, "[Give us some time] to return and reflect about the matter and we will come back to you tomorrow." They met privately with one another and asked ʿĀqib, their highest scholar among them, "O servant of the Messiah (ʿAbd al-Masīḥ), what do you think?" He said, "O Christians, by Allāh you know that Muḥammad is a prophet who has been sent [by Allāh] and who has brought you the decisive word about your companion (i.e. Jesus). By Allāh! No prophet has cursed a tribe except that its people, young and old, were destroyed. I see it best for you to remain in your religion and to return to your land." The next morning, the Messenger of Allāh (ص) arrived, carrying Ḥusayn in one arm, while holding the hand of Ḥasan with the other. Fāṭimah was walking behind them, and behind her was ʿAlī. The Prophet (ص) told them, "When I call [for them to be cursed], you say, 'Amen!'" The high priest of Najrān said, "O Christians! If the faces I am seeing ask Allāh to make a mountain disappear, Allāh would do it! Do not engage in the Mubāhalah, otherwise you will all die and no Christian would be left on earth until the Day of Judgment!"
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> So the Christians said, "O Abū al-Qāsim[1881], we have decided not to curse you. Rather, we will leave you alone with your religion while we remain on ours." [The Prophet (ص)] said, "Now that you have avoided the Mubāhalah, become Muslims so that what is to the benefit of the Muslims would be to your benefit,

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[1880] Qur`ān 3:61.

[1881] Abū al-Qāsim is a kunyah of the Prophet (ص).

> and what is to their loss would be to your loss." They declined. He said, "Then I will invite you to war." They replied, "We do not have the ability to fight the Arabs. However, we will enter a treaty with you so that you would neither fight us in war nor threaten us, and so that you would not force us to abandon our religion. In return, we will pay two thousand coins, one thousand in the month of Ṣafar and the other thousand in the month of Rajab."
>
> The Messenger of Allāh (ص) made peace with them according to these terms. He then said, "By the One in Whose hand is my soul, [divine] punishment was close to take over the people of Najrān. Had they engaged in the Mubāhalah, they would have turned into apes and swine and the land would have become fire for them! Allāh would have extended this to all the inhabitants of Najrān, even the birds on their trees, and this would have afflicted all Christians until [they] would all perish."[1882]

According to Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim,

> When the verse was revealed, "Let us summon our children and your children,"[1883] Allāh's Messenger called ʿAlī, Fāṭimah, Ḥasan, and Ḥusayn and said, "O Allāh, they are my family."[1884]

The fact that the Prophet (ص), in accordance with the verse of the Qur`ān, brought ʿAlī, Fāṭimah, Ḥasan, and Ḥusayn (ع) to the Mubāhalah is famous and has been widely accepted and narrated by Sunnī scholars of prophetic tradition and interpreters of the Qur`ān. Traditions regarding this appear in Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim,[1885] Sunan Tirmidhī,[1886] Mustadrak Ḥākim,[1887] Musnad Ḥanbal,[1888] Dhakhā`ir al-ʿUqbā,[1889] Sunan al-Kubrā Bayhaqī,[1890] Tārīkh al-Khulafā`,[1891] Tārīkh Damishq,[1892] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr,[1893] Iṣābah,[1894] and Usd al-Ghābah.[1895] Among Sunnī Qur`ānic commentators, Rāzī, Zamakhsharī, Qurṭubī, Ibn Kathīr, Bayḍāwī, Suyūṭī, Nīsābūrī, Thaʿlabī, and Khāzin have related this incident.[1896] The basic historical events related in these accounts are the same, and there is little disagreement over what happened during the Mubāhalah. Indeed, for our discussion, all that is important is the fact that the Prophet (ص) brought ʿAlī, Fāṭimah, Ḥasan, and Ḥusayn (ع) to fulfill the requirements of the verse of the Qur`ān, a fact that is cited in accounts present in all these sources.

There is some dispute regarding the exact date of this event, but it likely occurred around the years 9 or 10 A.H. at a time of Muslim dominance throughout Arabia, which is why the

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[1882] Tafsīr Thaʿlabī, verse 3:61. Identical and similar accounts appear in Tafsīr Zamakhsharī, Tafsīr Rāzī, Tafsīr Bayḍāwī, Tafsīr Nīsābūrī, Tafsīr Baghawī, and Tafsīr Khāzin, verse 3:61.

[1883] Qur`ān 3:61.

[1884] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #31.5915.

[1885] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #31.5915.

[1886] Sunan Tirmidhī #2999, #3724.

[1887] Mustadrak Ḥākim #4719 (certifies the tradition as authentic by the criteria of Bukhārī and Muslim).

[1888] Musnad Ḥanbal #1608.

[1889] Dhakhā`ir al-ʿUqbā 25.

[1890] Sunan al-Kubrā Bayhaqī #13170.

[1891] Tārīkh al-Khulafā` 151.

[1892] Tārīkh Damishq 42:16, 42:112.

[1893] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 5:65, 7:376.

[1894] Iṣābah 2:1296 #5690 (ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib).

[1895] Usd al-Ghābah 3:291 #3789 (ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib).

[1896] Tafsīr Rāzī, Tafsīr Zamakhsharī, Tafsīr Qurṭubī, Tafsīr Ibn Kathīr, Tafsīr Bayḍāqī, Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, Tafsīr Nīsābūrī, Tafsīr Thaʿlabī, and Tafsīr Khāzin, verse 3:61.

Christians were willing to pay tribute for their security. Before that time, the Muslims would not have been considered an imminent threat to the inhabitants of Yemen.

Interpretation of the Verse of Mubāhalah

The Qur`ānic verse, as clarified by the basic historical events related regarding it, reveals the following facts of interest:

1. The Messenger of Allāh (ص) was certain that his mission was true. Otherwise, he would not have endangered himself and those closest to him. In addition, if he gave even the slightest possibility that, if the Mubāhalah proceeded, nothing visible would happen to the people of Najrān, he would only be setting himself up to disprove his own prophecy. The Christians also recognized the fact that if they proceeded with the Mubāhalah, they would be cursed, so they decided not to do so and to instead pay jizyah. This shows that their own scholars at the time knew for sure that Muḥammad (ص) was a prophet.

2. The first part of the verse says, "So whoever argues with you in this matter." The "you" in this part of the verse is singular and indicates that the Christians were not arguing with all the Muslims, but rather with just the Prophet (ص) himself. As such, it would be inappropriate for the Prophet (ص) to involve any individuals other than himself or those equivalent to him in rendering guidance. According to the historical accounts, ʿAlī, Fāṭimah, Ḥasan, and Ḥusayn (ع) were also invoked in the dispute. One may conclude that ʿAlī, Fāṭimah, Ḥasan, and Ḥusayn (ع) were partners with the Prophet (ص) in relating the divine message and that the five of them formed a unity such that any argument against the Prophet (ص) would be equivalent to an argument against each and every one of them. This is not to say that ʿAlī, Fāṭimah, Ḥasan, and Ḥusayn (ع) were all prophets, but rather that they were partners with the Prophet (ص) in spreading the Islāmic word, the same way Aaron (ع) was the partner of Moses (ع) in spreading the divine message. Indeed, this partnership in spreading the divine message is not limited to this incident, but was present throughout the prophetic mission. Such an equality in spreading the divine message is clear proof for their leadership (imāmate) over the Muslim nation. In fact, the Prophet (ص) told ʿAlī (ع), "I do not pray for anything for myself that I do not pray for you, and I do not pray for anything but that it is accepted [by Allāh]."[1897] This tradition is reflected in the Mubāhalah, as Allāh told the Prophet (ص) to call a curse upon himself and his own children and wife, yet ʿAlī (ع) and ʿAlī's (ع) sons and wife were substituted instead. The fact that only ʿAlī (ع) could be substituted for carrying out elements of the Prophet's (ص) mission was addressed indirectly in chapter 10 and will be further addressed in chapter 32 in our discussion of the verses of renunciation.

3. If the sons, wives, and selves in the verse were referring to any Muslim, we would expect the Prophet (ص) to bring Muslims from other than his Ahl al-Bayt (ع). However, he did not bring even one individual from outside his Ahl al-Bayt (ع), just as he did not leave a single one of his Ahl al-Bayt (ع) behind. At the very least, this would be a sign of the Prophet's (ص) preference for them over the rest of the Muslims. The preference of the Prophet (ص) would be based completely on belief, purity from sins, and the performance of good deeds, as the Qur`ān forbids blind favoritism towards one's family members irrespective of their level of faith.[1898]

[1897] Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #33048, #36513. Similarly, Dhakhā`ir al-ʿUqbā 61.
[1898] For example, refer to verse 58:22.

Choosing ʿAlī, Fāṭimah, Ḥasan, and Ḥusayn (ع) would therefore be a sign of their superiority over all the Muslims, and thus proof of their imāmate, as the less superior must follow the one who is superior in Islām.

4. The verse implies that ʿAlī (ع) is equivalent to the Prophet (ص), except for not being a prophet. The verse ordered the Prophet (ص) to call upon "our sons and your sons, and our wives and your wives, and ourselves and yourselves." Yet, the Prophet (ص) brought ʿAlī's sons Ḥasan and Ḥusayn (ع) as his own sons, ʿAlī's (ع) wife Fāṭimah (ع) as his own wife, and ʿAlī (ع) himself as his own self. There is nothing more explicit regarding the equivalence of Muḥammad (ص) and ʿAlī (ع) than this verse of the Qurʾān. Anyone whom the Qurʾān considers legally equivalent to the Prophet's (ص) self is certainly superior to all the companions and all the prophets except for the Prophet (ص) himself. Since ʿAlī (ع) and the Prophet (ص) were not physically one, one must conclude that ʿAlī's (ع) being legally interchangeable with the Prophet (ص) was due to ʿAlī (ع) sharing all the high qualities of the Prophet (ص) except for prophecy itself. All the actions, words, and thoughts of ʿAlī (ع) were those of the Prophet (ص) in their entirety. Such a person would be pure, the best of creation after the Prophet (ص) himself, and must be followed by all Muslims just as they were obligated to follow the Prophet (ص) himself. This is proof of ʿAlī's (ع) imāmate.

5. Another fact that establishes the legal equivalence of the Prophet (ص) and ʿAlī (ع) is that the Ahl al-Bayt of the Prophet (ص) was in fact the Ahl al-Bayt of ʿAlī (ع). ʿAlī, Fāṭimah, Ḥasan, and Ḥusayn (ع) would commonly be perceived as the Ahl al-Bayt of ʿAlī (ع), as they were his wife and children who resided with him, but as we have already seen in chapter 14, these exact individuals comprised the Ahl al-Bayt of the Prophet (ص). This is because of the legal equivalence of the Prophet (ص) and ʿAlī (ع), the same concept that allowed the two of them to take the mosque as their homes and to become sexually impure in the mosque, whereas other believers were banned from such actions.[1899]

Some may wonder why the plural is used in the phrases, "our children," "our women," and "ourselves." This is because "our" refers to Muḥammad (ص) and ʿAlī (ع) who are inseparable in their propagation of Islām. It should also be noted that usage of the plural to signify one individual is rather common in the Qurʾān. The following are a few of the many cases in which Sunnī scholars believe verses were revealed about one person, even though the wording is in the plural:[1900]

1. The verse, "Those who say, 'Allāh is poor while we are rich,'"[1901] was revealed in response to the statement of Finḥāṣ.[1902]

2. The verse, "They ask you about what they should spend [in charity],"[1903] was revealed in response to the question of ʿAmr ibn al-Jamūḥ.[1904]

3. The verse, "You will not find people who believe in Allāh and in the Last Day having affection for the enemies of Allāh and His Messenger, even if they are

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[1899] Refer to chapter 9.

[1900] Refer to al-Ghadīr 3:163-167 for a list of twenty verses in which Sunnī scholars claim that a plural reference in a verse specifically refers to one individual.

[1901] Qurʾān 3:181.

[1902] Itqān 4:810, chapter 70.

[1903] Qurʾān 2:215.

[1904] Itqān 4:810, chapter 70.

their own fathers, their sons, their brothers, or anyone else from their family connection,"[1905] was revealed to tell Abū ʿUbaydah ibn al-Jarrāḥ not to mourn the death of his father, whom he had killed during the Battle of Badr.[1906]

4. A number of verses are phrased in the plural but refer specifically to ʿAlī (ع) as we have discussed throughout this book. For example, "The believers who stand in prayer [and] pay zakāt while performing rukūʿ (bending in prayer),"[1907] was revealed in regards to ʿAlī (ع).[1908]

As is the case with virtually every virtue of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع), conflicting false traditions have been invented. In this case, some traditions claim that the Prophet (ص) took Abū Bakr and his sons, ʿUmar and his sons, and ʿUthmān and his sons to the Mubāhalah.[1909] This account has been abandoned by many commentators because of its solitary (āḥād) nature and its contradiction to the other more widely accepted, authentic, and authoritative traditions with numerous sound chains of transmission that are related even in Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim. The existence of such traditions reveals the intense pressure to forge traditions diluting the virtues of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) in favor of the first three caliphs.

ʿAlī (ع) was from the Prophet (ص) and the Prophet (ص) was from ʿAlī (ع)

Even though the incident of the Mubāhalah and the Qurʾānic verse revealed in that regards clearly demonstrate the legal equivalence of the Prophet (ص) and ʿAlī (ع), the sense of inseparability and legal equivalence between the two was not something that only existed on the day of the Mubāhalah. The Prophet (ص) said on many occasions, "Verily ʿAlī is from me and I am from him," and he told ʿAlī (ع), "You are from me and I am from you." He also told Gabriel, "Verily [ʿAlī] is from me and I am from him."

These nearly identical traditions are mutawātir and have been related in slightly different forms and through many chains of transmission in Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī,[1910] Sunan Tirmidhī,[1911] Sunan Ibn Mājah,[1912] Musnad Ḥanbal,[1913] Kanz al-ʿUmmāl,[1914] Majmaʿ al-Zawāʾid,[1915] Sunan al-Kubrā Bayhaqī,[1916] Jāmiʿ al-Ṣaghīr Suyūṭī,[1917] Fayḍ al-Qadīr,[1918] Faḍāʾil Ḥanbal,[1919] Khaṣāʾiṣ Nasāʾī,[1920] Dhakhāʾir al-ʿUqbā,[1921] Tārīkh ibn Kathīr,[1922] Tārīkh

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[1905] Qurʾān 58:22.
[1906] Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, verse 58:22.
[1907] Qurʾān 5:55.
[1908] Refer to chapter 31.
[1909] Tārīkh Damishq 39:177.
[1910] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #3.49.863, #5.59.553.
[1911] Sunan Tirmidhī #3712, #3716, #3719.
[1912] Sunan Ibn Mājah #119.
[1913] Musnad Ḥanbal #931, #17545-7.
[1914] Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #32913, #36444.
[1915] Majmaʿ al-Zawāʾid #15493.
[1916] Sunan al-Kubrā Bayhaqī #15546, #15548, #20816.
[1917] Jāmiʿ al-Ṣaghīr Suyūṭī #5595.
[1918] Fayḍ al-Qadīr #5595.
[1919] Faḍāʾil Ḥanbal #1010, #1023, #1060, #1104.
[1920] Khaṣāʾiṣ Nasāʾī 87, 88, 90.
[1921] Dhakhāʾir al-ʿUqbā 68, 215.
[1922] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:394.

Ṭabarī,[1923] Tārīkh Ibn Athīr,[1924] Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah,[1925] Tārīkh al-Khulafā`,[1926] Usd al-Ghābah,[1927] Iṣābah,[1928] and many other Sunnī sources.

The following are a few of the many similar traditions in this regards:

1. The Messenger of Allāh (ص) said, "'Alī is from me and I am from him and he is the master (walī) of every believer after me."[1929]
2. The Messenger of Allāh (ص) said, "'Alī is to me like my head is to my body."[1930]
3. The Messenger of Allāh (ص) said, "'Alī is to me as I am to my Lord."[1931] What could be understood from this tradition is that 'Alī (ع) was the messenger of the Messenger of Allāh (ص) and that 'Alī (ع) would deliver the Prophet's (ص) messages to the people.
4. The Prophet (ص) told 'Alī (ع), "There has never been a prophet except that he has an equivalent (naẓīr) in his nation, and 'Alī is my equivalent."[1932]
5. The Prophet (ص) told 'Alī (ع), "Whoever breaks away from (faraqa) me breaks away from Allāh and whoever breaks away from you breaks away from me."[1933]
6. The Prophet (ص) told the tribe of Thaqīf, "Accept Islām, or else I will send to you a man who is from me—or who is like me—who will strike your necks, take your children as prisoners, and take your property [as spoils of war]." 'Umar said, "By Allāh! I have never desired [to be given] authority [as much as I did] on that did. I was hoping in my heart that he was about to say, 'This (i.e. 'Umar) is that [man]!' but [instead he] looked towards 'Alī, took his hand and then said, 'This is that [man]! This is that [man]!'"[1934]

According to a number of traditions, during the Battle of Uḥud, the Prophet (ص) said, "Verily ['Alī] is from me and I am from him," and Gabriel (ع) said, "And I am from both of you."[1935] However, Gabriel (ع) was not a human to be a close relative or kinsman of the Prophet (ص). Therefore, we cannot interpret the statement, "I am from both of you," in a biological sense. Gabriel's (ع) relationship to the Prophet (ص) involved unity in the delivery of the divine message. Gabriel (ع) duly delivered the message from Allāh and gave it to the Prophet (ص), who either personally or through ʻAlī (ع), delivered the message to the people. Therefore, Gabriel (ع), the Prophet (ص), ʻAlī (ع), and the rest of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) are one and inseparable in the deliverance of the divine message. Of note, the other pure imāms from the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) are also from the Prophet (ص), as he said that Fāṭimah, Ḥasan, and Ḥusayn (ع) were from him as well.[1936]

[1923] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 7:119-120.

[1924] Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 1:295.

[1925] Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:174.

[1926] Tārīkh al-Khulafā` 152.

[1927] Usd al-Ghābah 3:293 #3789 ('Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib).

[1928] Iṣābah 2:1296 #5690 ('Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib).

[1929] Sunan Tirmidhī #3712; Musnad Ḥanbal #19942; Sunan al-Kubrā Nasā`ī #8146; Faḍā`il Ḥanbal #1104, #1035, #1060; Kanz al-'Ummāl #32883, #36444; Fayḍ al-Qadīr #5595; Dhakhā`ir al-'Uqbā 68; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:381; Iṣābah 2:1296 #5690 ('Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib).

[1930] Kanz al-'Ummāl #32914; Tārīkh Baghdād #3475 (Ayyūb ibn Yūsuf ibn Ayyūb); Jāmi' al-Ṣaghīr Suyūṭī #5596; Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:117; Dhakhā`ir al-'Uqbā 63.

[1931] Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:119, 3:232.

[1932] Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:120.

[1933] Mustadrak Ḥākim #4624 (certifies the tradition as authentic), #4703; Kanz al-'Ummāl #32975-6; Faḍā`il Ḥanbal #962; Majma' al-Zawā`id #14733, #14771 (certifies those in the chain of transmission as trustworthy); Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:123.

[1934] Muṣannaf 'Abd al-Razzāq #20389; Isti'āb 3:210 #1875 ('Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib); Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:119; Faḍā`il Ḥanbal #1008.

[1935] Faḍā`il Ḥanbal #1119, #1120; Kanz al-'Ummāl #36449; Majma' al-Zawā`id #10085, #10116; Mu'jam al-Kabīr Ṭabarānī 1:318; Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:131; Tārīkh Damishq 42:76.

The Prophet (ص) and ʻAlī (ع) were Created from One Light and Comprised One Tree

According to Salmān al-Fārsī, the Prophet (ص) said,

> ʻAlī and I were one light in the hand of Allāh, the oft high, fourteen thousand years before Adam was created. When Allāh created Adam, He divided this light into two parts, so one part is me and one part is ʻAlī.[1937]

Traditions like these are numerous, indicating the original unity of essence of the Prophet (ص) and ʻAlī (ع) and their later separation into two physical beings. The words of the Prophet (ص), "You are from me and I am from you," makes complete sense in this context. There are similarly a number of traditions showing that the Prophet (ص) and his Ahl al-Bayt (ع) are like parts of one tree. The following are two examples:

1. ʻAbd Allāh ibn ʻAbbās heard the Prophet (ص) saying, "ʻAlī and I are from one tree, while the [rest of] the people are from different trees."[1938]
2. Jābir ibn ʻAbd Allāh said that he heard the Prophet (ص) telling ʻAlī (ع), "Come to me, ʻAlī! You and I have been made from one tree—I am its root, you are its stem, and Ḥasan and Ḥusayn are its branches. So whoever hangs on to a branch of [this tree], Allāh will [have] him enter paradise."[1939]

ʻAlī (ع) and the Prophet (ص) are the Two Fathers of the Nation

The Qurʼān says,

1. "Do not associate anything with Him and show kindness to [your] parents... Thus has He instructed you so that you may bear in mind [your duties]. This is my straight path, so follow it and do not follow the [other] paths that will separate you from His path. Thus has He instructed you so that you may be mindful."[1940]
2. "Do not serve other than Allāh and be kind to [your] parents."[1941]
3. "Serve Allāh, do not ascribe any partners to Him, and be kind to [your] parents."[1942]

[1936] Refer to chapters 32 and 50.
[1937] Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:120. Similarly, Manāqib Ibn Mughāzilī #130; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 9:171.
[1938] Kanz al-ʻUmmāl #32943; Tārīkh Damishq 42:65-66 (three chains of transmission); Tārīkh al-Khulafāʼ 153.
[1939] Manāqib Ibn Mughāzilī #133; Kifāyah al-Ṭālib 318, chapter 87.
[1940] Qurʼān 6:151-2.
[1941] Qurʼān 2:83.
[1942] Qurʼān 4:36.

4. "Your Lord has decreed that you must not worship anything except Him and [that you must show] kindness to your parents; whether either of them or both of them attains old age, never say to them a word of contempt, nor scold either of them. Speak to them in a generous fashion. And lower unto the wing of humility out of mercy, and say, 'My Lord, show them mercy, just as they cared for me [when I was] little.' Your Lord is quite aware of anything that is on your minds; if you behave honorably, then He will be forgiving towards those who are attentive."[1943]

As is apparent from these verses, kindness to one's parents is a necessity of Islām. We owe them for their efforts in raising us and providing for us. However, more significant than the physical nurture one receives from one's biological, adoptive, and custodial parents is the spiritual nurture we receive from the Prophet (ص) and his Ahl al-Bayt (ع). They are our true parents, for they nurture our souls and spirits, and they are the true objects of these verses, as kindness to them is cited alongside belief in the unity of Allāh. Indeed, the Prophet (ص) has stressed the fact that he and ´Alī (ع) are the true fathers of the nation in a number of traditions:

1. The Prophet (ص) said, "O ´Alī! You and I are the two fathers of this nation."[1944]
2. According to Jābir ibn ´Abd Allāh, the Prophet (ص) said, "´Alī's right over this nation is the right of a father over his child."[1945]
3. The Prophet (ص) said, "Allāh has mandated for you my obeisance and has prohibited you from disobeying me, and He has mandated for you the obeisance of ´Alī after me and has prohibited you from disobeying him. He is my executor (waṣī) and inheritor (wārith). He is from me and I am from him. Love for him is belief (īmān) and hatred for him is disbelief (kufr). He who loves him loves me, and he who despises him despises me. He is the master (mawlā) of him whose master I am, and I am the master of every Muslim man and woman. He and I are the two fathers of this nation."[1946]
4. The Prophet (ص) told ´Alī (ع), "O ´Alī! You are my brother, my inheritor (wārith), and my executor (waṣī). He who loves you loves me, and he who despises you despises me. O ´Alī! You and I are the two fathers of this nation. O ´Alī! You and I and the imāms from your offspring are chiefs (sayyids) in this world and are the kings (mulūk) in the hereafter. He who knows us indeed knows Allāh, and he who rejects us indeed rejects Allāh."[1947]
5. The Prophet (ص) said, "O ´Alī! You are my brother and I am your brother. I am chosen for prophecy (nubuwwah) while you are chosen for the imāmate (imāmah). You and I are the two fathers of this nation. You are my executor (waṣī), inheritor (wārith), and the father of my children. Those who follow you obey me; those who take you as master (walī) take me as master; [and] your enemies are my enemies. You will be my companion at the Fount [of Kawthar] and my companion in the position of praise (al-maqām al-maḥmūd). [You will

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[1943] Qur`ān 17:23-25.

[1944] Mufradāt al-Qur`ān 7 (a-b-a, al-Ab).

[1945] Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:130; Tārīkh Damishq 42:307, 42:308; Manāqib Ibn Mughāzilī #70; Manāqib Khwārazmī #306; Yanābī´ al-Mawaddah 1:369, 1:370, 2:76, 2:238.

[1946] Yanābī´ al-Mawaddah 1:369-70.

[1947] Yanābī´ al-Mawaddah 1:370.

> be] my standard-bearer in the hereafter just as you are my standard-bearer in this world. Whoever takes you as master (walī) will prosper, whereas whoever opposes you will suffer. The angels seek closeness to Allāh through your love and [through] your mastery (wilāyah). Your friends in the heavens are more numerous than [your friends] on earth. O ʿAlī! You are the proof (ḥujjah) of Allāh over the people after me. Your word is my word; your command is my command; your forbiddance is my forbiddance; your obeisance is my obeisance; your disobeisance is my disobeisance; and your party is my party—the party of Allāh (ḥizb Allāh)." The Prophet (ص) then recited, "And whoever takes Allāh and His Messenger and those who believe (i.e. ʿAlī) as masters (walīs), [they will indeed find] the party of Allāh to be victorious."[1948,1949]

As we can see, ʿAlī (ع) and the Prophet (ص) are the two fathers of the Muslim nation and must therefore be followed, respected, and treated kindly as mandated by the Qurʾān. This must be contrasted with the wives of the Prophet (ص) who are the mothers of the nation not because of their purity from sin or our obligation to slavishly follow them, but rather because of their being married to the Prophet (ص). As the Qurʾān says, "The Prophet is more of a walī to the believers than their own selves, and his wives are their mothers."[1950] The Qurʾān makes it clear that obedience to the wives of the Prophet (ص) is not mandatory if they call us to sin, as ʿĀʾishah did during the Battle of Jamal:

> We have instructed every man to treat his parents kindly. Yet if they should strive to make you associate anything with Me which you have no knowledge of, do not obey them![1951]

The Qurʾān is also clear that if one's parents show enmity towards Allāh and His Messenger (ص), we are not to have affection for them:

> You will not find people who believe in Allāh and in the Last Day having affection for the enemies of Allāh and His Messenger, even if they are their own fathers, their sons, their brothers, or anyone else from their family connection.[1952]

Since the Prophet (ص) told his Ahl al-Bayt (ع), "I am at war with whoever is at war with you,"[1953] ʿĀʾishah's war against ʿAlī (ع) was the same as waging war against the Prophet (ص), and she therefore lost the right to affection from the nation. Thus, obedience and wilāyah is due solely to the Prophet (ص) and his purified Ahl al-Bayt (ع). In contrast, the wives of the Prophet (ص) must be treated kindly as mothers due to their marriage to the Prophet (ص). If virtuous, we revere them, and if sinful, we are not to follow them, but rather guide them and avoid their misguided path.

It should be noted that a tradition has been invented, according to which Abū Bakr and ʿUmar "are the father of Islām and its mother."[1954] This is a sloppy forgery, as how ʿUmar could be a mother is simply unfathomable.

Allāh Placed the Prophet's (ص) Progeny in the Loin of ʿAlī (ع)

1948. Qurʾān 5:56.
1949. Yanābīʿ al-Mawaddah 1:370-1.
1950. Qurʾān 33:6.
1951. Qurʾān 29:8.
1952. Qurʾān 58:22.
1953. Refer to chapter 22.
1954. Tārikh al-Khulafāʾ 110.

The Prophet (ص) said, "The offspring of every prophet has been placed in his own loin, except that my offspring has been placed in the loin of [ʿAlī]."[1955] He also said, "The paternity of every woman's child is attributed to [the child's] father, except for the children of Fāṭimah, for I am their father and their paternity [is ascribed to me]."[1956] This makes it clear that ʿAlī's (ع) children are to be considered the same as the Prophet's (ص) children. This concept is evident when one takes into account the facts that the Prophet (ص) and ʿAlī (ع) are from one another, have been created from the same light, and are legally equivalent.

The Verse of Fighting the Hypocrites Establishes the Legal Equivalence of the Prophet (ص) and ʿAlī (ع)

The Qurʾān says,

> O Prophet, fight (jāhid) the disbelievers and the hypocrites and be harsh against them. Their abode is hell, an awful destination.[1957]

This verse ordered the Prophet (ص) to fight two groups of people—the disbelievers and the hypocrites. He spent a decade in Madīnah fighting the disbelievers. However, he never fought the hypocrites in even a single battle. This task was left to ʿAlī (ع), who fought three battles against them—the Battle of Jamal, the Battle of Ṣiffīn, and the Battle of Nahrawān. As such, this verse proves the legal equivalence of the Prophet (ص) and ʿAlī (ع), as Allāh's orders to the Prophet (ص) could be carried out either by himself (i.e. the order to fight the disbelievers) or by ʿAlī (ع) (i.e. the order to fight the hypocrites). If not for this legal equivalence, one would have to conclude that the Prophet (ص) disobeyed Allāh by not fighting the hypocrites as ordered by the Qurʾān. Indeed, this legal equivalence was made very clear in regards to the delivery of the verses of renunciation, when the Prophet (ص) said,

1. "No one can act on my behalf except for myself or ʿAlī," and similarly, "No one can act on my behalf except for myself or a man from me."[1958]
2. "ʿAlī is from me and I am from him. No one can fulfill my obligations except for myself and ʿAlī."[1959]
3. "ʿAlī [is the one who] fulfills my obligations."[1960]

These and similar traditions, which are widely narrated and mutawātir, are further discussed in chapter 32.

[1955] Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:126; Tārīkh Damishq 42:259; Tārīkh Baghdād #206 (Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd al-Karīm); Jāmiʿ al-Ṣaghīr Suyūṭī #1717; Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #32892; Majmaʿ al-Zawāʾid #15013; Muʿjam al-Kabīr Ṭabarānī 3:44; Dhakhāʾir al-ʿUqbā 67.

[1956] Jāmiʿ al-Ṣaghīr Suyūṭī #6294.

[1957] Qurʾān 9:73.

[1958] Sunan Ibn Mājah #119; Sunan Tirmidhī #3719; Musnad Ḥanbal #17540-1 #17545-7; Faḍāʾil Ḥanbal #1010, #1023; Sunan al-Kubrā Nasāʾī #8147, #8459; Khaṣāʾiṣ Nasāʾī 90; Jāmiʿ al-Ṣaghīr Suyūṭī #5595; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 5:232, 7:394; Tārīkh Damishq 42:345, 42:346; Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:133; Tafsīr Bayḍāwī, Tafsīr Nīsābūrī, and Tafsīr al-Durr al Manthūr, verse 9:1.

[1959] Faḍāʾil Ḥanbal #1010; Musnad Ḥanbal #17540; Tārīkh Damishq 42:345, 42:346; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 5:232.

[1960] Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #18782, #32919, #36466, #36479; Jāmiʿ al-Ṣaghīr Suyūṭī #5601.

Furthermore, the Prophet (ص) explicitly promised that ʻAlī (ع) would fight the hypocrites when he told him in a mutawātir tradition, "You will fight the breakers of vows (nākithīn), the deviants (qāsiṭīn), and the heretics (māriqīn)."[1961] In a widely narrated tradition Ḥākim certified as authentic by the criteria of both Bukhārī and Muslim,[1962] he also made it clear that ʻAlī (ع) would fight against the hypocrites when he said,

> [ʻAlī will] fight over the taʼwīl (inner meaning) of the Qurʼān the same way I fought over its tanzīl (revelation).[1963]

Those who openly denied the divine revelation of the Qurʼān were the disbelievers whom the Prophet (ص) fought. Those who outwardly claimed to believe in the Qurʼān yet opposed its substance were the ones whom the Prophet (ص) foretold would be fought by ʻAlī (ع). Since fighting both the disbelievers and hypocrites was mandatory for the Prophet (ص), ʻAlī's (ع) act of fighting the hypocrites on behalf of the Prophet (ص) is proof of their legal equivalence in carrying out the mandates that Allāh made obligatory for His Prophet (ص). This is similar to Aaron and Moses (ع), as Aaron (ع) was the partner of Moses (ع) in his prophetic mission,[1964] and therefore could carry out any of the tasks otherwise assigned to Moses (ع). No one else among the companions of Moses (ع) or Muḥammad (ص) could legitimately claim such legal equivalence.

[1961] Refer to chapter 78 for the numerous sources of this tradition.

[1962] Mustadrak Ḥākim #4621.

[1963] Mustadrak Ḥākim #4621 (certifies the tradition as authentic by the criteria of Bukhārī and Muslim); Musnad Ḥanbal #11307, #11790; Faḍāʼil Ḥanbal #1083; Khaṣāʼis Nasāʼī 131; Majmaʻ al-Zawāʼid #8950 (certifies the tradition as authentic), #14763 (certifies those in the chain of transmission as trustworthy); Kanz al-ʻUmmāl #32967; Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:157 (two traditions); Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 6:243, 7:338, 7:398; Dalāʼil al-Nubuwwah of Bayhaqī 8:435; Usd al-Ghābah 3:298 #3789 (ʻAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib); Tārīkh al-Khulafāʼ 154. Refer to chapter 15 for the entire text of the tradition.

[1964] Qurʼān 20:32. Refer to chapter 10 for a discussion of the partnership of Aaron and Moses (ع) and similarly of ʻAlī (ع) and the Prophet (ص).

Chapter 30

The Battle of Tabūk: ʿAlī (ع) was Explicitly Appointed as the Prophet's (ص) Successor (Khalīf)

In the year 9 A.H., the Prophet (ص) called the people to prepare for battle against the Byzantines given the rumors that they were preparing an army to attack the Muslims. As the weather was very hot and as their was a drought in Madīnah, many of the companions came up with excuses for not going to battle. Eventually, the Muslim army set out for battle against the Byzantines, although a number of hypocrites as well as some believers who were truly unable to gather provisions to go to war were left behind in Madīnah. The expedition ended without any bloodshed as the Prophet (ص) found no evidence of any Byzantine forces in the area. A number of Arab tribes agreed to pay a tribute tax (jizyah) in return for protection, switching their allegiance from the Byzantines to the Muslims.[1965]

Prior to leaving for battle, the Prophet (ص) appointed ʿAlī (ع) as his successor in Madīnah. According to several Sunnī historical sources,

> The hypocrites spread false rumors about ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib, saying that he had been left behind because he was a burden to the Messenger of Allāh and he wanted to relieve himself of him. [After] hearing [these accusations] ʿAlī took his weapons and set off until he caught up with the Messenger of Allāh while he was [camped] in Jurf, saying, "O Prophet of Allāh, the hypocrites allege that you have left me behind because you found me burdensome and wanted to get rid of me." He replied, "They lied. I left you behind (khallaftuka) because of [what I have left] behind, so go back and represent me in my family and yours. Are you not pleased, O ʿAlī, that you are in the same position in relation to me as Aaron was in relation to Moses except there will be no prophet after me?" ʿAlī returned to Madīnah and the Messenger of Allāh went on his expedition.[1966]

The fact that the Prophet (ص) left ʿAlī (ع) in Madīnah during the Battle of Tabūk in the same capacity as that in which Moses (ع) left Aaron (ع) during his absence is widely transmitted in the setting of the tradition of manzilah.[1967] Although this was by no means the only incident in which ʿAlī's (ع) relation to the Prophet (ص) was compared to that of Aaron to Moses (ع), it is the most widely cited incident in which the tradition of manzilah has been narrated. In fact, both Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī and Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim have related the tradition of manzilah in relation to what the Prophet (ص) said regarding ʿAlī (ع) during his preparations for the Battle of Tabūk.[1968]

[1965] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 9:58-9.

[1966] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 9:51; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 1:341; Sīrah Ibn Hishām 946-7; Sīrah Ibn Isḥāq 604; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 5:11.

[1967] Refer to chapter 10.

[1968] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.59.700; Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #31.5914-5.

Proof of ʿAlī's (ع) Imāmate and Specific Appointment to the Caliphate Based on the Battle of Tabūk

During the Battle of Tabūk, the imāmate and caliphate of ʿAlī (ع) were clearly established. The Prophet (ص) went on a battle that many thought had no return, as he went to face the large, well-equipped, and well-trained Byzantine army. Thus, it was critical for him to appoint his successor and install him in Madīnah in case he would be martyred in battle. Upon appointing ʿAlī (ع), the hypocrites among the companions who hated to see ʿAlī (ع) as the Prophet's (ص) successor (khalīf) started spreading rumors that ʿAlī (ع) was left behind because the Prophet (ص) was upset at him. They did this just after the Prophet (ص) left, so that in case the Prophet (ص) died, they would claim that ʿAlī (ع) was not the Prophet's (ص) appointed successor but rather an outcast from his army. ʿAlī (ع), who did not want questions about his imāmate and specific designation to the caliphate to remain unanswered, went to the Prophet (ص) in Jurf to make sure that the Prophet (ص) would clarify the situation so that there would be no doubt that ʿAlī (ع) was truly his appointed successor (khalīf). In return, the Prophet (ص) publicly declared that ʿAlī (ع) was to him as Aaron (ع) was to Moses (ع), except that there would be no other prophets after him. Thus, ʿAlī's (ع) role as the Prophet's (ص) legitimately appointed and undeniable successor (khalīf) was established. The Prophet (ص) made it clear that ʿAlī's (ع) relation to him was exactly the same as Aaron's (ع) was to Moses (ع) except for only one item—prophecy. Of course, this statement also predicted the fact that, like Aaron (ع), ʿAlī (ع) would be oppressed by the nation and that the nation would abandon him for a false imām leading them astray just as the Children of Israel abandoned Aaron (ع) to follow a false imām who led them to the worship of the calf. He also predicted that ʿAlī (ع), like Aaron (ع), would be forced to practice taqīyyah to save his life from those companions who would abandon his message upon his absence from the nation at the time of his death.

It was Impossible for ʿAlī (ع) Not to be the Prophet's (ص) Khalīf

According to numerous traditions regarding the Battle of Tabūk, after the Prophet (ص) told ʿAlī (ع), "You are to me like Aaron was to Moses, except that there is no prophet after me," he added the phrase, "It is not possible (lā yanbaghī) for me to leave without you being my khalīf." This statement appears in a number of sources such as Mustadrak Ḥākim,[1969] Musnad Ḥanbal,[1970] Muʿjam al-Kabīr Ṭabarānī,[1971] Tārīkh ibn Kathīr,[1972] Faḍāʾil Ḥanbal,[1973] Kanz al-ʿUmmāl,[1974] Majmaʿ al-Zawāʾid,[1975] Tārīkh Damishq,[1976] Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah,[1977] Dhakhāʾir al-ʿUqbā,[1978] and Iṣābah.[1979] Ḥākim certified this tradition as authentic,[1980] and Haythamī said that Ḥanbal's chain of transmission is composed only of trustworthy individuals.[1981]

1969. Mustadrak Ḥākim #4652 (certifies the tradition as authentic).
1970. Musnad Ḥanbal #3062-3.
1971. Muʿjam al-Kabīr Ṭabarānī 12:78.
1972. Tārīkh ibn Kathīr 7:374.
1973. Faḍāʾil Ḥanbal #1168.
1974. Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #32931.
1975. Majmaʿ al-Zawāʾid #14696 (certifies those in the chain of transmission as trustworthy).
1976. Tārīkh Damishq 42:100, 42:102.
1977. Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 1:221, 3:175.
1978. Dhakhāʾir al-ʿUqbā 87.
1979. Iṣābah 2:1296 #5690 (ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib).
1980. Mustadrak Ḥākim #4652.
1981. Majmaʿ al-Zawāʾid #14696.

The phrases "lā yanbaghī" and "mā yanbaghī" can be used in Arabic to signify absolute impossibility and utter impermissibility. Examples in the Qur`ān include, "It is impossible (mā yanbaghī) for Allāh to beget a child,"[1982] and "It is impossible (lā yanbaghī) for the sun to overtake the moon."[1983] Therefore, it would be just as impossible for the Prophet (ص) not to appoint ʿAlī (ع) as the khalīf after him as it would be impossible for Allāh to beget a child. The fact that some claim that ʿAlī (ع) was not the appointed khalīf of the Prophet (ص) when the Prophet (ص) said that that would be impossible and impermissible is similar to the claim of the Christians that Jesus (ع) was the begotten son of Allāh, even though for Allāh to beget a child is both impossible and impermissible. Similarly, while viewing the movement of the sun and the moon and during the observation of lunar and solar eclipses, it may appear that the sun and the moon might collide, yet Allāh vouches that such an event is impossible due to their three-dimensional separation. Therefore, while some claim that ʿAlī (ع) was not the Prophet's (ص) designated khalīf, the Prophet (ص) dismissed such notions as outright errors. While ʿAlī's (ع) caliphate might have been eclipsed in the political sphere, he was still the designated khalīf of the Prophet (ص) and the appointed rightful imām of the nation.

It must be noted that the statement, "It is impossible (lā yanbaghī) for me to leave without you being my khalīf," could not possibly mean that the Prophet (ص) could not leave Madīnah without appointing ʿAlī (ع) as his representative in the city or as the caretaker of his family, as he had left Madīnah many times while taking ʿAlī (ع) along with him. In fact, he took ʿAlī (ع) on every single expedition except for Tabūk. What his statement has to refer to is that when it comes to leaving an actual khalīf among his people, ʿAlī (ع) was the only one the Prophet (ص) could leave, just as Moses (ع) could only leave Aaron (ع). This is clear proof of ʿAlī's (ع) imāmate. It also proves that the Prophet (ص) could not leave the life of this world without ʿAlī (ع) being his khalīf. In fact, Nasā`ī's tradition states that in the Battle of Tabūk the Prophet (ص) told ʿAlī (ع), "Are you not content that you are to me as Aaron was to Moses except that you are not a prophet? You are my successor (khalīfah) for every believer after me."[1984]

This incident highlights an even greater issue. The Prophet (ص) never left Madīnah without appointing someone to be in charge of the city. Similarly, after conquering Mecca, he did not leave the city without appointing someone to be in charge thereof. He did this with every town he conquered. It would be absolutely impossible for someone who would not leave Madīnah for a day without designating a leader to leave on a trip to the next life without appointing a successor. For the Prophet (ص) to do so would be the utmost in carelessness and deviance from his own Sunnah. It is therefore no surprise that he highlighted the impossibility of such an event by using the phrase, "lā yanbaghī." Yet, the Sunnī faith requires belief in just such an impossibility. Of note, even ʿUmar's daughter Ḥafṣah knew that it would be careless for the nation's leader to die without appointing a successor. According to Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, she told her father at his deathbed,

> They presume that you are not going to nominate a successor. If a grazer of camels and sheep that you had appointed comes back to you leaving the cattle, you will [certainly] think that the cattle are lost. To look after the people is more serious and grave.[1985]

Invented Traditions Regarding the Battle of Tabūk

[1982] Qur`ān 19:92.
[1983] Qur`ān 36:40.
[1984] Sunan al-Kubrā Nasā`ī #8409.
[1985] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #20.4486.

The tradition of manzilah and the appointment of ʿAlī (ع) as the Prophet's (ص) khalīf in Madīnah provide clear proofs of ʿAlī's (ع) imāmate and caliphate. Thus, the enemies of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) have had to dilute every aspect of this event. In chapter 10, we reviewed the comments of the English translator of Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim about the tradition of manzilah. Importantly enough, he admitted that, "The holy Prophet ordered ʿAlī to remain in Madīnah in charge of the city and the Prophet's family."[1986] This is the only fact this man has allowed to be established for ʿAlī (ع) from the tradition of manzilah. However, attempts have been made to even rob ʿAlī (ع) of this one fact. Ṭabarī,[1987] Ibn Athīr,[1988] Ibn Hishām,[1989] Ibn Kathīr,[1990] and a number of others have indicated that Sibāʿ ibn ʿUrfuṭah was left in charge of Madīnah, and Ibn Hishām has indicated that it may have been Muḥammad ibn Maslamah al-Anṣārī,[1991] claiming that ʿAlī (ع) was left only in charge of the Prophet's (ص) family. Sīrah Ḥalabīyyah, furthermore, claims that it may have been Ibn Umm Maktūm who was left in charge of Madīnah.[1992] These historians have proposed conflicting and mutually exclusive claims to make it appear that ʿAlī (ع) was not left in charge of Madīnah at all. Yet, Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī and Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim indicate that ʿAlī (ع) was the one left behind in charge of Madīnah during the campaign of Tabūk:

1. Allāh's Messenger left (khallafa) ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib behind [as he proceeded] to the expedition of Tabūk, whereupon [ʿAlī] said, "Allāh's Messenger, are you leaving me behind amongst women and children?" Thereupon [the Prophet] said, "Aren't you satisfied with being unto me what Aaron was unto Moses but with this exception that there would be no prophet after me."[1993]

2. Allāh's Apostle set out for Tabūk, appointing ʿAlī as his deputy (istakhlafa) [in Madīnah]. ʿAlī said, "Do you want to leave me with the children and women?" The Prophet said, "Will you not be pleased that you will be to me like Aaron to Moses? But there will be no prophet after me."[1994]

These two traditions state rather explicitly that ʿAlī (ع) was left in charge of Madīnah because the words khallafa and istakhlafa both make it clear that ʿAlī (ع) was appointed as the Prophet's (ص) khalīf. The following tradition that Ḥanbal has related from Saʿīd ibn Musayyab further clarifies the issues:

> The son of Saʿd [ibn Abī Waqqāṣ] related a tradition to me from his father. I went to Saʿd and told him, "A tradition has been related to me from you in regards to when the Prophet appointed ʿAlī as [his] khalīf (istakhlafa ʿalā) in Madīnah." Saʿd became angry and asked, "Who related this to you?" I was reluctant to tell him that his own son had related it to me lest he would become mad at his son. He then said, "When the Messenger of Allāh left for Tabūk, he appointed ʿAlī as the khalīf in Madīnah (istakhlafa ʿAlī ʿalā al-Madīnah). ʿAlī said, 'O Messenger of Allāh, I do not like for you to leave without me

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1986. Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim vol 4 p 1284.
1987. Tārīkh Ṭabarī 9:51.
1988. Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 1:341.
1989. Sīrah Ibn Hishām 946.
1990. Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 5:11.
1991. Sīrah Ibn Hishām 946.
1992. Sīrah Ḥalabīyyah 3:102.
1993. Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #31.5914.
1994. Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.59.700.

> accompanying you.' The Prophet said, 'Are you not content with being to me as Aaron was to Moses except that there is no prophet after me?'"[1995]

According to this tradition, it appears that there was fear of relating the fact that ʿAlī (ع) was placed in charge of Madīnah during the Battle of Tabūk. We saw earlier that it was even problematic to state that ʿAlī (ع) was the scribe of the Treaty of Ḥudaybīyyah,[1996] so one can imagine the great danger a truth-telling Muslim would face for narrating the fact that ʿAlī (ع) was appointed as the Prophet's (ص) khalīf. That is why Saʿd related this event to his son in private but at first tried to deny having related it in front of others out of fear that he and his son would be charged with spreading the virtues of ʿAlī (ع), a crime punishable by death during the Umayyad caliphate. As such, several accounts were invented, each citing a different person as having been in charge of Madīnah. The mutual exclusivity of these different accounts, as well as the firmly established and authentic traditions confirming that ʿAlī (ع) was left in charge of Madīnah make it clear that ʿAlī (ع) was indeed the Prophet's (ص) khalīfah in Madīnah.

It should be noted that in their accounts, Ṭabarī[1997] and Ibn Athīr[1998] have used the word "khallaftuka" to describe ʿAlī's (ع) position over what had been left behind in Madīnah. The word khallaftuka is from the same root as khalīf and means, "I leave you as [my] khalīf," or "I appoint you as [my] khalīf." This and similar words denoting ʿAlī's (ع) appointment as the Prophet's (ص) khalīf also appear in the accounts of Nasāʾī,[1999] Muḥibb Ṭabarī,[2000] Ibn ʿAsākir,[2001] and Haythamī,[2002] and is also referred to in the authentic tradition cited above stating that it would be impossible for the Prophet (ص) to leave without ʿAlī (ع) being his khalīf. Therefore, ʿAlī (ع) was the Prophet's (ص) appointed and designated khalīf in Madīnah, as Aaron (ع) was the appointed and designated khalīf of Moses (ع) among the Children of Israel during the latter's absence.[2003] The tradition related regarding Saʿd by Ḥanbal also explains why so many qualifiers have been added to the word "khallaftuka (appoint you as khalīf)" by various narrations. Some have turned it into "khallaftuka ʿalā ahlī" or "khallaftuka fī ahlī," which mean, "I have appointed you as my khalīf over (ʿalā) or in (fī) my family," thus confirming the hypocrite version that ʿAlī (ع) was left behind to tend to women and children, something so unnecessary that he would have only been made to do that if the Prophet (ص) was indeed angry at him. If it was necessary for ʿAlī (ع) to be left behind in general to tend to his family, then the Prophet (ص) would have left him behind in other battles. In fact, the Prophet's (ص) statement that it would be impossible for him to leave without leaving ʿAlī (ع) as his successor would be senseless if he was specifically referring to leaving ʿAlī (ع) in charge of his family, as he left many times taking ʿAlī (ع) with him, indicating that it was permissible for him to leave Madīnah with ʿAlī (ع), but that what was impermissible was leaving without having ʿAlī (ع) appointed as his successor. Indeed, it appears that what the Prophet (ص) said was, "khallaftuka an takūna khalīfatī," which means, "I have left you as my khalīf [in Madīnah] so that you will be my khalīf [after me]."[2004]

[1995] Musnad Ḥanbal #1532; Faḍāʾil Ḥanbal # 956.
[1996] Refer to chapter 19.
[1997] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 9:51 (refer to the Arabic original 2:183 which contains the exact Arabic phrasing).
[1998] Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 1:341.
[1999] Khaṣāʾiṣ Nasāʾī 76; Sunan al-Kubrā Nasāʾī #8138, #8429, #8780.
[2000] Dhakhāʾir al-ʿUqbā 63.
[2001] Tārīkh Damishq 42:152.
[2002] Majmaʿ al-Zawāʾid #14642 (certifies those in the chain as trustworthy), #14650 (certifies the tradition as authentic).
[2003] Refer to chapter 10.
[2004] Majmaʿ al-Zawāʾid #14650 (certifies the tradition as authentic); Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #36488.

In accordance with the desires of the caliphs, traditions have been invented claiming that others were placed in charge of Madīnah and the opinion was spread that ʿAlī (ع) was left behind merely to tend to the women and children, something that he had never before been asked to do previously. In fact, this opinion that ʿAlī (ع) was left behind merely to tend to women and children basically conforms with the hypocrites' view of why ʿAlī (ع) was left behind and goes against the words of the Prophet (ص) and his clarification that ʿAlī's (ع) being left in Madīnah was proof of his great virtue as the Prophet's (ص) khalīf and not because he was left to tend to women and children as the hypocrites had claimed. Nevertheless, a number of Sunnī scholars have reached the correct conclusion that it was definitely ʿAlī (ع) who was put in charge of Madīnah during Tabūk. Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr said,

> From the day the Prophet (ص) entered Madīnah, there were no battles or expeditions in which the Prophet (ص) was present in which ʿAlī was not present with him, except for the Battle of Tabūk when the Prophet (ص) left ʿAlī as the khalīf of (khallafahu ʿalā) Madīnah and his family, telling him, "You are to me like Aaron was to Moses, except that there is no prophet after me." His statement, "You are to me like Aaron was to Moses," has been related by a group of the companions and is among the best established and most authentic traditions that have been transmitted from the Prophet (ص)."[2005]

Conclusions

Despite solitary traditions to the contrary, ʿAlī (ع) was appointed as the khalīf of the Prophet (ص) in Madīnah during the Battle of Tabūk. The Prophet (ص) declared that ʿAlī (ع) was to him as Aaron (ع) was to Moses (ع) and that it would be impossible and impermissible for him to leave the Muslims without ʿAlī (ع) being his designated successor (khalīf). This was a clear event in which specific designation (naṣṣ) occurred regarding ʿAlī's (ع) imāmate, so conflicting and inconsistent attempts were made to befuddle the matter, though such efforts have not been successful at hiding the truth.

[2005] Istīʿāb 3:201-2 #1875 (ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib).

Chapter 31

The Verse of Wilāyah Established ʿAlī (ع) as the Master (Walī) of the Believers

The Qur`ān says,

> Your walī is only Allāh and His Messenger and those who believe—the believers who stand in prayer [and] pay zakāt (charity) while performing rukūʿ (bending in prayer).[2006]

The following is a tradition that Rāzī and Nīsābūrī, leading Sunnī commentators on the Qur`ān, have related from Abū Dharr:

> I was praying the noon prayers with the Messenger of Allāh (ص) one day. A beggar begged in the mosque, but no one gave him anything. So the beggar raised his hands to the heavens and said, "Allāh, bear witness that I have begged in the mosque of the Messenger of Allāh, and no one has given me anything."
>
> ʿAlī was bending in prayer (performing rukūʿ). He pointed to the little finger of his right hand, on which was a ring. The beggar went forward until he took the ring from ʿAlī's finger in front of the Prophet's (ص) eyes.
>
> The Prophet (ص) said, "O Allāh, indeed my brother Moses asked you, 'My Lord, ease my breast for me! Make my affair easier for me, and remove the impediment of my speech so they may understand what I say. Grant me a vizier from my people, Aaron, my brother. Back me up by means of him and make him a partner in my affair.'[2007] And you revealed [a response that is found] in the Qur`ān, saying, 'We shall strengthen your arm by means of your brother and grant both of you authority so they will not overtake anyone who follows you.'[2008] O Allāh! I am Muḥammad, Your messenger and your selected one. My Lord! Ease my breast for me, make my affair easier for me, and grant me a vizier from my own people, ʿAlī, and back me up by means of him!"
>
> By Allāh, the words of the Messenger of Allāh (ص) had not yet ended when Gabriel was sent by Allāh and said, "O Muḥammad, Recite—'Your walī is only Allāh and His Messenger and those who believe—the believers who stand in prayer [and] pay zakāt while performing rukū.ʿ[2009]"[2010]

[2006] Qur`ān 5:55.
[2007] Qur`ān 20:26-32.
[2008] Qur`ān 28:35.
[2009] Qur`ān 5:55.
[2010] Tafsīr Rāzī and Tafsīr Nīsābūrī, verse 5:55. Similarly, Tafsīr Thaʿlabī, verse 5:55.

The fact that this verse was revealed regarding ʿAlī (ع) has been related by numerous Sunnī books of Qurʾānic commentary, including Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, Tafsīr Ṭabarī, Tafsīr Rāzī, Tafsīr Nīsābūrī, Tafsīr Zamakhsharī, Tafsīr Qurṭubī, Tafsīr Ibn Kathīr, Tafsīr Bayḍāwī, Tafsīr Baghawī, Tafsīr Baqāʿī, Tafsīr Ibn ʿAṭīyyah, Tafsīr Khāzin, Tafsīr Abū al-Saʿūd, Tafsīr Thaʿlabī, and Tafsīr Shawkānī, among many others.[2011] The revelation of this verse in regards to ʿAlī (ع) has also been cited in Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah,[2012] Dhakhāʾir al-ʿUqbā,[2013] Kanz al-ʿUmmāl,[2014] Majmaʿ al-Zawāʾid,[2015] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr,[2016] and Tārīkh Damishq,[2017] among others. The revelation of this verse in regards to ʿAlī (ع) has been related from a large number of companions including ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib (ع), ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās, Abū Dharr, ʿAmmār ibn Yāsir, Miqdād ibn Aswad, Jābir ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Anṣārī, and Anas ibn Mālik.[2018]

The Meaning of this Verse

The Qurʾān says, "Your walī is only Allāh and His Messenger and those who believe—the believers who stand in prayer [and] pay zakāt while performing rukūʿ."[2019] The traditions are clear that the phrase, "those who believe—the believers who stand in prayer [and] pay zakāt while performing rukūʿ," was revealed specifically in reference to ʿAlī (ع). As such, the verse means, "Your walī is only Allāh, His Messenger, and ʿAlī." Thus, ʿAlī (ع) was established as the only walī among mankind other than the Prophet (ص) himself. In the absence of the Prophet (ص) and particularly after his death, ʿAlī (ع) would therefore be established as the walī for all the faithful companions. In that case, ʿAlī (ع) would have to be the imām of the nation.

The Meaning and Implications of the Word Walī

Walī, wilāyah, mawlā, awlā, and other such words are derived from the root w-l-y. Numerous definitions have been mentioned for walī. All of these definitions are derived from the one fundamental meaning: A walī is a being so close to an individual that nothing comes between the two, or as Rāghib put it, "Nothing comes between them that is not of them."[2020] In this relationship, both entities involved are called the walīs or mawlās.[2021] As such, a close friend, brother or other close relative, a guardian, a custodian, and a master and slave are all referred to as walīs. Wilāyah often involves complete control, as is the case with the wilāyah of inheritance, in which the heir assumes complete control over the estate of the deceased, the walī of a minor who manages all the minor's legal affairs, and the walī of an insane person who similarly controls all his affairs. Indeed, the Qurʾān recognizes different levels of wilāyah, when it says, "The Prophet is awlā (more of a walī) to the believers than their own selves."[2022] This means that the Prophet (ص) is more of a master over the believers than their own selves, and that they must obey him more than they obey their own decisions and desires.

[2011] Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, Tafsīr Ṭabarī, Tafsīr Rāzī, Tafsīr Nīsābūrī, Tafsīr Zamakhsharī, Tafsīr Qurṭubī, Tafsīr Ibn Kathīr, Tafsīr Bayḍāwī, Tafsīr Baghawī, Tafsīr Baqāʿī, Tafisr Ibn ʿAṭīyyah, Tafsīr Khāzin, Tafsīr Abū al-Saʿūd, Tafsīr Thaʿlabī, and Tafsīr Shawkānī, verse 5:55.

[2012] Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:178, 3:208.

[2013] Dhakhāʾir al-ʿUqbā 88, 102.

[2014] Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #36354, #36501.

[2015] Majmaʿ al-Zawāʾid #10978.

[2016] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:394-5.

[2017] Tārīkh Damishq 42:356-7.

[2018] Shawāhid al-Tanzil #216-240, verse 5:55.

[2019] Qurʾān 5:55.

[2020] Mufradāt al-Qurʾān 533 (w-l-y).

[2021] Mufradāt al-Qurʾān 533 (w-l-y).

[2022] Qurʾān 33:6.

The Qur`ān also says, "Wilāyah belongs to Allāh."[2023] In this verse, the Qur`ān restricts wilāyah to Allāh alone. This does not contradict other verses such as, "Your walī is only Allāh and His Messenger and those who believe—the believers who stand in prayer [and] pay zakāt while performing rukū´,"[2024] which appoints Allāh, the Prophet (ص), and ´Alī (ع) the walīs of the believers. In fact, it is impossible to be a walī of Allāh without being a walī of the Prophet (ص) and ´Alī (ع), because submission to Allāh requires submission to the will of the Prophet (ص) and the will of the rightful imām. This is why the Prophet (ص), according to a tradition Ḥākim certified as authentic, said, "Whoever intends to live my life and die my death and reside in the everlasting gardens that have been promised to me by my Lord should take ´Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib as his walī, as he will neither take you away from guidance nor lead you astray."[2025]

Rāzī's Excuses for Not Following this Verse

Rāzī came up with a number of issues with the verse to belittle its significance:[2026]

Issue 1: This verse is in the middle of verses dissuading the Muslims from the wilāyah of the Jews and Christians, where wilāyah means help. All this verse is saying is that we should not ask help from the Christians and Jews but rather must ask the Muslims for help.

What is not clear is how Rāzī claims that walī means a helper. The verse, "O you who believe! Take not the Jews and the Christians as your walī—they are but the walīs of one another—and he amongst you that takes them as walī is verily one of them,"[2027] proves the Shī´ah claim. How could asking for help from someone make us one of them? If the Muslims ask for help from Christians to build factories, roads, or munitions, or if they ask a Jewish physician to help treat their ailments, they by no means become one of them. However, if Muslims take the Christians and Jews as their spiritual masters or as the custodians of their affairs, they would certainly become one of them and would have left the realm of true Islām. The fact that walī does not mean helper is even more evident in the following verse of the Qur`ān: "Their destination will be the fire and it will be their mawlā."[2028] It is clear to any rational person that the fire will not be the helper of the hell-bound but rather their custodian, doing to them as it pleases.

Issue 2: The verse indicates that the persons it refers to are walīs at the time of its revelation. However, ´Alī was not the imām at that time, and even the Shī´ah claim that ´Alī became the imām after the Prophet's (ص) death. Therefore, the verse is not regarding ´Alī.

Rāzī apparently could not distinguish between imāmate and wilāyah. ´Alī (ع) has always been and will always be the spiritual master of the believers. During the Prophet's (ص)

[2023] Qur`ān 18:44.

[2024] Qur`ān 5:55.

[2025] Mustadrak Ḥākim #4642 (certifies the tradition as authentic); Majma´ al-Zawā`id #14639; Tārīkh Damishq 42:242.

[2026] Refer to Tafsīr Rāzī, verse 5:55. Also refer to Imām Shenāsī 5:252-268 for a more detailed discussion of Rāzī's excuses, on which the current discussion is based.

[2027] Qur`ān 5:51.

[2028] Qur`ān 57:15.

life, ʿAlī (ع) was spiritually pure and the master of the believers. However, during the Prophet's (ص) life, the Prophet (ص) himself was the leader of the Islāmic nation. It was the Prophet (ص) who ordered battles, took care of public affairs, made decisions, etc. After his death, this position of imām belonged to ʿAlī (ع), and ʿAlī (ع) became the foremost source of guidance and religious knowledge among the people, and thus the rightful imām.

Issue 3: The words used in this verse are plural. If it were just ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib, it should have been singular, not plural.

It is true that the verse, as stated, is general and gives the wilāyah to all who give charity while performing rukūʿ. However, the only person to have fulfilled this description during the lifetime of the Prophet (ص) was ʿAlī (ع). If we say that the verse is not regarding ʿAlī (ع), we will have to search for another companion of the Prophet (ص) who fit this verse and that person would have to be the only walī of the believers among the Prophet's (ص) companions and therefore the imām after him. However, the use of a plural in a situation in which only one individual fits the context is very common in the Qurʾān and is widely accepted by Sunnī scholars in their commentaries as well. We examined a few of these examples in our discussion of the Mubāhalah in chapter 29. The following are three other examples:

1. In the verse, "Those who are told by the people, 'The people have gathered to [fight] you',"[2029] the word "people" refers specifically to Nuʿaym ibn Masʿūd al-Ashjaʿī.[2030]

2. In the verse, "And those who told their brothers when they remain behind, 'If they had obeyed us they would not have been killed',"[2031] the word "those" refers to ʿAbd Allāh ibn Ubayy ibn Salūl, the head of the hypocrites of Madīnah.[2032]

3. In the verse, "Those who spend their wealth [in charity] by night and day, privately and publicly will receive their earnings from their Lord; there is neither fear for them nor do they worry,"[2033] the word "those" refers specifically to ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib (ع).[2034]

There are many other verses like these that are discussed in books of Qurʾānic commentary. Al-Ghadīr lists some twenty verses in which the references are in the plural yet according to Sunnī scholars refer to one individual.[2035] A single example, however, would suffice to establish our point. Indeed, the reference may have been general, but the verse specifically applied to only one of the companions, as ʿAlī (ع) was the only believer who gave charity while bending in prayer. This confirms that only ʿAlī (ع) met the immediate qualifications for specific designation as the walī of the believers among the companions.

[2029] Qurʾān 3:173.
[2030] Itqān 4:810, chapter 70.
[2031] Qurʾān 3:168.
[2032] Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, verse 3:168.
[2033] Qurʾān 2:274.
[2034] Tafsir al-Durr al-Manthūr, verse 2:274.
[2035] Al-Ghadīr 3:163-167.

Issue 4: Rāzī said that 'Alī was more knowledgeable to the interpretation of the Qur`ān than these Rāfiḍītes. If it is true that this verse is referring to 'Alī, he should have indicated it at some time to others.

Yet, according to Shī'ah traditions, 'Alī (ع) did in fact use this as an argument in the consultative council (Shūrā) that selected 'Uthmān as caliph. He said,

> "Is there anyone among you other than I who paid zakāt while performing rukū' so that the verse, 'Your walī is only Allāh and His Messenger and those who believe—the believers who stand in prayer [and] pay zakāt while performing rukū',' was revealed regarding him?" They answered, "No."[2036]

'Alī (ع) also used this in his arguments against Abū Bakr when he said, "I make you swear by Allāh [to tell the truth]—was the wilāyah referred to along with the wilāyah of Allāh and the Messenger of Allāh (ص) in the verse of zakāt [revealed regarding] my ring or yours?" Abū Bakr replied, "Of course, yours."[2037]

The fact that 'Alī (ع) cited this fact has also been related by Sunnī scholars.[2038] Indeed, during the caliphate of 'Uthmān, 'Alī (ع) cited the revelation of this verse regarding him as one of his virtues.[2039]

Issue 5: Rāzī said that, assuming that this verse does prove the imāmate of 'Alī, it does not prove it during the lifetime of the Prophet (ص), but rather after his life. We agree with the Shī'ah regarding this, except that 'Alī's imāmate comes after the imāmate of Abū Bakr, 'Umar, and 'Uthmān. There is no indication of the timing of his imāmate in the Qur`ān.

This is a typical excuse to dismiss all of the Prophet's (ص) clear statements appointing 'Alī (ع) as the imām and khalīf after him. 'Alī's (ع) wilāyah over the believers was clearly established by this verse and was a reality that did not have to wait until the death of the Prophet (ص). However, during the lifetime of the Prophet (ص), the Prophet (ص) was the imām and after his death the imāmate was transferred to 'Alī (ع), the one who was the most deserving after the Prophet (ص). The imāmate does not go from the most deserving to the undeserving, another undeserving, yet another undeserving person, and then to a deserving person. Rather, the imāmate goes directly to the most deserving person of the entire community. This was clearly 'Alī (ع). In fact, Rāzī's statement shows that he was clearly confused about the nature of the imāmate. If the Prophet (ص) appointed 'Alī (ع) as his successor, it would require the believers to recognize 'Alī (ع) as his immediate successor, and not allow Abū Bakr, 'Umar and 'Uthmān to become successors first and similarly not allow for 'Ā`ishah, Ṭalḥah, Zubayr, Mu'āwīyah and their likes to do their utmost to fight against 'Alī (ع) so that he could not establish his legitimate rule.

Issue 6: Rāzī said that it would be fitting for 'Alī (ع) to be drowned in the remembrance of Allāh and therefore should not have heard the words of this man.

2036. Ghāyah al-Marām, chapter 19 #17.
2037. Ghāyah al-Marām, chapter 19 #16.
2038. Shawāhid al-Tanzīl #233, verse 5:55.
2039. Yanābī' al-Mawaddah 1:346.

However, being drowned in the remembrance of Allāh means doing what Allāh prefers one to do at any instance. Remembering Allāh does not mean forgetting the righteous deeds one must perform in this world.

Issue 7: Rāzī claimed that giving rings while praying is a commonplace act and that it is befitting of ʿAlī's (ع) position not to perform such an act.

It is neither clear how this is a commonplace act, nor how it is not befitting for ʿAlī (ع) to perform it.

Issue 8: Rāzī claimed that ʿAlī was a poor man and had nothing that he would have to pay zakāt for, as verses were revealed regarding ʿAlī when he gave away a few loaves of bread.[2040] Such verses would only indicate a special virtue if those loaves were all that ʿAlī had. Also, zakāt must be paid immediately and he should not have entered prayer (ṣalāt) if he had to pay his zakāt first.

It is odd for a Qurʾānic commentator such as Rāzī to state such an obviously erroneous claim. Zakāt in the Qurʾān often refers to any money paid in the way of Allāh and does not always refer to the formal and mandatory zakāt tax. The prophets before Muḥammad (ص) did not have rules of zakāt like the Muslims have, yet the Qurʾān in many instances mentions them paying zakāt:

> "[Ishmael] used to order his people to pray and [pay] zakāt."[2041]
>
> "We made them (Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob) leaders who guided [others] by Our command and We inspired them to perform good deeds, to keep up prayer, and to pay zakāt. They have been serving us."[2042]
>
> "[Jesus] said: I am Allāh's servant. He has given me the Book and has made me a prophet. He has made me blessed wherever I may be, and has commissioned me to pray and [pay] zakāt as long as I live."[2043]

The word "zakāt" is also found in many verses revealed in Mecca before the laws regarding the formal mandatory zakāt tax were laid down. The following are a couple of examples:

> "He who pays zakāt will certainly prosper."[2044]
>
> "Those who do not pay zakāt and who deny the hereafter..."[2045]

There are many other verses from the Meccan sūrahs that mention zakāt, referring to it in the original sense of the word, which is what is paid to purify one's material wealth; this may be in the form of obligatory or voluntary charity. ʿAlī's (ع) giving the ring was clearly voluntary. The following verse demonstrates that voluntary charity (ṣadaqah) is a form of zakāt:

2040. Refer to chapter 12.
2041. Qurʾān 19:55.
2042. Qurʾān 21:73.
2043. Qurʾān 19:30-31.
2044. Qurʾān 87:14.
2045. Qurʾān 41:7.

> [O Prophet], take the charity (ṣadaqah) from their wealth; you will cleanse and purify them [tuzakkīhim (from the same root as zakāt)] by it.[2046]

Issue 9: The wilāyah referred to in the verse is general and not restricted to ʿAlī in lieu of the other companions.

This is not true because if that were the case, the verse would merely say, "Your walī is only Allāh and His Messenger and those who believe," and would not have to further specify the identity of the believers being referred to by adding, "the believers who stand in prayer [and] pay zakāt while performing rukūʿ." Furthermore, the wilāyah referred to in this verse is absolute and one, which is why the verse starts with, "Your walī" (singular) instead of, "Your walīs" (plural). As such, the wilāyah of Allāh, the Prophet (ص), and ʿAlī (ع) is one and the same wilāyah. One cannot adopt the wilāyah of all the believers as such, as they do not all share common purpose, and as many of them are sinners and ought not have wilāyah over us.

When discussing the Qurʾān, one ought not invent arguments to prove that the Qurʾān says what one wants it to say. Rather, one must instead look at the Qurʾān with a mind empty of prejudice and follow what it does say. What Rāzī attempted to do was to create a laundry list of weak arguments to create confusion regardless of whether his arguments were based on the Qurʾān or contrary to it. This type of interpretation has been banned, as the Prophet (ص) guaranteed anyone who interprets the Qurʾān based on his personal opinion (raʾy) the fire of hell.[2047]

Conclusions

The concept of wilāyah will be further addressed in chapter 34 when the event of Ghadīr Khumm is discussed. Yet, both Sunnī and Shīʿah scholars have widely related the fact that the verse of wilāyah was revealed regarding ʿAlī (ع), thus proving his wilāyah over the believers and his role as the imām after the Prophet (ص). Arguments raised by Rāzī are baseless and have the form of a laundry list of excuses not to follow the Qurʾān. Instead of adopting the wilāyah of ʿAlī (ع), which is mandated by the Qurʾān and the Sunnah, he has come up with excuses to avoid this most important religious obligation.

[2046] Qurʾān 9:103.

[2047] Refer to chapter 75.

Chapter 32
ʹAlī (ع) Could Deliver the Verses of Renunciation (Barā`ah) While Abū Bakr Could Not

The verses of renunciation (barā`ah), which appear in the ninth sūrah of the Qur`ān, known as Sūrah Barā`ah and Sūrah Tawbah, were revealed in the year 9 A.H., a year after Mecca was conquered. In the year 8 A.H., pagans were allowed to attend the annual pilgrimage to the Kaʹbah. However, Sūrah Barā`ah forbade the entrance of pagans into the Masjid al-Ḥarām,[2048] and gave the pagans a four-month grace period in which they were to accept Islām.[2049]

The summary of events it that the Messenger of Allāh (ص) did not personally attend the pilgrimage in the year 9 A.H. Instead, he designated Abū Bakr as the leader of the pilgrims and gave him the verses of renunciation so that he could proclaim them to the people. Abū Bakr left with the verses, but Gabriel (ع) told the Prophet (ص), "No one may take a message from you except for you or a man from you." The Prophet (ص) then sent ʹAlī (ع) to take the verses away from Abū Bakr and instead proclaim them to the pilgrims himself. Abū Bakr returned to the Prophet (ص) and asked whether anything derogatory had been revealed about him. The Prophet (ص) explained to Abū Bakr that the reason he had sent ʹAlī (ع) instead of him was that no one could proclaim a message from the Prophet (ص) except himself or a man from him.

This incident is mutawātir and has been related widely in Sunnī sources. Suyūṭī's Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, which contains a wealth of Sunnī traditions regarding the verses of the Qur`ān, cites numerous traditions regarding the proclamation of the verses of renunciation, all of which are similar in content. The following is one example:

> ʹAlī [said]: When the ten verses of renunciation were revealed to the Prophet (ص), the Messenger of Allāh (ص) called Abū Bakr to recite them to the people of Mecca. The Prophet (ص) then called me and told me, "Go catch up to Abū Bakr. Wherever you meet him, take the scroll from him." I caught up to Abū Bakr and I took the scroll from him. Abū Bakr returned to [the Prophet (ص)] and said, "O Messenger of Allāh, was anything revealed in regards to me?" He replied, "No, but Gabriel came to me and told me, 'No one may take a message from you except for you or a man from you.'"[2050]

Sunan Tirmidhī has related the following similar tradition:

[2048] Qur`ān 9:17.
[2049] Qur`ān 9:2.
[2050] Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, verse 9:1.

> The Prophet (ص) sent the [verses of] renunciation (barā`ah) with Abū Bakr, then called him and said, "It is impermissible (lā yanbaghī) for anyone to proclaim this except for myself or someone from my family (ahl)." He then called ʿAlī and gave him [the verses].[2051]

According to several Sunnī sources,

> ʿAlī said, "O Prophet of Allāh! I am neither old nor a speech-giver." He replied, "There is no choice—either I must go with it or you must go with it." [ʿAlī] said, "If there is no choice, I will go." [The Prophet (ص)] said, "Go! Allāh, the great and glorious, will strengthen your tongue and guide your heart." He then placed his hand over [ʿAlī's] mouth.[2052]

Sources for this Event

The fact that the verses of renunciation were first given to Abū Bakr and then taken away and given to ʿAlī (ع) instead is mutawātir, widely accepted, and widely narrated. The accounts are unanimous that ʿAlī (ع) was sent by the Prophet (ص) to take the verses that were initially given to Abū Bakr away from him so that ʿAlī (ع) could proclaim the verses, as only the Prophet (ص) or ʿAlī (ع) could do so. Accounts of this event appear in Sunan Tirmidhī,[2053] Musnad Ḥanbal,[2054] Mustadrak Ḥākim,[2055] Fatḥ al-Bārī,[2056] ʿUmdah al-Qārī,[2057] Sunan al-Kubrā Nasā`ī,[2058] Khaṣā`iṣ Nasā`ī,[2059] Faḍā`il Ḥanbal,[2060] Majmaʿ al-Zawā`id,[2061] Muʿjam al-Kabīr Ṭabarānī,[2062] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr,[2063] Tārīkh Damishq,[2064] Iṣābah,[2065] Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah,[2066] and Dhakhā`ir al-ʿUqbā,[2067] among many others. The foremost Sunnī commentaries on the Qur`ān have also recounted this event, including Tafsīr Rāzī, Tafsīr Ibn Kathīr, Tafsīr Ṭabarī, Tafsīr Zamakhsharī, Tafsīr Bayḍāwī, Tafsīr al-Durr al Manthūr, and Tafsīr Nīsābūrī, among many others.[2068]

The accounts are all fundamentally similar, stating that Abū Bakr could not proclaim the verses because they could only be related by the Prophet (ص) or ʿAlī (ع). The reason why ʿAlī (ع) could deliver the verses for the Prophet (ص) whereas Abū Bakr could not was explained as being because ʿAlī (ع) was from the Prophet (ص) and the Prophet (ص) was from him, whereas the same were not true of Abū Bakr:

2051. Sunan Tirmidhī #3090.
2052. Musnad Ḥanbal #1286; Faḍā`il Ḥanbal #1201; Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #4401; Tārīkh Damishq 42:348, 42:390.
2053. Sunan Tirmidhī #3090.
2054. Musnad Ḥanbal #4, #13237, #14051.
2055. Mustadrak Ḥākim #4374, #4652.
2056. Fatḥ al-Bārī #4379 (multiple accounts).
2057. ʿUmdah al-Qārī 4:78, 9:265, 18:260-2 (numerous accounts).
2058. Sunan al-Kubrā Nasā`ī #8460-3.
2059. Khaṣā`iṣ Nasā`ī 91-3 (several traditions).
2060. Faḍā`il Ḥanbal #946 #1090.
2061. Majmaʿ al-Zawā`id #5464 (certifies those in the chain of transmission as trustworthy), #14338 (certifies the tradition as authentic).
2062. Muʿjam al-Kabīr Ṭabarānī 11:316-7 (2 traditions).
2063. Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:374, 7:394.
2064. Tārīkh Damishq 42:116-7, 42:120, 42:344 (2 traditions), 42:345, 42:347-348, 42:348.
2065. Iṣābah 2:1295 #5690 (ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib) (omits any mention of Abū Bakr in the event).
2066. Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:131-3 (several traditions), 3:174.
2067. Dhakhā`ir al-ʿUqbā 69 (3 traditions).
2068. Tafsīr Rāzī, Tafsīr Ibn Kathīr, Tafsīr Ṭabarī, Tafsīr Zamakhsharī, Tafsīr Bayḍāwī, Tafsīr al-Durr al Manthūr, and Tafsīr Nīsābūrī, verse 9:1.

1. The Prophet (ص) said, "No one can go with it except for a man who is from me and I am from him."[2069]

2. The Prophet (ص) said, "No one can proclaim (yuballigh) it from me except for a man from me."[2070]

3. The Prophet (ص) said, "ʻAlī is from me and I am from him. No one can act (yuʾaddī) on my behalf except for myself or ʻAlī," or similarly, "No one can act on my behalf except for myself or a man from me."[2071]

4. The Prophet (ص) said, "ʻAlī is from me and I am from him. No one can fulfill my obligations (yaqḍī ʻannī daynī) except for myself and ʻAlī."[2072] The Prophet (ص) also said, "ʻAlī [is the one who] fulfills my obligations."[2073]

Indeed, this was not the Prophet's (ص) decision, as the Prophet (ص) said, "Gabriel told me, 'No one can act (yuʾaddī) on your behalf except you or a man from you.'"[2074]

It must also be noted that the Prophet (ص) was clear that those who could proclaim on his behalf were not just limited to ʻAlī (ع), but rather included his entire Ahl al-Bayt (ع):

1. According to Tirmidhī, Nasāʾī, Ḥanbal, and others: The Prophet (ص) sent the [verses of] renunciation with Abū Bakr then called him and said, "It is impermissible (lā yanbaghī) for anyone to proclaim this except for myself or someone from my family (ahl)." He then called ʻAlī and gave him [the verses].[2075]

2. According to Ḥanbal: The Messenger of Allāh (ص) sent the [verses of] renunciation with Abū Bakr to the people of Mecca. When he reached Dhū Ḥulayfah, [the Prophet (ص)] sent for him. Abū Bakr returned. The Prophet (ص) said, "No one can go with it except for a man from my Ahl al-Bayt." He then sent ʻAlī."[2076]

3. According to Ḥanbal, the Prophet (ص) said, "No one can go with it except for myself or a man from my Ahl al-Bayt," so he sent ʻAlī.[2077]

4. According to Ibn Kathīr, Gabriel (ع) told the Prophet (ص), "No one can act on your behalf except for you or a man from your household (bayt)".[2078]

[2069] Mustadrak Ḥākim #4652 (certifies the tradition as authentic); Musnad Ḥanbal #3062-3; Sunan al-Kubrā Nasāʾī #8409; Khaṣāʾiṣ Nasāʾī 63; Faḍāʾil Ḥanbal #1168; Majmaʿ al-Zawāʾid #14696 (certifies those in the chain of transmission as trustworthy); Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:374; Tārīkh Damishq 42:98, 42:100, 42:101; Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:174; Dhakhāʾir al-ʻUqbā 87.

[2070] Fatḥ al-Bair #4379; Tārīkh Damishq 42:348; Dhakhāʾir al-ʻUqbā 69; Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, Tafsīr Zamakhsharī, and Tafsīr Rāzī, verse 9:1.

[2071] Sunan Ibn Mājah #119; Sunan Tirmidhī #3719; Musnad Ḥanbal #17540-1 #17545-7; Faḍāʾil Ḥanbal #1010, #1023; Sunan al-Kubrā Nasāʾī #8147, #8459; Khasāʾiṣ Nasāʾī 90; Jāmiʿ al-Ṣaghīr Suyūṭī #5595; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 5:232, 7:394; Tārīkh Damishq 42:345, 42:346; Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:133; Tafsīr Bayḍāwī, Tafsīr Nīsābūrī, and Tafsīr al-Durr al Manthūr, verse 9:1.

[2072] Faḍāʾil Ḥanbal #1010; Musnad Ḥanbal #17540; Tārīkh Damishq 42:345, 42:346; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 5:232.

[2073] Kanz al-ʻUmmāl #18782, #32919, #36466, #36479; Jāmiʿ al-Ṣaghīr Suyūṭī #5601.

[2074] Faḍāʾil Ḥanbal #1203; Tafsīr Shawkānī, Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, and Tafsīr Baqāʿī, verse 9:1; Tafsīr Ibn Kathīr, verse 9:3.

[2075] Sunan Tirmidhī #3090; Sunan al-Kubrā Nasāʾī #8460; Musnad Ḥanbal #14051; Fatḥ al-Bārī #4379; Tārīkh Damishq 44:344; Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, verse 9:1.

[2076] Faḍāʾil Ḥanbal #946.

[2077] Faḍāʾil Ḥanbal #1090.

5. The Prophet (ص) said, "No one can act (yu`addī) on my behalf except for myself or a man from my Ahl al-Bayt," and "No one can proclaim it except for myself or a man from my Ahl al-Bayt."[2079]

Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī's Account of this Event

Not surprisingly, Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī has related the event in the following truncated manner:

> Abū Hurayrah said: During that ḥajj, Abū Bakr sent me along with announcers on the Day of Naḥr (10th of Dhū al-Ḥijjah) in Minā to announce, "No pagans shall perform ḥajj after this year, and none shall perform the circumambulation (ṭawāf) around the Ka´bah in a naked state." Ḥumayd ibn ´Abd al-Raḥmān added: Then Allāh's Apostle sent ´Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib [after Abū Bakr][2080] and ordered him to recite aloud in public Sūrah Barā`ah. Abū Hurayrah added: So ´Alī, along with us, recited Barā`ah [loudly] before the people at Minā on the Day of Naḥr and announced, "No pagan shall perform ḥajj after this year and none shall perform the circumambulation around the Ka´bah in a naked state."[2081]

This tradition is typical of the way Bukhārī picked traditions and why his work became favored. He would obviously sift through dozens of traditions on a subject and pick out the one that would most obscure and befuddle ´Alī's (ع) virtues. In fact, this tradition is clearly in contrast to the numerous other traditions cited that show that ´Alī (ع) was the only one who could possibly proclaim those verses on behalf of the Prophet (ص). If the Prophet (ص) said that only ´Alī (ع) could proclaim the verses, yet they were proclaimed collectively, then the Prophet (ص) was clearly disobeyed. Of course, this did not happen as such, as ´Alī (ع) took the verses from Abū Bakr and delivered and proclaimed them himself.

That an account such as the one related by Bukhārī exists should come as no surprise, as this was a painful event for the supporters of Abū Bakr. Abū Bakr himself found it so demoralizing that, according to a widely narrated Sunnī tradition, he openly sobbed.[2082] As such, some accounts that cite this story have related it as follows: "The Prophet (ص) dispatched so-and-so with Sūrah Tawbah and then sent ´Alī after him to take it from him."[2083] This is a clear case of deliberate textual corruption (taḥrīf), whereby there is an attempt to cover up the truth about Abū Bakr's dismissal from proclaiming the verses of renunciation by replacing his name with "so-and-so".

Discussion of the Events

This event proves that: (1) ´Alī (ع) was superior to Abū Bakr; (2) ´Alī and the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) were from the Prophet (ص); (3) Abū Bakr was not from the Prophet (ص); and (4)

2078. Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:394.

[2079] Fatḥ al-Bārī #4105; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 5:44; Tafsīr Ṭabarī, verse 9:1; Tafsīr Ibn Kathīr, verse 9:3. Tafsīr Bayḍāwī and Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr cite similar traditions, except that the word "Ahl (family)" appears instead of "Ahl al-Bayt."

[2080] This comment in brackets is present in the English translation of Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī.

[2081] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #6.60.178. Similarly, Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #6.60.179.

[2082] Musnad Ḥanbal #4; Majma´ al-Zawā`id #5464 (certifies those in the chain of transmission as trustworthy); Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:394; Tārīkh Damishq 42:347-348.

[2083] Musnad Ḥanbal #3062; Faḍā`il Ḥanbal #1168; Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:174; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:374.

only the Prophet (ص) and his Ahl al-Bayt (ع) had a mandate to deliver revelation and Islāmic laws to the people.

Indeed, the taking away of the verses from Abū Bakr after he had been dispatched with them showed the importance of the matter, demonstrating that Abū Bakr was not qualified to perform the task at hand. The only explanation why he was sent in the first place when he was not qualified to deliver the divine message is that the Prophet (ص) did so to publicly demonstrate that only ʻAlī (ع), among all his companions, was qualified to deliver the divine message. If it were not for the initial dispatch of Abū Bakr, we would never have known this concept to be true and any claims by the Shīʻah in this regards would be dismissed by the Sunnī scholars as being purely hypothetical. In fact, it shows that the entire concept that "ʻAlī is from the Prophet and the Prophet is from ʻAlī" has practical implications and that one who does not share the same status cannot be equivalent to ʻAlī (ع), never mind superior to him. It also shows that after the death of the Prophet (ص), the only ones who were entrusted with delivering the already revealed divine message were ʻAlī and the other members of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع). This is clear proof of ʻAlī's (ع) imāmate.

It must be noted that there is no indication in the tradition stating that Gabriel (ع) told the Prophet (ص), "No one may take a message from you," or that, "No one may act on your behalf except for you or a man from you" or "from your household,"[2084] that the message was limited only to the delivery of the verses of renunciation. In fact, Gabriel's (ص) wording is extremely general and was cited as the general reason why Abū Bakr should not feel dejected but rather accept the fact that such a role was simply not his to fulfill. Indeed, ʻAlī (ع) proclaimed not only the verses of renunciation, but also several newly-revealed laws during that particular ḥajj pilgrimage. This role was identical to how Aaron (ع) was dispatched with Moses (ع) to aid him in delivering the divine message.

We have already shown in several contexts that ʻAlī (ع) and the Prophet (ص) were one and inseparable in their proclamation of Islām.[2085] Gabriel's message to the Prophet (ص) telling him that only someone from his Ahl al-Bayt (ع) could proclaim the verses was part of the general concept of the unity of the Prophet (ص) and his Ahl al-Bayt (ع) in the proclamation of Islām. This clearly shows the superiority of ʻAlī and the Ahl al-Bayt (ع), who are those entrusted with carrying, protecting, and proclaiming the divine message, over the rest of the companions, whose obligation was to merely obey the divine message passed on to them by the Ahl al-Bayt (ع). It also confirms the inseparability of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) from the Qurʼān, which does not hold true for the other companions.

The Shīʻah Faith is Proven by this Event

The Prophet (ص) made it very clear that no one could act on his behalf and proclaim the verses except for himself or a man from him. As such, he had to take the verses away from Abū Bakr, who was not from him, and given them to ʻAlī (ع), who was from him. The concept that ʻAlī (ع) was from the Prophet (ص) whereas Abū Bakr was not can be interpreted in four ways:

[2084] Faḍāʼil Ḥanbal #1203; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:394; Tafsīr Shawkānī, Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, and Tafsīr Baqāʻī, verse 9:1; Tafsīr Ibn Kathīr, verse 9:3.

[2085] A few examples include the traditions of kinsmen (chapter 2) and manzilah (chapter 10) as well as the verses of Mubāhalah (chapter 29) and Taḥrīm (chapter 27).

First, it could mean that ʿAlī (ع) was from the Prophet (ص) in the sense of devotion to him. This type of usage appears in the tradition, "Salmān is from us Ahl al-Bayt,"[2086] in which the Prophet (ص) praised Salmān for his unremitting loyalty to his family. If this was the sense in which the Prophet (ص) banned Abū Bakr from carrying the verses, then Abū Bakr's hypocrisy would be proved, as he was shown to have lacked loyalty to the Prophet (ص).

Second, it could mean that ʿAlī (ع) was from the Prophet (ص) due to their common cause. This type of usage appears in the following verse of the Qurʾān: "And those who believe afterwards and emigrate and fight along with you—they are of you (plural)."[2087] This indicates that a common cause with a group creates a form of unity with them. If Abū Bakr did not share a common cause with the Prophet (ص), he would, at the very least, be a hypocrite, and for sure not be qualified for the caliphate.

Third, it could mean that ʿAlī (ع) was related to the Prophet (ص) while Abū Bakr was not. In this case Shīʿism is proved in two ways. First, Abū Bakr and ʿUmar wrested the caliphate from the Anṣār, claiming that they were closely related to the Prophet (ص),[2088] even though, according to this interpretation, the Prophet (ص) clearly denounced any family ties to Abū Bakr, instead affirming ʿAlī (ع) as the one with such ties to him. As such, Abū Bakr would not have even met his own meager qualification for serving as a caliph. Second, this interpretation would affirm that ʿAlī (ع) was, due to his close family relationship with the Prophet (ص), qualified for certain tasks that Abū Bakr was not qualified for. This would affirm the Shīʿah belief that family ties to the Prophet (ص) are a prerequisite for being qualified for certain tasks, most notably the imāmate.

Fourth, their being from one another could mean that the Prophet (ص) and ʿAlī (ع) were essentially the same, except that ʿAlī (ع) was not a prophet. This would affirm their unity of purpose, their legal equivalence, and their mutual infallibility. This would clearly establish ʿAlī (ع) as the imām after the Prophet (ص) and is the interpretation most consistent with the Shīʿah position as well as with the truth.

The Ahl al-Bayt (ع) Share this Virtue with ʿAlī (ع)

The tradition, "It is impermissible (lā yanbaghī) for anyone to proclaim this except for myself or someone from my family (ahl),"[2089] shows that it was impossible and impermissible (lā yanbaghī) for anyone other than the Prophet's Ahl al-Bayt (ع) to proclaim the verses.[2090] This proves that only the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) are the Prophet's (ص) partners in his mission of guiding the nation, as Aaron (ع) was the partner of Moses (ع) in guiding the Children of Israel. As such, this is not a virtue limited to ʿAlī (ع), but also to Fāṭimah, Ḥasan, Ḥusayn, and the pure imāms from the offspring of Ḥusayn (ع). In addition, it proves that no one else has the right to proclaim the message of Islām in their presence. In fact, Abū Bakr was singled out as the one most definitely not allowed to proclaim the message of Islām in the presence of ʿAlī (ع). This proves that he could not possibly serve as the imām of the nation and the khalīf of the Messenger of Allāh (ص) in ʿAlī's (ع) presence.

[2086] Mustadrak Ḥākim #6539, #6541.

[2087] Qurʾān 8:75.

[2088] Refer to chapter 40.

[2089] Sunan Tirmidhī #3090.

[2090] For a discussion of the definition of the phrase "lā yanbaghī," refer to chapter 30.

On numerous occasions the Prophet (ص) specified that other members of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) were also from him. The following are a few examples:

1. The Prophet (ص) said, "Fāṭimah is part of me, and whoever makes her angry makes me angry."[2091]

2. The Prophet (ص), while holding the young Imām Ḥasan (ع) in his lap, said, "This [boy] is from me."[2092]

3. The Prophet (ص) said, "Ḥusayn is from me and I am from Ḥusayn."[2093]

4. The Prophet (ص) said, "The Mahdī is from me."[2094] Similarly, he said, "The Mahdī is from us Ahl al-Bayt."[2095]

As such, the entire Ahl al-Bayt (ع) shares in this distinct ability to proclaim Islām directly on behalf of the Prophet (ص). It is noteworthy that being from the Prophet (ص) was not simply due to blood ties, as is apparent from the following tradition in Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī regarding the Prophet's (ص) entering Mecca after the Peace of Ḥudaybīyyah:

> The daughter of Ḥamzah ran after them (i.e. the Prophet and his companions), calling, "O Uncle! O Uncle!" ʿAlī received her and led her by the hand and said to Fāṭimah, "Take your uncle's daughter." Zayd [ibn Ḥārithah] and Jaʿfar [ibn Abī Ṭālib] quarreled about her. ʿAlī said, "I have more right to her as she is my uncle's daughter." Jaʿfar said, "She is my uncle's daughter, and her aunt is my wife." Zayd said, "She is my brother's daughter." The Prophet judged that she should be given to her aunt, and said that the aunt was like the mother. He then said to ʿAlī, "You are from me and I am from you," and said to Jaʿfar, "You resemble me both in character and appearance," and said to Zayd, "You are our brother (in faith) and our freed slave."[2096]

As stated, being from the Prophet (ص) was a quality that distinguished ʿAlī (ع) from Jaʿfar ibn Abī Ṭālib and Zayd ibn Ḥārithah, even though Jaʿfar had the same blood relation to the Prophet (ص) as ʿAlī (ع) did, as Jaʿfar and ʿAlī (ع) were brothers. As such, ʿAlī's (ع) being from the Prophet (ص) and the Prophet's (ص) being from ʿAlī (ع) was a specific virtue that ʿAlī (ع) only shared with the other purified members of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع).

Attempts to Diminish This Virtue Fail

Some may attempt to belittle ʿAlī (ع) by claiming that the Prophet's (ص) statement, "ʿAlī is from me and I am from him," referred to ʿAlī (ع) being a believer and not much else, as the Qurʾān says, "And those who believe afterwards and emigrate and fight along with you—they are of you (plural)."[2097] As such, the Prophet's (ص) statement merely referred to ʿAlī's (ع) belief in Islām, emigration to Madīnah, and fighting in battle.

[2091] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.57.61.

[2092] Musnad Ḥanbal #17228. Similarly, Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #34258, #37683.

[2093] Sunan Tirmidhī #3775; Sunan Ibn Mājah #144; Musnad Ḥanbal #17597; Mustadrak Ḥākim #4820 (certifies the tradition as authentic); Faḍāʾil Ḥanbal #1361; Majmaʿ al-Zawāʾid #15075 (certifies the tradition as good [ḥasan]); Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #34264, #34289, #34328, #37684; Jāmiʿ al-Ṣaghīr Suyūṭī #3727.

[2094] Sunan Abū Dāwūd #4285; Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, verses 47:16-19.

[2095] Musnad Ḥanbal #645; Mustadrak Ḥākim #8670 (certifies the tradition as authentic by the criteria of Muslim); Jāmiʿ al-Saghīr Suyūṭī #9243; Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, verses 47:16-19.

[2096] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #3.49.863, #5.59.553.

Yet, this interpretation would be even more troubling for the Sunnīs, as the Prophet (ص) would be clearly declaring Abū Bakr as a hypocrite. By taking away the verses from Abū Bakr and giving them to ʿAlī (ع) and saying that he had to do so because ʿAlī (ع) was from him, he was rather clearly stating that Abū Bakr was not from him, as the contrasting feature that allowed ʿAlī (ع) to deliver the verses while Abū Bakr was not allowed to do so was that ʿAlī (ع) was from the Prophet (ص) and the Prophet (ص) was from him, while that fact did not hold for Abū Bakr. As such, according to this interpretation, Abū Bakr's not being from the Prophet (ص) would have to be due to his lack of belief in Islām. This is because Abū Bakr clearly emigrated and engaged in battle alongside the Muslims. Therefore, the only quality he would have lacked that would have made him not of the Prophet (ص) would have been his lack of belief.

Of course, the assumption underlying this interpretation is not correct, as is made clear in the verse of the Qur`ān, because the word "you" is in the plural, meaning that these individuals who accepted Islām, emigrated, and fought alongside the Muslims become part of the Muslim nation at large, not of the Prophet (ص) himself the way ʿAlī (ع) was of the Prophet (ص).

2097. Qur`ān 8:75.

Chapter 33
The Conversion of Yemen by ʹAlī (ع)

According to Ṭabarī and other Sunnī sources,

> Barā` ibn ʹĀzib [said]: The Messenger of Allāh sent Khālid ibn Walīd to the people of Yemen inviting them to Islām, and I was among those who went with him. [Khālid ibn Walīd] persisted in the matter for six months, but they did not respond, so the Messenger of Allāh sent ʹAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib and ordered him that Khālid and those who were with him should return, but if any of them would like to follow him he should allow them [to do so]. I was one [of those] who followed ʹAlī, and as we reached the borders of Yemen, the people got the news. They gathered around him and ʹAlī led us in the morning prayer. When he had finished [the prayer], he lined us up in one row. Then he moved before us, praised and extolled Allāh, and then read to them the letter of the Messenger of Allāh. All of Hamdān embraced Islām in one day and [ʹAlī] wrote to the Messenger of Allāh about it. When the Prophet read ʹAlī's letter, he fell down, prostrating himself to Allāh. Then he sat up and said, "Peace be upon Hamdān! Peace be upon Hamdān!" [After the conversion of Hamdān], the [rest of the] people of Yemen followed in succession with their acceptance of Islām.[2098]

Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī relates the tradition from Barā` in the following condensed form:

> Allāh's Apostle sent us to Yemen along with Khālid ibn Walīd. Later on he sent ʹAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib in his place. The Prophet said to ʹAlī, "Give Khālid's companions the choice of either staying with you [in Yemen] or returning to Madīnah." I was one of those who stayed with him (ʹAlī) and got several awāq[2099] [of gold from the war booty].[2100]

According to a number of traditions, when the Prophet (ص) told ʹAlī (ع) to go to Yemen to call them to Islām, ʹAlī (ع) said, "O Messenger of Allāh! You select me to go to a tribe with men of old age. I am afraid they won't respond [to my calling them to Islām]." The Prophet (ص) told him, "Allāh will strengthen your tongue and guide your heart."[2101] According to a widely transmitted tradition that Ḥākim certified as authentic by the criteria of Bukhārī and Muslim, ʹAlī (ع) said,

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[2098] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 9:90; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 5:121; Istīʹāb 3:216-7 #1875 (ʹAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib); Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:223.

[2099] 1 uqqah is approximately 1.25 kg.

[2100] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.59.636.

[2101] Musnad Ḥanbal #666, #1145, #1341; Khaṣā`iṣ Nasā`ī 69. Slight differences in phrasing exist among the different traditions.

> The Messenger of Allāh (ص) sent me to judge among the people of Yemen. I said, "O Messenger of Allāh, do you send me to people who are older than I am when I have little experience judging?" He put his hand on my chest and said, "O Allāh, guide his heart, and strengthen his tongue." I have not been struck by doubt in judging between two people until now.[2102]

When ´Alī (ع) arrived in Yemen, at first the people of Yemen resisted, so some fighting occurred in which twenty of them were killed. They fled and ´Alī (ع) did not pursue them. Instead, he invited them to Islām, and several of their leaders accepted. ´Alī (ع) then gathered all the booty, partitioned a fifth of it as khums, and divided the rest among those present.[2103]

The Prophet (ص) Dismissed Buraydah's Complaints About ´Alī (ع)

Ḥanbal, Nasā`ī, and Ibn Kathīr have related from Buraydah:

> The Messenger of Allāh (ص) sent two groups to Yemen. The leader of one of them was ´Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib and the leader of the other was Khālid ibn Walīd. He said, "When you get together, ´Alī will be the leader of [all] the people, and when you two separate, each one of the two will be the leader of his [respective] army." We met the Banū Zayd of Yemen in battle and the Muslims were victorious over the pagans. We fought a war and gained many prisoners. ´Alī selected a woman from the prisoners for himself.
>
> Khālid ibn Walīd sent me with a latter explaining the story to the Messenger of Allāh (ص). When I reached the Prophet (ص), I took the letter and read it to him. I saw anger in the face of the Messenger of Allāh (ص). So I said, "O Messenger of Allāh, I seek refuge. You sent me with a man and ordered me to obey him. So I did what I was sent to do." The Messenger of Allāh (ص) said, "Do not say anything bad about ´Alī. He is from me and I am from him and he is your master (walī) after me. And he is from me and I am from him and he is your master after me."[2104]

According to a similar widely related and authentic tradition, Buraydah said,

> I went with ´Alī to Yemen on a mission. I saw some antipathy (jafwah) from him. When I returned to the Messenger of Allāh (ص), I mentioned ´Alī and told him the story. I saw the face of the Messenger of Allāh (ص) change. He said, "O Buraydah, am I not more of a master (awlā) over the believers than their own selves?" I replied, "Yes O Messenger of Allāh." He said, "Whosever master I am, ´Alī is his master (mawlā)."[2105]

2102. Sunan Ibn Mājah #2310; Mustadrak Ḥākim #4658 (certifies the tradition as authentic by the criteria of Bukhārī and Muslim); Musnad Ḥanbal #636, #666, #882, #1145, #1280, #1281, #1341; Khaṣā`Iṣ Nasā`ī 69; Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 2:337 (three traditions); Sunan al-Kubrā Bahyaqī #19941; Faḍā`Il Ḥanbal #984, #1195, #1212, #1227; Kanz al-´Ummāl #36467; Usd al-Ghābah 3:287 #3789 (´Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib); Istī´āb 3:203-4 #1875 (´Alī Ibn Abī Ṭālib); Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:396-7.

2103. Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 2:169-170.

2104. Musnad Ḥanbal #23062; Faḍā`il Ḥanbal #1175; Khaṣā`iṣ Nasā`ī 98-99; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:380.

2105. Mustadrak Ḥākim #4578 (certifies the tradition as authentic by the criteria of Muslim); Musnad Ḥanbal #22995; Faḍā`il Ḥanbal #989, #1007; Khaṣā`iṣ Nasā`ī 94; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:379.

According to a similar tradition, "The face of the Messenger of Allāh turned red and he said, 'Whosever master I am, ʻAlī is his master (walī).'"[2106] Similarly, Buraydah passed by a gathering that was talking negatively about ʻAlī (ع). He stopped by and said,

> Khālid ibn Walīd and I had some [anger] towards ʻAlī. The Messenger of Allāh (ص) sent me on an expedition, the leader of which was ʻAlī. We took prisoners and ʻAlī took a slave-girl from the khums for himself. When we returned to the Prophet (ص), I was telling him about what happened. While my head was [facing] downwards, I said that ʻAlī had taken a slave-girl from the khums. When I raised my head, I saw that the face of the Messenger of Allāh (ص) had changed. He said, "Whosever master (walī) I am, ʻAlī is his master (walī)."[2107]

In addition, the Prophet (ص) also told Buraydah, "O Buraydah, do not insult (sabb) ʻAlī, as truly ʻAlī is from me and I am from him."[2108]

Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī includes a truncated version of the traditions from Buraydah in which, rather typically, the ending in which the Prophet (ص) stressed the mastery (wilāyah) of ʻAlī (ع) over the believers has been omitted:

> The Prophet sent ʻAlī to Khālid to bring the khums [of the booty] and I hated ʻAlī, and ʻAlī had taken a bath. I said to Khālid, "Don't you see this man (ʻAlī)?!" When we reached the Prophet, I mentioned that to him. He said, "O Buraydah! Do you hate ʻAlī?" I said, "Yes." He said, "Do you hate him, for he deserves more than that from the khums."[2109]

In a similar tradition, the Prophet (ص) told Buraydah, "Do not despise [ʻAlī]. If you love him, just keep increasing your love for him. By He in Whose hands is my life, the share of the family (āl) of ʻAlī in the khums is far greater than a slave-girl."[2110] Despite such explicit traditions, the Sunnīs to this day withhold the khums from the family of ʻAlī (ع).

A similar event occurred with respect to Abū Saʻīd al-Khudrī who was upset because ʻAlī (ع) would not give him a camel from the booty and instead said, "Your share will be only like that of the [other] Muslims." He took this as a personal affront and when he returned to Madīnah, he told the event to Abū Bakr. Abū Bakr encouraged him to go to the Prophet (ص) and voice his complaints about ʻAlī (ع) personally. He started to complain about ʻAlī (ع) being harsh with him, but the Prophet (ص) struck his thigh in the midst of his complaining, cutting off his speech.[2111]

Similarly, according to a tradition certified as authentic by Ḥākim,

> ʻAmr ibn Shaʻs al-Aslamī, one of the companions who was present at Ḥudaybīyyah, said: I set out with ʻAlī towards Yemen on a mission, and he upset me during this trip, until I found within myself a dislike for him. When I returned, I complained about him in the mosque until the Prophet (ص) became aware of this. I entered the mosque early one morning and he was among some

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[2106] Musnad Ḥanbal #23011.

[2107] Musnad Ḥanbal #23078; Faḍāʻil Ḥanbal #1177. A very similar and slightly more detailed account appears in Mustadrak Ḥākim #2589 (certifies the tradition as authentic by the criteria of both Bukhārī and Muslim).

[2108] Manāqib Ibn Mughāzilī #271.

[2109] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.59.637.

[2110] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:380-1.

[2111] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:382; Tārīkh Damishq 42:200-201.

> of his companions. When he saw me, he stared at me until I sat down. He then said, "O ʿAmr! By Allāh you have truly harassed me!" I said, "I seek refuge with Allāh from harassing you, O Messenger of Allāh!" He said, "Yes, whoever harasses ʿAlī indeed harasses me."[2112]

The Prophet (ص) Publicly Dismissed Mass Complaints About ʿAlī (ع)

According to a tradition that appears in Sunan Tirmidhī and many other Sunnī sources and that Ḥākim certified as authentic by the criteria of Muslim,

> The Messenger of Allāh (ص) sent troops and made ʿAlī their leader. He took a slave-girl [from the booty] and four of the companions of the Messenger of Allāh (ص) criticized him for this. They said, "When we meet the Messenger of Allāh, we will inform him of what ʿAlī did." When the Muslim [troops] would return from their missions, they would go to Messenger of Allāh (ص) and greet him and then go on to their [personal] destinations. When [this] group arrived, they greeted the Prophet (ص), and one of the four stood up and said, "O Messenger of Allāh! Do you see that ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib did such and such?" The Prophet (ص) turned away from him. Then the second one stood up and said the same. The Prophet (ص) turned away from him [as well]. The third one then stood and said the same. The Prophet (ص) turned away [yet again]. Then the fourth one stood up and [repeated] what they had said. The Messenger of Allāh (ص) went towards them with anger [apparent] in his face. He said, "What do you want from ʿAlī?! What do you want from ʿAlī?! What do you want from ʿAlī?! Verily, ʿAlī is from me and I am from him, and he is the master (walī) of every believer after me."[2113]

According to another tradition, the Prophet (ص) said, "O people! Do not complain about ʿAlī."[2114] He also said, "O people! Do not complain about ʿAlī, for he is the strictest in [respecting] the essence (dhāt) of Allāh, the great and glorious," or "the strictest in [staying on] the path of Allāh."[2115]

These traditions are absolutely clear that no disagreement with ʿAlī (ع) is allowed and no Muslim can complain about or be upset by what ʿAlī (ع) does. Rather, they must simply adopt him as their master (walī and mawlā) and submit humbly to his command. These facts are only explainable through ʿAlī's (ع) immunity from sin and error, otherwise they would be right to criticize him when he sinned and erred.

Even the Sun Accommodated ʿAlī (ع)

These companions would not bend their wills to accept ʿAlī's (ع) actions and commands, yet the sun would change course to accommodate ʿAlī (ع). As is narrated in a number of Sunnī traditions, the Prophet (ص) was sleeping in ʿAlī's (ع) room with his head on ʿAlī's (ع) lap. As much as ʿAlī (ع) wanted to rise to perform his afternoon (ʿaṣr) prayers, he did not move so as not to disturb the Prophet (ص). When the Prophet (ص) woke up, he was informed that ʿAlī (ع) had missed his afternoon prayer, so he prayed for the sun to return. The sun appeared from the west for just long enough for ʿAlī (ع) to perform his prayer, and upon the completion of his prayer, the sun disappeared again into the western horizon.[2116]

[2112] Musnad Ḥanbal #16002; Mustadrak Ḥākim #4619 (certifies the tradition as authentic); Faḍāʾil Ḥanbal #981; Fayḍ al-Qadīr #8266; Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:121-2; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 5:121, 7:382-3.

[2113] Sunan Tirmidhī #3712; Mustadrak Ḥākim #4579 (cetifies the tradition as authentic by the criteria of Muslim); Musnad Ḥanbal #19942; Faḍāʾil Ḥanbal #1035, #1060; Usd al-Ghābah 3:292-3 #3789 (ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib); Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:129; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:381.

[2114] Mustadrak Ḥākim #4654 (certifies the tradition as authentic); Tārīkh al-Khulafāʾ 155.

[2115] Musnad Ḥanbal #11835; Faḍāʾil Ḥanbal #1161; Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #33014-5; Majmaʿ al-Zawāʾid #14735; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 5:228, 7:381; Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:205; Tārīkh Damishq 42:200.

This event also shows the significance of maintaining peace and quiet around the Prophet (ص). While ʿAlī (ع) would not move from his place in order not to disturb the Prophet's (ص) sleep, his wives would bicker and scream in front of him, angering him to the point of abstaining from them for a month,[2117] while Abū Bakr and ʿUmar bickered so loudly in front of him that the Qur`ān had to order them not to do so.[2118] Yet, despite the fact that, according to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, a verse of the Qur`ān[2119] was revealed ordering Abū Bakr and ʿUmar to remain quiet in the presence of the Prophet (ص),[2120] ʿUmar went on to yell insults at the Prophet (ص) at his deathbed.[2121]

Of note, this was not the only time the sun was returned. When Solomon (ع) missed his afternoon prayers, the sun was returned for him:

> When there were brought to him in the evening [horses that were] still when standing, swift when running, he then said, "Surely I preferred the good things to the remembrance of my Lord," until the sun was hidden in the veil [of night]. [He said], "Bring it back to me!"[2122]

Note that the phrase, "Bring *it* back to me!" has been mistakenly translated into English by a number of Qur`ānic translators as "Bring *them* back to me!" when the word "ruddūhā" is clearly in the singular and is therefore not referring to the horses (plural), but to the sun. Accordingly, when ʿAlī (ع) was told that Kaʿb al-Aḥbār claimed that the verse was referring to the horses, he said, "Kaʿb lied! Rather, Solomon was preoccupied with preparing the horses for jihād until it set, [meaning] the sun set into the veils [of night]. So he told, by the command of Allāh, to the angels responsible for the sun, 'Return it,' meaning the sun. So they returned it until he prayed the afternoon (ʿaṣr) [prayer] in its time. The prophets of Allāh do not oppress (i.e. commit sins), as they are infallible (maʿṣūm)."[2123] Similarly, Shawkānī said, "The object of 'return it' returns to the sun, and this was a miracle for [Solomon]."[2124]

The Companions Criticized the Prophet (ص) over the Khums

As related earlier, ʿAlī (ع) removed the khums from the spoils of war and divided the rest among the companions. From the khums, he took a slave girl for himself, which caused much upheaval among the companions, with constant complaints to the Prophet (ص), angering the Prophet (ص) and forcing him to make it clear that ʿAlī (ع) was their master and that they must obey him and never question him. However, the companions did not stop at mere criticisms of ʻAlī (ع), but even criticized the Prophet's (ص) own handling of the khums. According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī,

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[2116] Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:140-1 (three traditions); Tārīkh Damishq 42:314 (two traditions).

[2117] Refer to chapter 27.

[2118] Refer to chapter 52.

[2119] Qur`ān 49:1.

[2120] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.59.653. Refer to chapter 52.

[2121] Refer to chapter 38.

[2122] Qur`ān 38:31-33.

[2123] Tafsīr Qurṭubī and Tafsīr Thaʿlabī, verse 38:33. Tafsīr Baghawī has related the same tradition, except it omitted the part about Kaʿb and ʿAlī's (ع) comment, "Kaʿb lied!"

[2124] Tafsīr Shawkānī, verse 38:33.

> ʻAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib sent a piece of gold not yet taken out of its ore in a tanned leather container to Allāh's Apostle. Allāh's Apostle distributed that amongst four persons: ʻUyaynah ibn Badr, Aqraʻ ibn Ḥābis, Zayd al-Khayl, and the fourth was either ʻAlqamah or ʻĀmir ibn Ṭufayl. On that, one of his companions said, "We are more deserving of this [gold] than these [individuals]." When that news reached the Prophet, he said, "Don't you trust me, though I am the trustworthy man of the One in the heavens, and [though] I receive the news of heaven (i.e. divine inspiration) both in the morning and in the evening?" Thereupon a man with sunken eyes, raised cheek bones, a raised forehead, a thick beard, a shaven head, and a waist sheet that was tucked up got up and said, "O Allāh's Apostle! Be afraid of Allāh." The Prophet said, "Woe to you! Am I not of all the people of the earth the most entitled to fear Allāh?" Then that man went away. Khālid ibn Walīd said, "O Allāh's Apostle! Shall I chop his neck off?" The Prophet said, "No, for he may offer prayers." Khālid said, "Numerous are those who offer prayers and say by their tongues what is not in their hearts." Allāh's Apostle said, "I have not been ordered [by Allāh] to search the hearts of the people or to cut open their bellies." Then the Prophet looked at [that man] while the latter was going away and said, "From the offspring of this [man] there will come out [people] who will recite the Qur`ān continuously and elegantly but it will not exceed their throats. They would go out of the religion [of Islām] as an arrow goes through a game's body."[2125]

According to another tradition in Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī relating the same event in which ʻAlī (ع) sent some gold from Yemen to the Prophet (ص), "The Quraysh (Muhājirīn) and the Anṣār became angry and said, He gives to the chiefs of Najd and leaves us!'" The Prophet (ص) replied, "I just wanted to attract and unite their hearts."[2126] As is clear, the Prophet's (ص) companions from the Muhājirīn and Anṣār were complaining about the Prophet's (ص) use of khums and fay`. Those who had fought received four-fifths of the booty. Yet, the companions wanted something beyond that, even though they had no inherent rights to any more than their fair share according to the Qur`ān, as we have previously discussed.[2127] This tradition also shows that there were hypocrites among the companions who would be spared execution by exhibiting Islām externally. It also shows that a group will arise who appear pious and recite the Qur`ān beautifully, yet have no true internal faith.

Conclusions

The events discussed in this chapter establish several facts:

1. While Khālid ibn Walīd was unable to convert Yemen after six months, ʻAlī (ع) did so within days. This shows that a true imām is far more effective in spreading Islām than ordinary companions.

2. ʻAlī (ع) and his family had a right to the khums, even though this was later denied by Abū Bakr, ʻUmar, and illegitimate caliphs. This is a clear confiscation

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[2125] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.59.638. Similar traditions appear in in Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #5.2318-9.

[2126] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #9.93.527.

[2127] Refer to chapter 23.

of their rights and outright usurpation of what was Islāmically due to them. In fact, the Prophet (ص) specified that ʿAlī's (ع) right to the khums was far greater than what he had taken, yet even one slave girl made the companions jealous to no end. Moreover, the companions were trying to covet the khums even during the Prophet's (ص) lifetime, which explains why Abū Bakr and ʿUmar so easily abolished the rights of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) to the khums and why the companions did not complain about this illegitimate act, as they were bitterly jealous of the distribution of khums to the Ahl al-Bayt in the first place.

3. Some of the companions hated ʿAlī (ع) and some of those could not keep their hatred for him hidden, even expressing it publicly in the Prophet's Mosque. This is troubling because the Prophet (ص) labeled those who hate ʿAlī (ع) as hypocrites.[2128]

4. The Prophet (ص) ordered the companions to never complain about ʿAlī (ع) because he was the master (walī and mawlā) of every believer. This proves ʿAlī's (ع) immunity from sin, because if he could sin, the believers would have a right to be upset at him and to criticize him. By confirming that ʿAlī (ع) was the walī of every believer, the Prophet (ص) demanded their absolute obedience to ʿAlī (ع), which yet again proves that he was the designated imām of the believers.

5. There were hypocrites among the companions who openly attacked the Prophet (ص). These same individuals are referred to as "ṣaḥābah" and are considered experts in Islāmic law (mujtahids). Yet, they are simply hypocrites who opposed Islām during the lifetime of the Prophet (ص) and never ceased to harm it after his death.

[2128] Refer to chapter 21.

Chapter 34
Ghadīr Khumm: The Prophet (ص) Crowned ʹAlī (ع) as the Master (Mawlā) of the Believers

The event of Ghadīr Khumm was the most public proclamation of ʹAlī (ع) as the designated successor (khalīf) of the Prophet (ص) and as the rightful and undeniable imām after him. After the Prophet (ص) completed his Farewell Pilgrimage (ḥajjah al-wadāʹ), he left Mecca. On his way to Madīnah, the Prophet (ص) stopped at a place known as Ghadīr Khumm where the roads to various lands merged. The following verse was revealed there, ordering the Prophet (ص) to introduce ʹAlī (ع) to the masses as the master of the believers:

> O Messenger! Proclaim that which has been revealed to you from your Lord. If you do not, you would not have conveyed His message. Allāh will protect you from the people. Allāh does not guide the disbelievers.[2129]

The Prophet (ص) then ordered those present at Ghadīr Khumm to remain and called back those who had already left. The Muslims prayed the noon prayer in congregation. It was a hot day, so hot that the men had to pull part of their clothing over their heads and place parts of it under their feet to protect them from the blazing rays of the sun above and the blistering heat of the sand below.

The Prophet (ص) stood up in the middle of the crowd, raised his voice so that all those present could hear him, and then proclaimed, "Praise be to Allāh, from Whom we seek assistance, in Whom we believe, upon Whom we depend, and with Whom we seek refuge from the evils of our souls and the shortcomings of our deeds. There is no guide for him whom He sets astray, and no one to mislead him whom He guides. I bear witness that there is no god but Allāh and that Muḥammad is His servant and messenger. Now, O people! [Allāh], the kind and aware, has just informed me that no prophet lives except for a specified duration. I will be questioned and so will you, so what is it that you say?"

The People said, "We bear witness that you have proclaimed [the message], advised [the people], and struggled [in the path of Allāh]. So May Allāh reward you well." He said, "Do you not bear witness that there is no god but Allāh, that Muḥammad is His servant and messenger, that His paradise is true, that His fire is true, that death is true, that there is no doubt in the coming Hour, and that Allāh raises those in the graves?" The people said, "Yes, we bear witness to [all] this." The Prophet (ص) said, "O Allāh, bear witness!" He then said, "O People! Do you not hear [me]?" They replied, "Yes [we hear you]!"

The Prophet (ص) said, "I will indeed be the first at the Fount [of Kawthar] and you will enter upon me at that fount whose width is between Ṣanʹāʾ (in Yemen) and Buṣrā (in

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[2129] Qurʾān 5:67.

Syria). In it are cups by the numbers of the stars. So see how you tread after me with respect to the two weight items (thaqalayn)." Someone called out, "And what are the two weighty items, O Messenger of Allāh?"

He said, "The greater weighty item is the Book of Allāh; one side of it is in the hand of Allāh, the great and glorious, and [the other] side is in your hands. Stick to it so that you do not go astray. And the second [weighty item], the smaller one, is my offspring (ʿitrah). [Allāh], the kind and aware, has informed me that the two do not separate from one another until they enter upon me at the Fount [of Kawthar]. I have asked this from Allāh. So do not overtake them lest you perish and do not fall behind them lest you perish."

The Prophet (ص) then took the hand of ʿAlī (ع) and raised it until the whiteness of their armpits could be seen and everyone could recognize ʿAlī (ع). He then said, "O people! Who is more of a master (awlā) to the believers than their own selves?" The people replied, "Allāh and His Messenger know better."

The Prophet (ص) then said, "Allāh is my master (mawlā), and I am the master of the believers. I am more of a master (awlā) to them than their own selves. So whosever master I am, ʿAlī is his master (mawlā)." He repeated this three times. He then said, "Allāh, be the master of whoever takes ʿAlī as his master (mawlā); reject whoever rejects him; love whoever loves him; hate whoever hates him; help whoever helps him; cease helping whoever withholds help from him; and turn the truth to him wherever he is. The present must definitely inform the absent."

They had not yet dispersed when Gabriel (ع) brought Allāh's revelation, "Today I perfected for you your religion, and completed My favor upon you, and accepted for you Islām as your religion."[2130] The Prophet (ص) said, "Allāh is greater for the perfection of the religion, for the completion of the favor, and for the Lord's satisfaction with my prophecy and the wilāyah of ʿAlī after me."

The people then congratulated ʿAlī (ع). Among the first of the companions to congratulate him were Abū Bakr and ʿUmar. They all said, "Wow! Wow! O son of Abū Ṭālib! As dawn and dusk pass, you are my master (mawlā) and the master of all the men and women believers."

This is a summary overview of the events of Ghadīr Khumm that puts together the basic information contained in a large number of Sunnī traditions.[2131] In this chapter, various aspects of this incident will be addressed in greater detail.

Sources of the Tradition of Ghadīr Khumm

The tradition of Ghadīr in which the Prophet (ص) said, "Whosever mawlā I am, ʿAlī is his mawlā," or alternatively, "Whosever walī I am, ʿAlī is his walī," is one of the most famous and mutawātir traditions of Islām and has been universally accepted. Suyūṭī said, "The majority of [the traditions] have in addition [to the phrase 'Whosever mawlā I am, ʿAlī is his mawlā,' the phrase], 'O Allāh! Take as walī he who takes [ʿAlī] as walī and be the enemy of his enemy."[2132] ʿAllāmah Amīnī has compiled a list of one hundred and ten companions,[2133] eighty-four successors (tābi'īn),[2134] and three hundred and sixty Sunnī scholars[2135] who have transmitted this tradition. He has also listed twenty-six Sunnī books entirely devoted to the tradition of Ghadīr.[2136]

[2130] Qurʾān 5:3.
[2131] Summarized from al-Ghadīr 1:9-11.
[2132] Tārikh al-Khulafāʾ 151.

The following is a partial list of just a few of the companions who have related this tradition: 'Abbās ibn 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abbās, 'Abd Allāh ibn Mas'ūd, 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Umar, 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Awf, Abū Bakr, Abū Dharr, Abū al-Haytham ibn Tayyihān, Abū Hurayrah, Abū Isḥāq, 'Ā'ishah bint Abī Bakr, 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib (ع), Anas ibn Mālik, Asmā' bint 'Umays, Barā' ibn 'Āzib, Dhū al-Shahādatayn Khuzaymah ibn Thābit, Fāṭimah bint Muḥammad (ص), Ḥasan ibn 'Alī (ع), Ḥassān ibn Thābit, Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī (ع), Jābir ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Anṣārī, Khālid ibn Walīd, Qays ibn Sa'd ibn 'Ubādah, Sa'd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ, Sa'd ibn 'Ubādah al-Anṣārī, Salmān al-Fārsī, Ubayy ibn Ka'b, 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, Umm Hāni', Umm Salamah, Usāmah ibn Zayd, 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān, Zayd ibn Arqam, Zayd ibn Thābit, and Zubayr ibn 'Awwām, among dozens of others.[2137]

The following is a condensed list of Sunnī works that include this tradition: Sunan Tirmidhī,[2138] Sunan Ibn Mājah,[2139] Mustadrak Ḥākim,[2140] Musnad Ḥanbal,[2141] Jāmi' al-Ṣaghīr Suyūṭī,[2142] Sunan al-Kubrā Nasā'ī,[2143] Khaṣā'iṣ Nasā'ī,[2144] Faḍā'il Ḥanbal,[2145] Fatḥ al-Bārī,[2146] 'Umdah al-Qārī,[2147] Fayḍ al-Qadīr,[2148] Majma' al-Zawā'id,[2149] Kanz al-'Ummāl,[2150] Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā,[2151] Iṣābah,[2152] Istī'āb,[2153] Usd al-Ghābah,[2154] Sharḥ-i Nahj al-Balāghah of Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd,[2155] Dhakhā'ir al-'Uqbā,[2156] Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah,[2157]

2133. Al-Ghadīr 1:14-61.
2134. Al-Ghadīr 1:62-72.
2135. Al-Ghadīr 1:73-151.
2136. Al-Ghadīr 1:152-7.
2137. Al-Ghadīr 1:14-61.
2138. Sunan Tirmidhī #3713 (certifies the tradition as good-authentic [ḥasan ṣaḥīḥ]).
2139. Sunan Ibn Mājah #121.
2140. Mustadrak Ḥākim #2589, #4576-8, #4601, #4652, #5594, #6272 (certifies #2589 and #4576 as authentic by the criteria of Bukhārī and Muslim, #4578 as authentic by the criteria of Muslim, and #4652 and #6272 as authentic).
2141. Musnad Ḥanbal #641, #950, #961, #1310, #3062-3, #18502-3, #19298, #19321, #19344, #19347, #22995, #23078, #23107, #23156, #23192, #23609.
2142. Jāmi' al-Ṣaghīr Suyūṭī #5598, #9000, #9001.
2143. Sunan al-Kubrā Nasā'ī #8144, #8145, #8148, #8399, #8409, #8464-73, #8478, #8480, #8483, #8484, #8542.
2144. Khaṣā'iṣ Nasā'ī 93-97 (ten chains of transmission).
2145. Faḍā'il Ḥanbal #947, #959, #967, #989, #991, #992, #1007, #1016, #1017, #1021, #1048, #1093, #1167, #1168, #1206.
2146. Fatḥ al-Bārī #3503, #4093.
2147. 'Umdah al-Qārī 18:206.
2148. Fayḍ al-Qadīr #10, #5598, #9000, #9001.
2149. Majma' al-Zawā'id #10978, #14610-22, #14626-36, #14696, #14965-6. Certifies those in the chains of transmission of traditions #14610, #14614, #14615, #14620-2, #14626, #14628, #14632, and #14696 as trustworthy (thuqāt); certifies tradition #14627 and #14634 as good (ḥasan); and certifies tradition #14613 as authentic.
2150. Kanz al-'Ummāl #950, #953, #957, #958, #12911, #31662, #32904-5, #32916, #32945-6, #32949-51, #36340, #36342-4, #36417-8, #36420, #36422, #36425, #36430, #36433, #36485-7, #36495, #36511, #36514, #36515.
2151. Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 5:320.
2152. Iṣābah 2:1296 #5690 ('Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib).
2153. Istī'āb 3:203 #1875 ('Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib).
2154. Usd al-Ghābah 3:294 #3789 ('Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib).
2155. Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 2:289, 3:208, 4:74, 6:168, 8:21, 9:28, 12:88, 17:174, 19:217.
2156. Dhakhā'ir al-'Uqbā 67, 88.
2157. Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:126-128 (numerous traditions), 3:175, 3:232-3.

Tārīkh Bukhārī,[2158] Tārīkh Baghdād,[2159] Tārīkh Damishq,[2160] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr,[2161] Tārīkh al-Khulafā`,[2162] and many others. Tafsīr Rāzī,[2163] Tafsīr Ibn Kathīr,[2164] Tafsīr Shawkānī,[2165] Tafsīr Tha´labī,[2166] Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr,[2167] Tafsīr Nīsābūrī,[2168] and other works of Qur`ānic commentary also cite this tradition. The fact that the Prophet (ص) made his declaration publicly in front of tens of thousands of Muslims ensured that it would become the most mutawātir of prophetic traditions.

Of note, Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim includes portions of the Prophet's (ص) speech at Ghadīr Khumm, but rather typically leaves out the tradition specifically citing ´Alī's (ع) wilāyah:

> One day Allāh's Messenger stood up to deliver sermon at a watering place known as Khumm situated between Mecca and Madīnah. He praised Allāh, extolled Him, delivered a sermon, exhorted [us], and said, "Now to our purpose. O people, I am a human being. I am about to receive a messenger (i.e. the angel of death) from my Lord and I, in response to Allāh's call, [bid good-bye to you], but I am leaving among you two weighty things—the one being the Book of Allāh in which there is right guidance and light, so hold fast to the Book of Allāh and adhere to it." He exhorted [us to hold fast] to the Book of Allāh and then said, "The second are the members of my household. I remind you [of your duties] to the members of my family."[2169]

According to a tradition Ḥākim certified as authentic by the criteria of Bukhārī and Muslim, Zayd ibn Arqam said,

> When the Messenger of Allāh was returning from the Farewell Pilgrimage, he arrived at Ghadīr Khumm. He stood between two trees and said, "I have been called [to deliver a message], so I have responded. I have left among you two weighty items, one of which—the Book of Allāh—is greater than the other, and [the second is] my close family (´itrah). Watch how you succeed me with respect to the two of them, as the two will not separate until they come to me at the fount." He then said, "Allāh, the great and glorious, is my master (mawlā), and I am the master of every believer." He then grabbed the hand of ´Alī and said, "Whosever master (mawlā) I am, this is his master (walī). O Allāh, be the guardian (walī) of his devotee (walī), and be the enemy of his enemy."[2170]

According to Musnad Ḥanbal, Barā` ibn ´Āzib said,

[2158] Tārīkh Bukhārī vol 1 #1191 (Ismā´īl ibn Nashiṭ), vol 4 #2458 (Sahm ibn Ḥuṣayn), vol 6 #2277 (´Uthmān ibn ´Āṣim).

[2159] Tārīkh Baghdād #3024 (Muḥammad ibn ´Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad), #3905 (Ḥasan ibn ´Alī ibn Sahl), #4392 (Ḥabshūn ibn Mūsā), #6785 (Faḍl ibn Rabī´), #7545 (Yaḥyā ibn Muḥammad ibn ´Umar).

[2160] Tārīkh Damishq 13:69-71 (several traditions), 18:138, 25:108, 38:414, 42:99, 42:100, 42:102, 42:114, 42:116, 42:117, 42:119, 42:120, 42:187, 42:188, 42:191, 42:192, 42:193, 42:194, 42:205-238 (numerous traditions), 45:344, 65:324.

[2161] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 5:228-33 (numerous traditions), 7:370, 7:374, 7:376, 7:379, 7:380, 7:383-7 (numerous traditions), 9:194, 11:409.

[2162] Tārīkh al-Khulafā` 151.

[2163] Tafsīr Rāzī, verses 5:67 and 57:15.

[2164] Tafsīr Ibn Kathīr, verse 5:3.

[2165] Tafsīr Shawkānī, verse 33:6.

[2166] Tafsīr Tha´labī, verses 5:67 and 70:1.

[2167] Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, verses 5:3, 5:55, 33:6.

[2168] Tafsīr Nīsābūrī, verses 5:67 and 57:15.

[2169] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #31.5920.

[2170] Mustadrak Ḥākim #4576 (certifies the tradition as authentic by the criteria of Bukhārī and Muslim)

> We were with the Messenger of Allāh (ص) on a trip when we arrived in Ghadīr Khumm. Congregational prayers were called for us, and the Messenger of Allāh swept [an area] beneath two trees and prayed the noon [prayers there]. He then held the hand of ʿAlī and said, "Do you not know that I am more of a master (walī) over the believers than their own selves?" They replied, "Yes!" He said, "Do you not know that I am more of a master (walī) over each believer than his own self?" They replied, "Yes!" He held the hand of ʿAlī and said, "Whosever master (mawlā) I am, ʿAlī is his master. O Allāh, be the guardian (walī) of his devotee (walī), and be the enemy of his enemy." ʿUmar went to him after this and said, "Congratulations, O son of Abū Ṭālib, for you spend your days and nights as the master (mawlā) of every believing man and woman.[2171]

The Crowning of ʿAlī (ع) on the Day of Ghadīr Khumm

In most kingdoms, kings are designated by the act of crowning, in which a crown that was worn by the previous king is placed on the head of the newly appointed king. This custom belonged to the kings of the Persian and Byzantine empires. The Arabs did not have crowns as such, but the Prophet (ص) said, "Turbans are the crowns of the Arabs."[2172] According to Tāj al-ʿArūs, "Arabs call turbans crowns. In a tradition it is stated that turbans are the crowns of the Arabs... meaning that turbans to the Arabs are like crowns for the kings."[2173] On the day of Ghadīr Khumm, ʿAlī (ع) was crowned, or more precisely, turbaned, by the Prophet (ص). This is a clear physical sign of ʿAlī's (ع) succession to the Prophet (ص) in leadership of the Islāmic nation. The following are three traditions demonstrating this fact:

1. According to Muḥibb Ṭabarī, "The Messenger of Allāh (ص) called for ʿAlī on the day of Ghadīr Khumm and then placed a turban on him."[2174]

2. Ibn ʿAbbās said, "When the Messenger of Allāh (ص) crowned (literally, turbaned) ʿAlī with the Saḥāb (the name of the Prophet's (ص) turban), he told him, "O ʿAlī! Turbans are the crowns of the Arabs!"[2175]

3. ʿAlī said that the Messenger of Allāh (ص) placed the turban on him with his own hands. He hung the two sides from the front and the back and then said, "Come to me," and ʿAlī came. He then said, "Turn away," and ʿAlī turned away. The Messenger of Allāh (ص) then said, "This is how the turbans of the angels are."[2176]

There are several other Sunnī traditions in this regards.[2177] The clear implication of the Prophet's (ص) act of placing his own turban on ʿAlī's (ع) head after declaring him as the master (mawlā) of all the believers and after declaring that turbans are the crowns of the Arabs was that ʿAlī (ع) was the Prophet's (ص) heir and that ʿAlī (ع) would take over all the political and other leadership roles of the Prophet (ص) upon his death. This act is identical to a king inviting all his people to watch him place his crown on the head of his designated heir after declaring the heir to be the leader of his nation upon his death.

[2171] Musnad Ḥanbal #18502.
[2172] Fatḥ al-Bārī #4736; Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #41132-3, #41136, #41146, #41912; Jāmiʿ al-Ṣaghīr Suyūṭī #1143, #5723, #5724; Fayḍ al-Qadīr #1143, #5723, #5724.
[2173] Tāj al-ʿArūs 1343 (t-w-j).
[2174] Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:194.
[2175] Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #41912.
[2176] Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #41913.
[2177] Refer to al-Ghadīr 1:290-293 and Imām Shenāsī 9:284-290.

Congratulating ʿAlī (ع) on the Day of Ghadīr Khumm

After ʿAlī (ع) was publicly crowned as the leader and mawlā of the believers, many companions rushed to congratulate him. There are numerous traditions regarding the congratulating of ʿAlī (ع) by ʿUmar. According to a widely transmitted tradition, ʿUmar told ʿAlī (ع), "Congratulations to you, O son of Abū Ṭālib! You [spend] your mornings and evenings as the mawlā of all the believers."[2178] Abū Bakr joined ʿUmar in congratulating ʿAlī (ع). According to Fayḍ al-Qadīr,

> When Abū Bakr and ʿUmar hear [what the Prophet (ص) said at Ghadīr Khumm], the two of them, according to what Dārquṭnī related from Saʿd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ, told [ʿAlī], "You will enter the evening as the mawlā of every believing man and woman."[2179]

ʿAllāmah Amīnī has listed sixty Sunnī sources including traditions regarding Abū Bakr and ʿUmar's congratulating of ʿAlī (ع) upon the proclamations of Ghadīr Khumm.[2180] This shows the fact that they understood the significance of Ghadīr Khumm and knew that ʿAlī (ع) was given leadership and wilāyah over all the believers. If the incident of Ghadīr was not significant, it would have been meaningless for everyone to congratulate ʿAlī (ع) for what had been announced on that day. The significance of the event is furthermore evident from the fact that tens of thousands of Muslims were kept under the blazing sun to hear the Prophet's (ص) proclamation. Even those who had already left the region of Ghadīr Khumm were called back to make sure that they all heard it. Those present at Ghadīr Khumm were also told that they absolutely must inform those who were absent about what the Prophet (ص) had said. If it was an insignificant event, calling people back and insisting that those present inform those absent would be rather unnecessary.

The Verse of Proclamation (Balāgh)

The Qurʾān says,

> O Messenger! Proclaim that which has been revealed to you from your Lord. If you do not, you would not have conveyed His message. Allāh will protect you from the people. Allāh does not guide the disbelievers.[2181]

According to accounts in Tafsīr Thaʿlabī, Tafsīr Rāzī, Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, Tafsīr Shawkānī, and Tafsīr Nīsābūrī,[2182] his verse was revealed on the day of Ghadīr Khumm. Thus, this verse ordered the Prophet (ص) to publicly and openly proclaim the wilāyah of ʿAlī (ع), and informed him that not doing so would be equivalent to not proclaiming his prophetic mission. The following are two examples of Sunnī traditions regarding the revelation of this verse at Ghadīr Khumm:

[2178] Musnad Ḥanbal #18502-3; Faḍāʾil Ḥanbal #1042; Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #36420; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 5:229, 7:386; Tārīkh Baghdād #4392 (Ḥabshūn ibn Mūsā); Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:233; Tafsīr Rāzī and Tafsīr Thaʿlabī, verse 5:67.

[2179] Fayḍ al-Qadīr #9000.

[2180] Refer to al-Ghadīr 1:272-283.

[2181] Qurʾān 5:67.

[2182] Tafsīr Thaʿlabī, Tafsīr Rāzī, Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, Tafsīr Shawkānī, and Tafsīr Nīsābūrī, verse 5:67.

1. Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī said: The verse, "O Messenger! Proclaim that which has been revealed to you from your Lord," was revealed to the Messenger of Allāh (ص) on the day of Ghadīr Khumm regarding 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib.[2183]

2. Ibn Mas'ūd said: We recited in the time of the Messenger of Allāh (ص), "O Messenger! Proclaim that which has been revealed to you from your Lord, that 'Alī is the mawlā of the believers, and if you do not, you would not have conveyed His message. Allāh will protect you from the people."[2184]

Tafsīr Rāzī lists ten different times, places, and events at which this verse is claimed to have been revealed and lists Ghadīr Khumm as the last choice, which is rather typical of Rāzī. In contrast, Tafsīr Nīsābūrī, another leading Sunnī commentary, cites Ghadīr Khumm as the first possibility.[2185] Ṭabarī did not include this event in his Qur`ānic commentary or his history, but instead compiled a separate book entitled Kitāb al-Wilāyah, in which he related the revelation of this verse in regards to Ghadīr Khumm.[2186] Rāzī cited the following as the ten circumstances in regards to which this verse is claimed to have been revealed:[2187]

1. When the Prophet (ص) was to inform the Jews about the stoning of adulterers.
2. Regarding the ridiculing of Muslims by the Jews.
3. When the verses of choice were revealed saying, "O Prophet! Say to your wives: If you desire the life of this world, and its adornment, then come! I will provide for your enjoyment and set you free in a generous manner."[2188]
4. Regarding the divorce between Zayd ibn Ḥārithah and his wife Zaynab bint Jaḥsh.
5. Regarding encouraging the hypocrites to go to battle.
6. Regarding the verse, "Do not curse that which they offer prayers to other than Allāh, lest they wrongfully curse Allāh through ignorance."[2189]
7. In the Farewell Pilgrimage when the Prophet (ص) asked, "Have I proclaimed my prophecy?" The people responded, "Yes." The Prophet (ص) said, "Allāh, bear witness." Then the verse was revealed.
8. When a desert Arab attempted to kill the Prophet (ص) while he was sleeping under a tree and the man told the Prophet (ص), "Who can stop me [from killing] you [now]?"
9. Because the Prophet (ص) feared the Quraysh and Jews and Christians, Allāh drove out their fear from the Prophet's (ص) heart so that he could proclaim the message of Islām.
10. Regarding Ghadīr Khumm.

It is clear that none of these possibilities except the ninth and tenth ones were so important that not mentioning them would have been equivalent to not proclaiming the prophetic mission. Rāzī realized this, so, perhaps rather predictably, he preferred the ninth interpretation. But what he could not explain is how the Prophet (ص) could fear the Quraysh and the People of the Book when the Qur`ān says,

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[2183] Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, Tafsīr Shawkānī, and Tafsīr Nīsābūrī, verse 5:67.
[2184] Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr and Tafsīr Shawkānī, verse 5:67.
[2185] Tafsīr Nīsābūrī, verse 5:67.
[2186] Imām Shenāsi 7:140-141.
[2187] Tafsīr Rāzī, verse 5:67.
[2188] Qur`ān 33:28.
[2189] Qur`ān 6:108.

1. "It is only Satan who frightens his adherents. So do not fear them and [instead] fear me."[2190]

2. "Those whom people have told, 'Some people have gathered to [oppose] you, so be on your guard against them.' Yet this increased their faith and they said, 'Allāh is sufficient for us, and how splendid is such a disposer of affairs.'"[2191]

3. "Those who transmit Allāh's messages and fear Him and do not fear anyone but Allāh."[2192]

4. "Indeed only the walīs of Allāh have no fear and do not worry."[2193]

There are many other verses that prove that the true believers have no fear. How could it be that the Prophet (ص) was fearful of losing his life in the path of Allāh and had to be guaranteed security?

The only reasonable possibility remaining on his list is the revelation of this verse at Ghadīr Khumm, where a key message was to be revealed. The Prophet (ص) was told, "If you do not [proclaim it], you would not have conveyed His message." That meant that not proclaiming the wilāyah of ʿAlī (ع) would be equivalent to not proclaiming the entire prophetic mission, as adopting Islām is worthless without adopting the wilāyah of ʿAlī (ع). It was ʿAlī (ع) who would keep Islām, the traditions of the Prophet (ص), and the true meaning of the Qur`ān alive after the Prophet (ص). Without proclaiming the wilāyah of ʿAlī (ع), Islām would be incomplete, as the Muslims would be exposed to misguidance and error.

There is no reason to believe that the Qur`ān was giving the possibility that the Prophet (ص) might not proclaim what had been revealed. The Prophet (ص) acted only in accordance to the will of Allāh, as the Qur`ān says, "There can be no difficulty to the Prophet in what Allāh has indicated to him as a duty."[2194] Therefore, the verse was not implying that the Prophet (ص) might not reveal the message to the people because it would be impossible for the Prophet (ص) to disobey Allāh. Rather, the verse stressed the importance of the matter to be proclaimed and the fact that if it were not proclaimed, the religion of Islām would remain unproclaimed. It might also have indicated to the Prophet (ص) the need to proclaim ʿAlī's (ع) wilāyah immediately, as he would have no better opportunity to spread the word that ʿAlī (ع) was the mawlā of the believers among the Muslim masses.

The verse of the Qur`ān continues saying, "Allāh will protect you from the people." It is clear that the Prophet (ص) was reluctant to proclaim this particular message lest his words be dismissed by the people and his prophetic mission be doubted. The people would claim that the Prophet (ص) had selected ʿAlī (ع) as his successor and the master over the people because of the close kinship between the two. They would accuse the Prophet (ص) of personal prejudice and then doubt the validity of his prophecy and thus the religion of Islām. They might also openly reject ʿAlī (ع) as their mawlā and as the Prophet's (ص) crowned successor. This verse therefore guaranteed the Prophet (ص) that he would be protected from the people. As Allāh promised, the people did not show overt dissatisfaction with ʿAlī's (ع) wilāyah and khilāfah at Ghadīr Khumm. But the Prophet (ص) was correct in worrying about their reaction, as the proclamation put their behind-the-scene plots against ʿAlī (ع) into high gear.

[2190] Qur`ān 3:175.
[2191] Qur`ān 3:173.
[2192] Qur`ān 33:39.
[2193] Qur`ān 10:62.
[2194] Qur`ān 33:38.

The subsequent phrase, "Allāh does not guide the disbelievers," does not imply spiritual guidance, but rather guidance and aid in achieving their worldly desire to destroy Islām by annulling the imāmate of ʿAlī (ع). If Allāh does not guide the disbelievers, there would be no believers except for the prophets and imāms. The Qur‘ān says, "Allāh guides whom He wills towards the straight path."[2195] The spiritual guidance of Allāh is present for all those who want to accept the truth. However, the guidance of Allāh is not offered to those seeking to destroy Islām. Rather, "They plot and Allāh plots and Allāh is the best of plotters."[2196] Thus, despite the struggles of the enemies of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع), both the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) and Islām would survive as would those who adhere to the wilāyah of ʿAlī (ع).

From this discussion, one can conclude that the verse means: O Messenger! Proclaim the wilāyah of ʿAlī as has been revealed to you from your Lord. If you do not, you have not conveyed His message. Allāh will protect you from the destructive words and actions of the people who hear this message. Allāh does not guide the disbelievers in their effort to destroy Islām.

The Verse of Completion (Ikmāl)

The Qur‘ān says,

> Today the disbelievers despair about your religion, so do not fear them but [instead] fear Me. Today I perfected for you your religion, and completed My favor upon you, and accepted for you Islām as your religion.[2197]

According to numerous Sunnī sources, this verse was proclaimed at Ghadīr Khumm after ʿAlī (ع) was introduced in front of tens of thousands of Muslims as their master (mawlā).[2198] The fact that this verse was proclaimed at Ghadīr Khumm clearly shows that Islām was completed by the wilāyah of ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib (ع) and that Islām is incomplete without his wilāyah.

ʿUmar knew that Islām was completed by the wilāyah of ʿAlī (ع), so he had to distort the truth this regards. The following tradition is famous and appears in both Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī and Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim:

> The Jews said to ʿUmar, "You recite a verse, and had it been revealed to us Jews, we would have taken the day of its revelation as a day of celebration (ʿīd)." ʿUmar said, "What verse?" They said, "This day I have perfected your religion for you, completed My favor upon you, and have chosen for you Islām as your religion." ʿUmar said, " I know the day on which this was revealed and the hour in which it was revealed and

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[2195] Qur‘ān 2:213.
[2196] Qur‘ān 8:30.
[2197] Qur‘ān 5:3.
[2198] Tafsīr Ibn Kathīr and Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, verse 5:3; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 5:233, 7:386; Tārīkh Baghdād #4392 (Ḥabshūn ibn Mūsā); Tārīkh Damishq 42:233, 42:233-4, 42:237; Shawāhid al-Tanzīl #210-215, verse 5:3.

> where Allāh's Messenger was when it was revealed. It was revealed on the night of Friday and we were in ʻArafah with Allāh's Messenger."[2199]

If everyone were to all admit that Islām was completed by the wilāyah of ʻAlī (ع) on the day of Ghadīr Khumm, there would no longer be a dispute between the Shīʻah and Sunnīs. This is why it has been critical to try to befuddle this fact regarding Allāh's words. Despite ʻUmar's words, other historical proof still survives by which we can quite clearly demonstrate that the verse was revealed regarding the wilāyah of ʻAlī (ع) at Ghadīr Khumm and not at ʻArafah, as ʻUmar claimed. According to ʻAllāmah Tehrānī,

> The masters of history and tradition among the Sunnīs agree that the Prophet (ص) lived eighty one or eighty two days after the revelation of the verse of completion. Also, their historians say that the Prophet's (ص) death was on the twelfth of Rabīʻ al-Awwal. Fakhr Rāzī says in his commentary, "The masters of history have said that when this verse was revealed to the holy Prophet (ص), he did not live more than eighty-one or eighty-two days and there were no additions, changes, or abrogations of Islāmic law (sharīʻah) after the revelation of this verse. This [verse] also contains news of the Prophet's (ص) approaching death and constitutes news from the unseen and is therefore a miracle."[2200] And among those who have specified that it was eighty-one days is Abū Al-Saʻūd in his commentary.[2201]
>
> Ibn Kathīr mentions in the list of deaths of the eleventh year A.H., "In this [year], the Messenger of Allāh, Muḥammad ibn ʻAbd Allāh (ص), the chief (sayyid) of the offspring of Adam in this world and in the hereafter died. And by the most famous [of accounts], his passing away was on the twelfth of Rabīʻ al-Awwal."[2202]
>
> And this exactly matches the revelation of the verse of completion on the day of Ghadīr Khumm. If we do not count either the day of Ghadīr or the day of the Prophet's (ص) death, the way that is usually done in calculating the numbers of days between two events, and if we consider the three months of Dhū al-Ḥijjah, Muḥarram, and Ṣafar to be twenty-nine days, there would be eighty-one days between ʻĪd al-Ghadīr and the day of the Prophet's (ص) death. If we consider two of the months as twenty-nine days and one of the months as thirty days, the total would be eighty-two days.
>
> It is clear that this calculation is correct only if the verse was revealed on the day of Ghadīr, the eighteenth of Dhū al-Ḥijjah. If we imagine that the verse was revealed on the day of ʻArafah, the ninth of Dhū al-Ḥijjah, the time span between the revelation of the verse and the passing away of the Messenger of Allāh (ص) would be ninety or ninety-one days. This contradicts the clear words of the Sunnīs themselves. No one has mentioned this period [of ninety or ninety-one days].[2203]

[2199] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.59.689, #6.60.130; Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #43.7154-5. The account here is a composite of the traditions of Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī and Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim.

[2200] Tafsir Rāzī, verse 5:3.

[2201] Tafsir Abū al-Saʻūd, verse 5:3.

[2202] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 6:365. The death of the Prophet (ص) on the twelfth of Rabīʻ al-Awwal is also cited in Tārīkh Ṭabarī 9:184; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 6:332; Sīrah Ḥalabīyyah 3:473; Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 2:272-3.

[2203] Imām Shenāsī 8:25-27.

Indeed, Sunnī commentaries stating the fact that the Prophet (ص) lived eighty-one or eighty-two days after the revelation of this verse are numerous and include Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, Tafsīr Rāzī, Tafsīr Ibn Kathīr, Tafsīr Tha´labī, Tafsīr Shawkānī, Tafsīr Samarqandī, Tafsīr Māwardī, Tafsīr Baghawī, Tafsīr Ibn al-Jawzī, Tafsīr Khāzin, Tafsīr Nīsābūrī, and Tafsīr Abū al-Sa´ūd.[2204] As is clear, this verse could not have been proclaimed at ´Arafah. It is indeed amazing just how the truth can survive despite the efforts to hide it.

In fact, the clearest reason why this verse was not proclaimed at ´Arafah is that the day of ´Arafah was several days before Ghadīr Khumm and that after the religion of Islām was completed there were no new laws or verses of the Qur`ān revealed. Since the verse, "O Messenger! Proclaim that which has been revealed to you from your Lord; if you do not, you would not have conveyed His message,"[2205] was revealed at Ghadīr Khumm, how could it be that the religion of Islām was completed at ´Arafah, then, nine days later, the Prophet (ص) was reminded to tell the people something that if he did not, it would be equivalent to not having proclaimed his prophetic mission? That would imply that Islām was not complete at ´Arafah. Reason dictates that the verse of completion would have to be revealed after the verse of proclamation.

The Possibility of the Revelation of the Verse at ´Arafah and its Proclamation at Ghadīr Khumm

We have examined the differing Sunnī traditions on the revelation of this verse. Some say that it was revealed at ´Arafah while others say directly or indirectly that it was revealed at Ghadīr Khumm. There is a third possibility that contradicts neither of the two groups of traditions. The Shī´ah scholar ´Ayyāshī, in his commentary on the Qur`ān, related the following tradition from Imām Ja´far al-Ṣādiq (ع):

> When the Messenger of Allāh (ص) entered ´Arafah on Friday, Gabriel (ع) went to him and told him, "Allāh sends His peace to you and tells you, 'Today I perfected for you your religion with the wilāyah of ´Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, and completed My favor upon you, and accepted for you Islām as your religion. I will not send [any new laws or verses] for you after this. I have sent you [the rules of] prayer, charity, fasting, and the pilgrimage, and this is the fifth. The first four will not be accepted except by it (i.e. the wilāyah of ´Alī [ع])."[2206]

What this implies is that the verses of proclamation and completion were revealed on the day of ´Arafah but were not proclaimed publicly until several days later at Ghadīr Khumm. This would mean that the traditions indicating the verse's revelation at ´Arafah are true, except that they do not mention that it was revealed regarding ´Alī (ع) at ´Arafah and that they were not proclaimed publicly by the Prophet (ص) until Ghadīr Khumm with respect to the wilāyah of ´Alī (ع).[2207] In reality, it makes absolutely no difference whether the verse was revealed at ´Arafah regarding ´Alī (ع) and proclaimed at Ghadīr Khumm or whether it was revealed and proclaimed at Ghadīr Khumm. In either case, the verse was proclaimed publicly at Ghadīr Khumm in a clear reference to the completion of Islām by the wilāyah of ´Alī (ع).

[2204] Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, Tafsīr Rāzī, Tafsīr Ibn Kathīr, Tafsīr Tha´labī, Tafsīr Shawkānī, Tafsīr Samarqandī, Tafsīr Māwardī, Tafsīr Baghawī, Tafsīr Ibn al-Jawzī, Tafsīr Khāzin, Tafsīr Nīsābūrī, and Tafsīr Abū al-Sa´ūd, verse 5:3.

[2205] Qur`ān 5:67.

[2206] Tafsīr ´Ayyāshī, sūrah 5, tradition #21, verse 5:3.

[2207] Refer to Imām Shenāsī 8:54.

Indeed, the time at which a verse is sent down is not as important as the context in which it is publicly revealed, as the entire Qur`ān was sent down at once according to the following verses: (1) "We have revealed it on the Night of Qadr."[2208] (2) "By the clear Book which We revealed on a blessed night."[2209] and (3) "The month of Ramaḍān is when the Qur`ān was revealed as guidance for mankind."[2210] These verses do not mean that the entire Qur`ān was proclaimed on the Night of Qadr, which is in the month of Ramaḍān, as the Qur`ān says, "And the Qur`ān that we have divided so you can read it to the people at intervals—We have revealed it in portions."[2211] The Qur`ān also says, "Those who disbelieve say, 'Why has the Qur`ān not been sent down to him in one single piece?' [It has been done] like that so your heart would be strengthened by it, so we have rehearsed it to you in slow, well-arranged stages, gradually."[2212] All these verses taken together show that the Qur`ān was sent to the Prophet (ص) or to a lower heaven at once, but was proclaimed to the people gradually.

It is clear that the events surrounding the public proclamation of a verse are more important than the time of revelation. If the Prophet (ص) was concerned about the perfect timing of the public proclamation of 'Alī's (ع) wilāyah, he might have delayed delivering the verse for nine days. It is also possible that he delayed it several days because the last possible moment for its proclamation would be the one with the greatest impact, as the last words most Muslims would hear from him would be that 'Alī (ع) was their designated mawlā after him.

<u>The Despair of the Disbelievers</u>

The Qur`ān says,

> Today the disbelievers despair about your religion, so do not fear them but [instead] fear Me. Today I perfected for you your religion, and completed My favor upon you, and accepted for you Islām as your religion.[2213]

It is clear that on the day in which Islām was perfected, the disbelievers despaired and disliked what had been proclaimed. The disbelievers could no longer destroy true Islām because Islām was secured with the wilāyah of 'Alī (ع). Of course, the hypocrites are included among the disbelievers, as they are disbelievers at heart, professing Islām only externally. Indeed, the hypocrites are even worse than disbelievers, as they are destined to burn in even deeper depths of hell.[2214]

Some accounts claim that this verse was revealed at the time of the conquest of Mecca.[2215] This is not true. Even though the pagans were disappointed, the religion of Islām was by no means completed by the conquest of Mecca. Also, "the disbelievers" were not limited to the Meccans. There were many disbelievers in other Arabian cities, out in the open desert, and in other lands.

2208. Qur`ān 97:1.
2209. Qur`ān 44:2-3.
2210. Qur`ān 2:185.
2211. Qur`ān 17:106.
2212. Qur`ān 25:32.
2213. Qur`ān 5:3.
2214. Qur`ān 4:145.
2215. Tafsīr Qurṭubī, verse 5:3.

Yet other accounts claim that the disbelievers despaired when the verses of renunciation (barā`ah) were revealed and paganism was to be uprooted.[2216] This is also not true because the disbelievers were not limited to the pagans of Arabia. There were many hypocrites remaining who eventually hurt Islām more than the disbelievers and they were not in despair.

Those who claim that the verse of completion was revealed at ʿArafah[2217] need to find something that was revealed or something that happened that made the religion of Islām complete at that moment in time. Nothing happened at ʿArafah that would make the disbelievers despair. Some accounts claim that it was revealed at ʿArafah and was referring to the purification of the Masjid al-Ḥarām from the pagans and disbelievers.[2218] This is not true because the Masjid al-Ḥarām was purified from the pagans a year earlier with the revelation of Sūrah Barā`ah.[2219]

However, at Ghadīr Khumm, as indicated by many traditions, the religion of Islām was completed with the wilāyah of ʿAlī (ع). All the disbelievers and hypocrites who had nourished hopes of destroying Islām after the Prophet's (ص) death were in despair over ʿAlī's (ع) succession to the Prophet (ص) and wilāyah over the true believers, which would guarantee the survival of Islām and the inability of the hypocrites to change Islām as they pleased. Indeed, the verse is clear that on that day Islām was completed by something that would never leave it lacking, otherwise it would not be complete.

One might argue that the Qur`ān says, "Allāh sent messengers as heralds and warners. He sent the Book down along with them to bring the truth, so as to decide among mankind concerning whatever they had been disagreeing about,"[2220] so the Qur`ān ought to solve our differences, not the Ahl al-Bayt (ع). The reality, however, is that the Qur`ān has not solved the disagreements among Muslims. We have seen how various scholars interpret the Qur`ān to fit their own personal and sectarian interpretations and how numerous traditions have been invented regarding the interpretation of the Qur`ān.

Also, the Qur`ān by itself does not judge anything. Simply having the Qur`ān in your hands does not mean that the Qur`ān will start speaking and telling you right from wrong. Everyone knows this to be true. No one says that since we have medical textbooks, there is no need for a physician, as the textbook would tell us how to diagnose and treat each disease. Clearly, a person with knowledge of the Qur`ān, one who is unbiased, pure, and protected from sin is needed to understand and explain the truth of the Qur`ān. These are the Ahl al-Bayt (ع), who, according to the tradition of thaqalayan,[2221] will not separate from the Qur`ān until they enter upon the Prophet (ص) at the Fount of Kawthar. As such, anyone who claims to adopt the Qur`ān yet does not show wilāyah of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) cannot truly be following the Qur`ān, as the Qur`ān and the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) are inseparable. Furthermore, without the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) and their absolute knowledge and understanding of the Qur`ān and Sunnah, Islām would not be complete.

Abū Bakr and ʿUmar Sobbed when Islām was Completed

[2216] Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, verse 5:3.

[2217] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.59.689, #6.60.130; Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #43.7154-5.

[2218] Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, verse 5:3.

[2219] Refer to chapter 32.

[2220] Qur`ān 2:213.

[2221] Refer to chapter 15.

According to Sunnī traditions, Abū Bakr and ʿUmar thought that the completion of Islām meant its demise. According to Rāzī, Abū Bakr cried upon hearing this verse. When asked why he was crying, he replied, "There is nothing after completion but downfall."[2222] Similarly, according to numerous Sunnī sources, when the verse, "Today I perfected for you your religion," was revealed, ʿUmar wept. The Messenger of Allāh (ص) asked, "Why are you crying?" ʿUmar replied, "I am crying because we had additions to our religion. But now it is complete, and there is nothing that becomes complete that does not start to deteriorate." The Prophet (ص) said, "You are right!"[2223]

These traditions show Abū Bakr and ʿUmar's lack of insight. How could something that Allāh completes deteriorate? Maybe if they had followed the wilāyah of ʿAlī (ع), they would have found Islām to never deteriorate. If Islām were to be made complete just so it could deteriorate and once again become incomplete, why would the Qurʾān declare its completion so proudly, why would the Jews tell ʿUmar that such a day should be taken as a celebration (ʿīd), and how could we consider Islām to be our path until the Day of Judgment?

Of interest is the fact that the Sunnī traditions claim that the Prophet (ص) told ʿUmar that he was right. If true, this was great miraculous insight on his part, confirming that he knew that the masses would abandon the wilāyah of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع), and follow an incomplete Islām.

The fact that Abū Bakr and ʿUmar cried on that day is troubling because the Qurʾān says, "Today those who disbelieve (kāfirs) despair about your religion so do not fear them but [instead] fear Me. Today I perfected for you your religion..."[2224] Yet the only two people known to be crying in despair on that day were Abū Bakr and ʿUmar. According to Fayḍ al-Qadīr,

> Isfandyār ibn Muwaffaq the peacher was a Shīʿah who was humble, worshipful, and pious. According to Ibn al-Jawzī, some of the trustworthy [scholars] who attended his sessions have related from him that when the Messenger of Allāh (ص) said, "Whosever master I am, ʿAlī is his master," the faces of Abū Bakr and ʿUmar changed [out of despair], and the verse, "But when they see it close at hand, the faces of the disbelievers are grieved,"[2225] was revealed.[2226]

The Verse of a Questioner Asking (Saʾala Sāʾil)

The Qurʾān says,

> A questioner asked for a penalty to befall the disbelievers. There is none to ward off [the penalty] from Allāh, the Lord of the ways of ascent.[2227]

Thaʿlabī, Qurṭubī, and others have related the following account regarding the revelation of this verse:

[2222] Tafsīr Rāzī, verse 5:3.

[2223] Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, Tafsīr Ibn Kathir, Tafsīr Ṭabarī, Tafsīr Qurṭubī, Tafsīr Thaʿlabī, and Tafsīr Baghawī, among others, verse 5:3.

[2224] Qurʾān 5:3.

[2225] Qurʾān 67:27.

[2226] Fayḍ al-Qadīr #9000. Similarly, Lisān al-Mīzān vol 1 #1215 (Isfandyār ibn Muwaffaq).

[2227] Qurʾān 70:1-3.

> When the Messenger of Allāh (ص) was in Ghadīr Khumm, he called the people and they gathered. He took the hand of ʿAlī and said, "Whosever mawlā I am, ʿAlī is his mawlā." This word spread throughout the land and Ḥārith ibn Nuʿmān al-Fihrī was informed of this. [He did not like what he heard so] he went to the Prophet (ص) on a camel. He got off his camel and said, "O Muḥammad! You ordered us from Allāh to bear witness that there is no god but Allāh and that you are the messenger of Allāh and we accepted this from you. You ordered us to pray five times [a day] and we accepted it from you. You ordered us to pay zakāt and we accepted. You ordered us to perform the [pilgrimage of] ḥajj and we accepted. You ordered us to fast for one month and we accepted. You were not satisfied with all this so you raised your cousin and made him superior to us and said, 'Whosever mawlā I am, ʿAlī is his mawlā.' Is this from you or from Allāh, the oft-high?"
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> [The Prophet (ص)] replied, "By He other than Whom their is no god, this is from Allāh." Ḥārith ibn Nuʿmān turned to leave and said, "O Allāh! If what Muḥammad says is the truth, then send upon us a rock from the sky or give us a great punishment!"
>
> Ḥārith had not yet reached [his camel] when Allāh sent a stone [from the sky] that fell on his head, [piercing through his body] and leaving through his behind, thus killing him. Then Allāh revealed the verses, "A questioner asked for a penalty to befall the disbelievers. There is none to ward off [the penalty] from Allāh, the Lord of the ways of ascent."[2228]

Ḥasakānī has related this event from a number of companions, namely ʿAlī (ع), Ḥudhayfah, Saʿd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ, Abū Hurayrah, Ibn ʿAbbās, and Ḥudhayfah ibn Yamān.[2229] What this event highlights is the dissatisfaction of some of the companions with the selection of ʿAlī (ع) as the master of all the believers. This is why the Prophet (ص) was concerned about conveying the message of ʿAlī's (ع) wilāyah to the people on the day of Ghadīr Khumm, but was warned that he must immediately proclaim the message regarding ʿAlī's (ع) wilāyah or else he would have failed to deliver his prophetic message. The fact that Allāh promised the Prophet (ص) protection from the people was because the Prophet (ص) knew that some people would doubt the truth of the prophetic mission, as was expressed by Ḥārith. So Allāh promised the Prophet (ص) that Islām would be protected from their disbelief and doubts in regards to the wilāyah of ʿAlī (ع).

Other Punishments for the Deniers of Ghadīr Khumm

Anas ibn Mālik's Leprosy

Anas ibn Mālik was one of the Prophet's (ص) companions whose traditions are highly favored by Sunnī scholars. Indeed, many of his traditions appear in Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī and Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim. However, he was a man cursed by ʿAlī (ع) and accordingly punished by Allāh in this world. According to Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd,

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[2228] Tafsīr Thaʿlabī and Tafsīr Qurṭubī, verses 70:1-3; Sīrah Ḥalabīyyah 3:337; Fayḍ al-Qadīr #9000. This is narrated in a condensed form in Tafsīr Ālūsī, verse 70:1-3. Tafsīr Shawkānī also mentions that this verse was revealed in regards to Ḥārith ibn Nuʿmān al-Fihrī.

[2229] Shawāhid al-Tanzīl #1030-34, verses 70:1-2.

> During his caliphate, ʿAlī gathered the people in Raḥbah,[2230] went on the pulpit and proclaimed, "Which of you have heard the Messenger of Allāh (ص) say, 'Whosever mawlā I am, ʿAlī is his mawlā'?" Twelve[2231] men who had witnessed it stood. Anas ibn Mālik who was in the group that did not stand. ʿAlī told him, "O Anas, what prevented you from standing and testifying [to the truth] when you were present there [at Ghadīr Khumm]?" He said, "O Commander of the Faithful, I am old and forgetful." ʿAlī said, "O Allāh, if he is lying, make him swell with the whiteness [of leprosy so extensive] that [it] cannot be hidden by a turban."[2232]

Ṭalḥah ibn ʿUmayr said, "By Allāh I clearly saw the whiteness [of leprosy] between his eyes."[2233] A man asked Anas ibn Mālik towards the end of his life about ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib (ع). He said, "I have promised since the Day of Raḥbah not to withhold any tradition that I am asked about in regards to ʿAlī. He will be the head of the pious (raʾs al-muttaqīn) on the Day of Judgment. I heard it, by Allāh, from your Prophet."[2234] This incident explains why Anas ibn Mālik subsequently did relate many of the virtues of ʿAlī (ع), most notably the tradition of the bird.[2235]

Al-Ghadīr has a compilation of many more Sunnī sources that include the events of the Day of Raḥbah.[2236] According to Musnad Ḥanbal, thirty men stood and testified to the tradition of Ghadīr on that day,[2237] twelve of whom had participated in the Battle of Badr.[2238] ʿAllāmah Amīnī has also compiled the names of twenty-four companions who, according to Sunnī traditions, stood up and testified in regards to the incident of Ghadīr on that day.[2239] Of note, many of the accounts of this event just include the names of the companions testifying to the events of Ghadīr Khumm but do not mention the cursing of those who failed to testify.[2240]

Forgeries to Cover Up the Incident

Anas ibn Mālik's denial of the truth leading ʿAlī (ع) to curse him and his subsequent affliction with leprosy are rather troubling for the veracity of the companions. It is evident that denial of the virtues of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) and censorship of traditions regarding their virtues started with the Prophet's (ص) companions. The fact that a leading companion from whom the Sunnī scholars have transmitted hundreds of traditions deliberately hid and denied the truth because of his personal envy towards the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) is rather troubling, so some have tried to cover it up.

Abū Muḥammad ibn Qutaybah al-Dīnawarī (213-276 A.H.) was a leading third century Sunnī scholar with numerous prominent works, a number of which have survived to this day. In Kitāb al-Maʿārif he compiled biographical information about various Muslims. In this book, there is a chapter on lepers which begins with Anas ibn Mālik. In the Egyptian printed edition of the book, his book has been altered to read as follows:

[2230] Raḥbah refers to an open public gathering place.
[2231] The exact number differs in the various accounts of this incident.
[2232] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 4:74, 19:217.
[2233] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 4:74.
[2234] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 4:74.
[2235] Refer to chapter 20.
[2236] Al-Ghadīr 1:166-186.
[2237] Musnad Ḥanbal #19321.
[2238] Musnad Ḥanbal #670, #961.
[2239] Al-Ghadīr 1:184-5.
[2240] Examples include Musnad Ḥanbal #950, #23156; Faḍāʾil Ḥanbal #991, #1021; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:383-5 (several accounts of the Day of Raḥbah).

> Al-Baraṣ (Leprosy)
>
> Anas ibn Mālik had leprosy [evident] in his face. Some people have mentioned that 'Alī asked him regarding the saying of the Messenger of Allāh (ص), "O Allāh, be the walī of the one who accepts his wilāyah and be the enemy of the one who has animosity towards him." [Anas] said, "I have grown old in age and I forgot!" So 'Alī said to him, "If you are lying, then may Allāh strike you with leprosy [so extensive] that [it] cannot be hidden by a turban." Abū Muḥammad said, "There is no basis for this."[2241]

However, there are three problems with this that prove that this passage was subjected to textual corruption (taḥrīf):

1. 'Allāmah Amīnī has pointed out that from the beginning to the end of Kitāb al-Ma'ārif, there is no other place where Ibn Qutaybah (Abū Muḥammad) mentioned something and then casted doubt on it. The style of the book clearly indicates that the author only recorded in the book what he believed to be true.[2242]

2. Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd wrote, "Ibn Qutaybah has mentioned the tradition of leprosy and the curse that 'Alī placed upon Anas ibn Mālik in Kitāb al-Ma'ārif in the chapter of leprosy among the preeminent men. And Ibn Qutaybah cannot be accused of being partial towards 'Alī; indeed he was famous for being inclined against him."[2243] It is apparent that the copy of Kitāb al-Ma'ārif that Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd utilized did not contain that last sentence that appears in the Egyptian edition cited above.

3. There exists a version of Kitāb al-Ma'ārif in the form of a manuscript dating back around 700 years.[2244] The sentence "Abū Muḥammad said, 'There is no basis for this'," is nowhere to be found in this manuscript. Moreover, in the original, 'Alī's name is followed by "ṣalawāt Allāh 'alayh (may the blessings of Allāh be upon him)," whereas in the Egyptian version, this phrase has been completely omitted. Images of these changes are available on the internet.[2245]

Zayd ibn Arqam's Blindness

It is also related that Zayd ibn Arqam withheld his testimony regarding the tradition of Ghadīr despite his knowledge of the matter. 'Alī (ع) prayed that he would lose his eyesight and so he became blind. After he became blind, he would relate the tradition.[2246] Zayd ibn Arqam said, "I was among those who hid [the truth] so Allāh took away my eyesight, as ʿAlī cursed those who hid [the truth of Ghadīr Khumm]."[2247] Zayd ibn Arqam also said, "I was among those who hid [the truth], so Allāh took away my eyesight."[2248] It appears that Zayd ibn Arqam was the one being referred to in the following tradition cited by Suyūṭī, Ṭabarānī, Haythamī, and Ḥanbal:

[2241] Kitāb al-Ma'ārif, Ibn Qutaybah al- Dīnawarī (d. 276 A.H.), p. 251, Matba'ah al-Islāmiyyah, Cairo 1353 A.H. / 1935 CE. Quoted indirectly from http://www.al-islam.org/tahrif/imprecation/index.htm.

[2242] Al-Ghadīr 1:192-3.

[2243] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 19:218.

[2244] Kitāb al-Ma'ārif, Ibn Qutaybah al-Dīnawarī (d. 276 A.H.), folio 118r. Manuscript: British Library catalogue reference Or. 1491. Dated last day of Sha'bān 710 A.H. (1310 C.E.). Quoted indirectly from http://www.al-islam.org/tahrif/imprecation/index.htm.

[2245] Refer to http://www.al-islam.org/tahrif/imprecation/index.htm. This section is based on the findings of this article.

[2246] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 4:74.

> ʿAlī cited a tradition and a man called him a liar. ʿAlī said, "Can I call [for a curse to be placed] upon you if you are lying?" He said, "[Go ahead and] call [for a curse]." So [ʿAlī] cursed him, and [the man] did not leave until he was blind.[2249]

It appears that Zayd ibn Arqam took this miracle seriously and later related many of ʿAlī's (ع) virtues.

ʿAlī (ع) Cursed Three Companions

According to a tradition related by Ḥanbal, Ibn Kathīr, and Ibn ʿAsākir, there was yet a third person who was cursed by ʿAlī (ع) on the Day of Raḥbah: "They stood up except three who did not stand. [ʿAlī] cursed them and his curse struck all of them."[2250] Anas ibn Mālik and Zayd ibn Arqam were apparently two of the three. It is not clear based on these accounts who the third person was. According to Kanz al-ʿUmmāl, "A group withheld [their testimony], and none of them left this world without going blind or becoming lepers."[2251]

One can clearly see the destiny of the companions who tried to hide the truth regarding ʿAlī (ع) in this world. The punishment of those who deny his wilāyah in the hereafter will be far graver. Those companions put themselves at risk of contracting leprosy and blindness to hide the truth, and those who came after them have tried their best to cover the truth of what happened to those companions. Yet, the truth survives so one can be guided by it.

The Meaning of the Word Mawlā

It is very clear based on the tradition of Ghadīr that ʿAlī (ع) is the mawlā of all the believers. It is therefore important to clarify the definition of the word mawlā. In the tradition of Ghadīr, the Prophet (ص) asked, "Don't you know that I am awlā (more of a walī) to the believers than their own selves?" When they replied, "Yes," he held ʿAlī's (ع) hand and said, "Whosever mawlā I am, ʿAlī is his mawlā."[2252]

The words walī, mawlā, awlā, wilāyah, etc. are all from the same root as walī. Awlā is the comparative form of walī and means "more of a walī" or "greater in wilāyah." The verse, "The Messenger is awlā to the believers than their own selves,"[2253] means that the Messenger has more wilāyah over the believers than they do over their own selves and that the Prophet (ص) is more of a walī over the believers than they are over their own selves. In accordance with this verse of the Qur`ān, the Prophet (ص) proclaimed at Ghadīr Khumm, "I am more of a walī to them [the believers] than their own selves."[2254]

[2247] Sīrah Ḥalabīyyah 3:337.
[2248] Manāqib Ibn Mughāzilī #33.
[2249] Tārīkh al-Khulafāʾ 159; Muʿjam al-Awsaṭ Ṭabarānī #1812; Majmaʿ al-Zawāʾid #14684; Faḍāʾil Ḥanbal #900.
[2250] Musnad Ḥanbal #964; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 5:230; Tārīkh Damishq 42:207.
[2251] Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #36417.
[2252] Musnad Ḥanbal #18502, #19298, #19321.
[2253] Qurʾān 33:6.

The word used to describe ʿAlī (ع) in the tradition of Ghadīr is mawlā: "Whosever mawlā I am, ʿAlī is his mawlā." There have been numerous definitions listed for the word mawlā. These include lord, guardian, brother, uncle, cousin, son, niece, nephew, son-in-law, father-in-law, friend, helper, slave, owner of a slave, freer of a slave, freed slave, master, leader, follower, guardian, custodian, grantor of a favor, grantee of a favor, partner, one bound by a treaty, co-witness, companion, neighbor, immigrant, and close one.

The majority of these meanings could not be intended at Ghadīr Khumm. For example, it would be absurd for the Prophet (ص) to proclaim, "I am more father-in-law to the believers than their own selves. So whosever father-in-law I am, ʿAlī is his father-in-law." Believe it or not, there are those who make claims like this, stating that the Prophet (ص) wanted to clarify to the whole world before he died that ʿAlī (ع) was his cousin and son-in-law. In fact, the statement, "Whosever's paternal uncle's son I am, ʿAlī is his paternal uncle's son," is not only senseless but also false, as ʿAlī (ع) was not the paternal cousin of ʿAqīl as the Prophet (ص) was, but rather his brother. The only meanings that could possibly be intended in the context and the phrasing of the sentence are master, guardian, custodian, and leader.

There are three main opinions regarding the meaning of mawlā. According to Fakhr Rāzī, mawlā means helper. ʿAllāmah Amīnī has defined mawlā as "awlā bi," which means "more of a walī than." The third definition, rendered by ʿAllāmah Tehrānī, is that mawlā is the location of wilāyah.

The meaning intended could not be "helper" for several reasons. There was no particular reason to hold back the entire Muslim nation to declare to them that ʿAlī (ع) was the helper of whoever the Prophet (ص) helped. Moreover, to be declared a helper is more of a chore than a virtue; the companions should have then approached ʿAlī (ع) offering their aid rather than their congratulations. In addition, the definition of helper does not make sense in the Qur`ān, as Muslims are not allowed to take Christians and Jews as their walīs,[2255] yet there is no problem in accepting their aid.[2256] Moreover, the Qur`ān says, "Their destination will be the fire and it will be their mawlā."[2257] Clearly, the fire will not be the helper of the hell-bound, but rather their custodian. In fact, the fire will be their mawlā holds in both the sense of being more of a master over (awlā bi) their destiny than their own selves, as well as the location in which they will find their custodian, which is hell.

ʿAllāmah Amīnī has claimed that mawlā essentially means "awlā bi," which means "more of a walī than." This definition fits well into the phrasing of the tradition of Ghadīr in which the word awlā is followed by the word mawlā. By this definition, the tradition of Ghadīr states, "For the one for whom I am more of a walī than himself, ʿAlī is more of a walī than himself." As proof, ʿAllāmah Amīnī has listed forty-two Sunnī scholars who have adopted this definition.[2258] ʿAllāmah Tehrānī, in contrast, has claimed that mawlā means the location of wilāyah. It is accepted by experts of Arabic grammar that the "mafʿal" derivative of a verb refers to the location of a phenomenon. In other words, mawlā means the location in which one finds wilāyah.

[2254] Musnad Ḥanbal #18502, #19298, #19321.

[2255] Qur`ān 5:51.

[2256] Refer to chapter 31.

[2257] Qur`ān 57:15.

[2258] Al-Ghadīr 1:345-348.

Overall, ʿAllāmah Amīnī's definition is well-supported by the opinions and interpretations of numerous Sunnī scholars. ʿAllāmah Tehrānī's interpretation follows the general rules of Arabic grammar. In either case, the imāmate of ʿAlī (ع) is proved. If ʿAlī (ع) was more of a walī over the people than their own selves, he would have more influence over them than their own selves, and would therefore be their leader (imām). Similarly, if ʿAlī (ع) was the location of wilāyah, then ʿAlī (ع) would be where the same influence the Prophet (ص) had over the believers was to be found, and this would establish him as the rightful imām as well.

This brief analysis of the meaning of mawlā suffices for the nature of this work. Those interested in further research into this subject should refer to al-Ghadīr of ʿAllāmah Amīnī[2259] and Imām Shenāsī of ʿAllāmah Tehrānī.[2260]

Some may wonder why the Prophet (ص) was not more explicit in designating ʿAlī (ع) as his khalīf and the imām after him. However, one cannot think of a word he could have used that would be more explicit than he was. We have seen that the Sunnīs have transmitted numerous traditions in which the Prophet (ص) called ʿAlī (ع) the (1) master (mawlā or walī) of the believers, (2) his appointed successor (khalīf), (3) his vizier (wazīr), (4) his executor (waṣī), (5) his inheritor (wārith), (6) the leader (imām), (7) the commander (amīr), etc. Yet, despite all these designations, excuses have been brought forth why these titles were not proof of his designated imāmate. In fact, there is no word in any language the Prophet (ص) could have used that would not allow for some sort of ill-spirited misinterpretation.

In fact, the words walī and mawlā are the most perfect words for describing the position of a true imām over the believers. Whether or not the imām is in charge of the political administration makes no difference regarding his mastery over the believers and guardianship over their affairs. When the Prophet (ص) was at his weakest from a worldly perspective, restricted to the Valley of Abū Ṭālib, he was still the walī and mawlā of every believer and awlā to them than their own selves. And when he conquered the Arabian Peninsula, his position vis-à-vis each believer was no different, as each believer owed him complete submission and deference under all circumstances. This is the same for a rightfully designated imām. The imām has a divinely mandated right to rule, as did the Prophet (ص) even when he was politically weak. The usurpation of political power puts no dent into their wilāyah. If the Prophet (ص) merely foretold that ʿAlī (ع) would be the political leader after him and then Abū Bakr usurped power, the exact role of ʿAlī (ع) would be questioned and the Prophet's (ص) statement would be considered a false prophecy. Although the Prophet (ص) could mandate ʿAlī's (ع) imāmate and caliphate, he could not force people to accept either. Just as with every other aspect of Islām, the true believers would adopt ʿAlī's (ع) absolute wilāyah, while those who follow their own whims would be free to choose their own path.

Other Traditions Regarding the Wilāyah of ʿAlī (ع)

The wilāyah of ʿAlī (ع) was proclaimed in front of tens of thousands of Muslims on the day of Ghadīr Khumm. However, the wilāyah of ʿAlī (ع) had been proclaimed earlier many times and was a reality that was part of Islām from the outset. Many of the traditions quoted earlier have shown this. The following are a few other traditions regarding the wilāyah of ´Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib (ع):

[2259] Al-Ghadīr 1:344-350.

[2260] Imām Shenāsī 7:223-293.

1. The Prophet (ص) said, "´Alī is the walī of every believer after me."[2261]

2. The Prophet (ص) said, "O Allāh! I ask from you my prosperity and the prosperity of my mawlā (´Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib)."[2262]

3. According to Abū Sa´īd al-Khudrī, the Prophet (ص) said in regards to the verse, "They will be stopped [and] they will be questioned,"[2263] that, "[They will be questioned] about the wilāyah of ´Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib."[2264] According to a similar tradition, the Prophet (ص) said, "[They will be questioned about] the imāmate of ´Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib."[2265]

4. The Prophet (ص) said, "I advise whoever believes in me and accepts my truthfulness [to adopt] the wilāyah of ´Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib. Whoever [adopts] his wilāyah indeed [adopts] my wilāyah, and whoever [adopts] my wilāyah indeed [adopts] the wilāyah of Allāh. Whoever loves him indeed loves me, and whoever loves me indeed loves Allāh. Whoever despises him indeed despises me, and whoever despises me indeed despises Allāh."[2266]

5. The Prophet (ص) said, "Knowing the family of (āl-i) Muḥammad is exemption (barā`ah) from the fire, the love of the family of Muḥammad is permission to [cross] the Ṣirāṭ [into paradise], and the wilāyah of the family of Muḥammad is protection from punishment."[2267]

6. The Prophet (ص) told ´Alī (ع), "O ´Alī, if a servant serves Allāh the way Noah rose among his tribe, donates in the path of Allāh the likes of the Mount of Uḥud in gold, lives to make a thousand ḥajj pilgrimages by foot, and is then unjustly killed between Ṣafā and Marwah but does not have you as his walī, he will neither smell the breeze of paradise nor enter it."[2268]

7. Zayd ibn Arqam said: The Prophet (ص) said, "Whoever wishes to live my life, die my death, and inhabit the eternal garden which my Lord has promised me must take ´Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib as his walī. He will neither take you out of guidance nor lead you astray."[2269]

Proof of the Imāmate Based on the Event of Ghadīr Khumm

[2261] Sunan Tirmidhī #3712; Sunan al-Kubrā Nasā`ī #8146, #8474; Mustadrak Ḥākim #4652 (certifies the tradition as authentic); Musnad Ḥanbal #19942; Faḍā`il Ḥanbal #1035, #1060, #1104, #1168; Khaṣā`iṣ Nasā`ī 98; Majma´ al-Zawā`id #14696 (certifies those in the chain of transmission as tustworthy); Tārīkh Damishq 42:100, 42:198-9 (three traditions); Iṣābah 2:1296 #5690 (´Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib); Usd al-Ghābah 3:293 #3789 (´Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib); Istī`āb 3:198 #1875 (´Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib); Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:381.

[2262] Musnad Ḥanbal #15792, #15794; Kanz al-´Ummāl #3673 #3819; Jāmi´ al-Ṣaghīr Suyūṭī #1475.

[2263] Qur`ān 37:24.

[2264] Shawāhid al-Tanzīl #785, 787-790, verse 37:24.

[2265] Shawāhid al-Tanzīl #786, verse 37:24.

[2266] Kanz al-´Ummāl #32953; Majma´ al-Zawā`id #14640.

[2267] Yanābī´ al-Mawaddah 1:78.

[2268] Manāqib Khwārazmī #40.

[2269] Mustadrak Ḥākim #4642 (certifies the tradition as authentic); Kanz al-´Ummāl #32959; Manāqib Khwārazmī #55.

The imāmate of ʿAlī (ع) is clear from this incident for many reasons, a number of which have already been discussed. The following are a few others:

1. All leaders, when they approach death, either select a successor or designate a method for selecting a successor, particularly if there is no conventional and widely known method for selecting the successor. It would be mandatory for the Messenger of Allāh (ص) to clarify who his successor would be throughout his life and especially near his death in order to avoid confusion.

2. Singling ʿAlī (ع) out from among tens of thousands of Muslims and making all the rest stay to proclaim a message is a sign of the sheer importance of the message to be delivered. Since the Prophet (ص) knew he would soon pass away, there was no sense in stopping multitudes of Muslims on a blistering hot day to tell them anything but who his successor would be. This is especially true because the Prophet (ص) mentioned the fact that his days were coming to an end, thus bringing up the issue of succession. Indeed, it is common sense that if any king or ruler were to call all his troops and followers to one location, give a speech saying that his days are numbered, then hold the hand of one person and proclaim that person to be the master of all the ruler's followers, and then place his crown on his head, no one would ever question the intended meaning of the ruler's actions or the significance of the event with respect to the designation of a successor.

3. Calling ʿAlī (ع) the mawlā of all the believers is proof of his purity from sin and the necessity of all Muslims to follow and obey him. These follow from the definition of mawlā, because if ʿAlī (ع) were to be the master of the believers, his obeisance would be mandatory for all Muslims. Since Allāh would not order us to obey people in their sin, ʿAlī (ع) must be pure from all sin and thereby qualified to be followed in all matters. As such, ʿAlī (ع) would be the rightful imām.

4. The fact that the religion of Islām was completed at Ghadīr Khumm is proof of the imāmate of ʿAlī (ع) because the imāmate is what completes Islām and protects it from alteration and corruption until the Day of Judgment.

5. The words of the companions related from the time of the incident make it clear that the companions, including Abū Bakr and ʿUmar, realized that ʿAlī (ع) was appointed as the master of the believers.

Chapter 35

The Companions Abandoned Usāmah's Army During the Prophet's (ص) Final Illness

The Prophet (ص) Dispatched Usāmah's Army and Cursed Those Who Would Desert It

When the Messenger of Allāh (ص) approached his final days, he summoned Usāmah ibn Zayd and told him to lead an army to Palestine where the Muslims had been defeated earlier in the Battle of Mu`tah. He insisted that none of the prominent Muhājirīn or Anṣār, including Abū Bakr and ʿUmar, were to be absent from this mission, and that all of them except for ʿAlī (ع) must attend.

Usāmah, who was a young man of eighteen or twenty years,[2270] was told to be the leader of an army that consisted of elders such as Abū Bakr and ʿUmar.[2271] The companions complained and demanded an older commander, even though the Qur`ān says, "Accept anything the Messenger gives you and keep away from anything he withholds from you."[2272] According to Ibn Saʿd,

> When it was Monday, four nights left of [the month of] Ṣafar of the eleventh year of the emigration of the Messenger of Allāh (ص) [to Madīnah], the Messenger of Allāh (ص) ordered the people to prepare for battle against Rome (the Byzantines). When he was very sick, he called Usāmah ibn Zayd and said, "Carry out a military expedition to the place where your father was killed and ride your horses out towards them, as I have made you the leader of this army."
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> ...On Thursday morning, he gave Usāmah the standard and then said, "Go to battle in the name of Allāh and in the path of Allāh and fight those who disbelieve in Allāh." ...Usāmah fortified his army camp in Jurf. There was not one of the early Muhājirīn or Anṣār who did not attend in this battle. Among them were Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq, ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, Abū ʿUbaydah ibn al-Jarrāḥ, Saʿd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ, Saʿīd ibn Zayd, Qatādah ibn Nuʿmān, and Salamah ibn Aslam ibn Ḥarīsh.
>
> The people gossiped and said, "He put this young man in charge of the early Muhājirīn!" The Messenger of Allāh (ص) became angry, very angry, and while wearing cloth on his head and a plush fabric on his shoulder [due to the severity of his illness], he rose upon the pulpit, praised Allāh and extolled Him and then said, "To proceed: O people! What is this that I hear from some of you in

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[2270] Iṣābah 1:33 #89 (Usāmah ibn Zayd).

[2271] Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:169, Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 2:189-191, and Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 6:52 explicitly state that Abū Bakr and ʿUmar were sent off as part of Usāmah's army.

[2272] Qur`ān 59:7.

> regards to my appointing Usāmah as the commander of the army? If you have spoken against Usāmah's leadership, it is nothing new, as you also spoke against his father commanding the army. Allāh has indicated that [Zayd] was created for [military] leadership and that after him his son was created for it as well..." The Prophet (ص) then descended from the pulpit and entered his house. This was on Saturday, the tenth of Rabī' al-Awwal. The Muslims who were leaving with Usāmah came forth, bade farewell to the Messenger of Allāh (ص), and left to the camp in Jurf.
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> The illness of the Messenger of Allāh (ص) became more severe, but he kept saying, "Send the expedition of Usāmah!" On Sunday, Usāmah came to the Messenger of Allāh (ص)... but he was [too sick] to say anything. The Prophet (ص) raised his hands towards the heavens and then put them on Usāmah. [Usāmah] said, "So I knew he was praying for me." Usāmah returned to his camp. On Monday, the Messenger of Allāh (ص) woke up feeling better. He told Usāmah, "Leave with the blessings of Allāh." Usāmah bade farewell to him and left to his camp and ordered the people to set out for battle. When he wanted to get on his horse, the messenger of Umm Ayman came to him and said, "The Messenger of Allāh is dying!" He returned and along with him returned 'Umar and Abū 'Ubaydah.[2273]

Similar accounts can be found in Tārīkh Ṭabarī,[2274] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr,[2275], Tārīkh Ibn Athīr,[2276] Sīrah Ibn Hishām,[2277] Tārīkh al-Khulafā`,[2278] and Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd.[2279] According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī,

> The Prophet sent an army under the command of Usāmah ibn Zayd. When some people criticized his leadership, the Prophet said, "If you are criticizing Usāmah's leadership, you used to criticize his father's leadership before. By Allāh! He was worthy of leadership and was one of the dearest persons to me, and [now] this (i.e. Usāmah) is one of the dearest to me after him."[2280]

According to Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd,

> During his final illness, the Prophet (ص) ordered Usāmah ibn Zayd to lead an army consisting of the Muhājirīn and Anṣār, among whom were Abū Bakr, 'Umar, Abū 'Ubaydah ibn al-Jarrāḥ, 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Awf, Ṭalḥah, and Zubayr. He ordered him to set out towards Mu`tah, where his father had been killed, and to engage in battle in Palestine. Usāmah acted sluggishly and his troops acted sluggishly as well. The Prophet's (ص) illness would sometimes worsen and sometimes improve, yet he continuously stressed the need for Usāmah's troops to head out to battle, to the point that Usāmah said to the Prophet (ص), "May my father and mother be sacrificed for you! Would you allow us to stay a few days until Allāh cures you?" The Prophet (ص) said, "No, leave with the blessings of Allāh." Usāmah said, "O Messenger of Allāh! If I leave you

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[2273] Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 2:189-191.
[2274] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 9:166.
[2275] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 5:241-2.
[2276] Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 1:355.
[2277] Sīrah Ibn Hishām 1025, 4:1056.
[2278] Tārīkh al-Khulafā` 69.
[2279] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 1:159-60, 6:52.
[2280] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.57.77, #8.78.623.

> in this condition, my heart will be full of anxiety in regards to you." [The Prophet (ص)] said, "Go with the help and forgiveness of Allāh." [Usāmah] said, "O Messenger of Allāh! I do not like to keep asking travelers about your condition." He said, "Do what I order you to do!" Then weakness overtook the Prophet (ص). Usāmah got up and prepared his army to leave. When the Prophet's (ص) condition improved, he asked about Usāmah and his army. They said, "They are preparing [to leave]." He would say repeatedly, "Dispatch the army of Usāmah! May Allāh curse whoever abandons it!" Usāmah, [holding] the banner over his head and with the companions accompanying him, went [and camped at] Jurf. Abū Bakr, ʹUmar and the majority of the Muhājirīn were with him. From among the Anṣār, Usayd ibn Ḥuḍayr and Bashīr ibn Saʹd, and others [were with him as well]. The messenger of Umm Ayman arrived and told them to return, as the Prophet (ص) was dying. Usāmah immediately rose and returned to Madīnah with the banner, planting it at the Prophet's (ص) door. The Prophet (ص) died at that time.[2281]

The abandonment of the army by Abū Bakr, ʹUmar, and the bulk of the companions was against the clear orders of the Prophet (ص) who had told them to depart for Palestine quickly. The Prophet (ص) clearly knew that he was about to die, yet he ordered Usāmah to hurry out of Madīnah and to take with him the prominent Muhājirīn and Anṣār, except for ʹAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib (ع). In fact, Ṭabarī explicitly stated that, "The people got ready and the first Emigrants went forth all together with him."[2282] Ibn Kathīr stated that ʹUmar was present,[2283] and Ibn Athīr maintained that Abū Bakr and ʹUmar were both part of that army.[2284] It is evident that the Prophet (ص) intended to have the Muhājirīn, including Abū Bakr and ʹUmar, removed from Madīnah in anticipation of his death. In fact, the Prophet (ص) was emphatic that no one he sent away should return and he cursed anyone who would return to Madīnah by saying, "Dispatch the army of Usāmah! May Allāh curse whoever abandons it!"[2285]

Sayf's Fabrication in Regards to the Dispatch of Usāmah's Army

Amazingly, one can see the fabricators of tradition at work on this embarrassing subject. Sayf ibn ʹUmar, to whom an entire chapter is devoted later,[2286] was a well-known fabricator of traditions whose historical accounts have been widely transmitted by the same Sunnī scholars who have denounced him as a liar because he would appropriately edit traditions for content in much the same way as Jews and Christians edited their traditions to support the false claims of their "scholars". Sayf changed the words of the Prophet (ص), "Send the army of Usāmah! May Allāh curse whoever abandons it!" to, "Dispatch the expedition of Usāmah! May Allāh curse those who make the tombs of their prophets as places of worship (masājid)!"[2287] This statement does not even make sense, as the dispatching of Usāmah had nothing to do with people who turn the tombs of prophets into mosques. Not only that, but the Prophet (ص) was, by consensus, buried in the mosque, and the Masjid al-Ḥarām contains the grave of Ishmael (ع), proving the absurdity of Sayf's claim that burial sites of prophets cannot be adopted as mosques.[2288] Yet, Sayf's account provides a subtle yet cozy lie to place in books of "history".

[2281] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 6:52.
[2282] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 9:163.
[2283] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 5:242.
[2284] Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 1:355.
[2285] Ibn Abi al-Ḥadīd 6:52; Milal wa Niḥal 18.
[2286] Refer to chapter 74.
[2287] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 9:166.

The Subsequent Dispatch of Usāmah's Army by Abū Bakr

Of interest, as soon as Abū Bakr took over the caliphate, he dispatched the army of Usāmah to Palestine, despite the complaints of the companions that the mission should be put off to fight those who had left Islām first.[2289] However, Abū Bakr insisted that they fight in Palestine as directed by the Prophet (ص). Had he really believed in that mission, he would not have abandoned it himself in the first place. Moreover, he stayed behind in Madīnah with ʿUmar, and therefore the two of them did not complete the mission that the Prophet (ص) had sent them on under the leadership of Usāmah ibn Zayd. It appears that Abū Bakr preferred that Madīnah be empty of fighting men who could challenge his authority. The reason he chose to dispatch his men to Palestine over the rebellious lands on the Arabian Peninsula was for two reasons. First, it was easier for him to ensure that all fighting men would leave Madīnah and go to fight in Palestine, as they had been ordered to do so by the Prophet (ص) prior to his death. Second, since many of those he fought in the so-called Riddah wars had not left Islām but merely renounced him as an illegitimate caliph, he had serious cause for concern that some of those in his army might not fight them but instead join their cause.

A Summary of the Record of the Companions on the Battlefield

Much is made of the bravery of all the Prophet's (ص) companions on the battlefield. Yet, a simple examination of the main battles proves otherwise:

1. The Battle of Badr: The companions did not want to fight in the first place, and the Qur`ān kept admonishing them that they must fight even though they didn't like to do so. They were only motivated by the fact that Abū Sufyān's caravan offered much booty, and they were bitterly disappointed when they found out that the Prophet (ص) was having them fight the Meccan army instead of looting a caravan. The battle was won primarily by ʿAlī (ع) and Ḥamzah and by the direct intervention of the angels.

2. The Battle of Uḥud: Part of the army disobeyed the explicit orders of the Prophet (ص) in their desire for booty, causing a great loss to the Muslim army and the martyrdom of many, if not most, of the true believers. The companions fled, leaving the Prophet (ص) on the battlefield with just a small handful of devout followers.

3. The Battle of Aḥzāb: The Prophet (ص) heeded Salmān's advice to build a defensive trench, as he could not trust his companions to fight. Despite the protective effect of the trench, many companions expressed outright hypocrisy and the Qur`ān explained that even the apparently loyal ones came close to deserting Islām altogether, leaving a very small group of true believers whose faith increased during that battle. When ʿAmr ibn ʿAbd Wudd crossed the trench, no one but ʿAlī (ع) was willing to risk his life to fight him. ʿAlī (ع) killed him, the Prophet (ص) used wise strategies to sow mistrust among the

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[2288] Refer to chapter 11 for further discussion of this topic.
[2289] Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 1:148-9; Tārīkh al-Khulafā` 68-9; Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:169.

confederated forces, and Allāh sent a miraculous windstorm that finally forced the enemy to abandon their positions.

4. The Treaty of Ḥudaybīyyah: ʹUmar refused the Prophet's (ص) order to go to Mecca, citing fears for his life, and then confronted the Prophet (ص) about the peace, even attempting to have the Meccan emissary killed so that war would break out. The Qur`ān rather explicitly told the Prophet (ص) that had war broken out, his companions would be quick to desert him yet again.

5. The Battle of Khaybar: Abū Bakr and ʹUmar fled the battlefield in successive failed campaigns, each blaming their failure on the companions who accompanied them, while their soldiers dismissed them as inept commanders. To win, the Prophet (ص) had to miraculously cure ʹAlī's (ع) eye trouble so he could finish off the Jews of Khaybar because he was the one who truly loved Allāh and His Messenger (ص) and who was truly loved by them.

6. The Battle of Mu`tah: Despite the valorous examples left for him by Zayd ibn Ḥārithah, Jaʹfar ibn Abī Ṭālib, and ʹAbd Allāh ibn Rawāḥah, Khālid ibn Walīd led the Muslim army in a disgraceful retreat after the martyrdom of the three commanders designated by the Prophet (ص). The soldiers who fled were ridiculed after returning to Madīnah to the point that some of them even avoided going to the mosque.

7. The Conquest of Mecca: Mecca was conquered without bloodshed, requiring no significant active combat by the companions.

8. The Battle of Ḥunayn: The Muslims were out in great numbers, but they fled in panic as soon as they encountered a surprise attack by the pagans, leaving only a handful of companions who stayed with the Prophet (ص). ʹAlī (ع) saved the day on the battlefield, and the Prophet (ص) miraculously blew dust into the eyes of all the pagans so they could no longer see, and the pagans were thereby defeated. The Muslims acquired much booty, but some tribes refused to release their captured slaves in accordance with the Prophet's (ص) wish, and the Anṣār, including their prominent leaders, openly questioned the fairness of the Prophet (ص) in his distribution of the khums of the spoils of the war.

9. The Battle of Tabūk: The expedition to Tabūk resulted in no significant combat by the companions. Yet, some companions showed much reluctance to go to battle, and many stayed behind, while others defected on the way. The hypocrites were upset to find ʹAlī (ع) as the Prophet's (ص) appointed khalīf in Madīnah and began a smear campaign against him, but the Prophet (ص) maintained that it would be impossible for him to ever leave without ʹAlī (ع) being his designated successor.

10. Usāmah's Expedition: The companions deserted the army before it left for Palestine, even though the Prophet (ص) had ordered them to leave and even though he cursed anyone who would desert the army and return to Madīnah.

These battles prove that ʹAlī (ع), Ḥamzah, and Jaʹfar were the most valorous of the companions. Even though other brave companions existed, most of them were martyred, and many of the companions who survived were reluctant to enter battle, incapable of winning battles, and prone to whining, exposing their hypocrisy, fleeing in battle, and deserting the Muslim army. The Qur`ān told the Prophet (ص),

> They hold back from you. When fear comes, you see them looking at you, their eyes rolling like one fainting from death; but when the fear is gone, they smite you with sharp tongues, coveting the spoils [of war]. These have not believed. Therefore Allāh has made their deeds naught; and this is easy for Allāh.[2290]

The miracle is not how valorous the Prophet's (ص) companions were but rather the fact that the Prophet (ص) could spread Islām with the types of companions he had. These battles clearly show that ʿAlī (ع) was like Aaron (ع) in the sense that he was the only man the Prophet (ص) could always rely upon to further the cause of Islām.[2291] In the next chapter, we will examine the qualities of the companions in further detail, and chapters 81 and 82 will address verses and traditions that are often cited to over-glorify the companions.

[2290] Qur`ān 33:19.
[2291] Refer to chapter 10 for a discussion of the traditon of manzilah, which compared ʿAlī (ع) to Aaron (ع).

Chapter 36
An Examination of the Companions of the Prophet (ص)

The Definition of a Companion

One of the differences between the Shī'ah and the Sunnīs has to do with the definition of a companion. Ibn Ḥajar the author of Iṣābah, a key Sunnī bibliographic source on the Prophet's (ص) companions, defines a companion as follows:

> The most correct [opinion] that I have come upon is that a companion is one who met the Prophet (ص) [while] believing in him and who died a Muslim. Included among those who met him are those who frequented his gatherings and those who did not, those who related [traditions] from him and those who did not, those who fought with him and those who did not, those who saw him with their eyes but who did not sit with him, and those who did not see him due to some handicap such as blindness...
>
> Our criteria include, "and who died a Muslim." A small number are found among those who met him and believed in him who then left Islām and, Allāh forbidding, died an apostate. An example is 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Jaḥsh, who was the spouse of Umm Ḥabībah. He became a Muslim and emigrated to Abyssinia, but then adopted Christianity and died a Christian. And like 'Abd Allāh ibn Khaṭal... And like Rabī'ah ibn Umayyah ibn Khalaf... And included [among the companions] is one who left [Islām] but who returned to Islām before he died... This is reliable and sound.
>
> There is no difference in regards to the inclusion of the first group [who met him and died Muslim], and questioning the second group [who left Islām and rejoined] is rejected because the experts of tradition have considered Ash'ath ibn Qays among the companions, and because of the inclusion of his traditions in the ṣiḥāḥ and in the chains of transmission, [when] he is among those who left but then returned to Islām during the caliphate of Abū Bakr.[2292]

The Shī'ah believe that a companion is one who meets the definition of the word according to the experts of the Arabic language.[2293] According to Rāghib, the word companion is "not commonly used except for one whose period of adherence (mulāzimah) is lengthy."[2294] Moreover, the Shī'ah believe that merely being a companion is not proof of any specific virtue. Rather, at a minimum, faith is necessary in order to be a virtuous companion. As such, the Shī'ah only revere those companions who never expressed hypocrisy and who were truly worthy of emulation. The fact that companionship is not proof of virtue is clear in the Qur`ān, which says,

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[2292] Iṣābah 1:7-8.

[2293] Ma'ālim al-Madrasatayn 1:118.

[2294] Mufradāt al-Qur'ān 275 (ṣ-ḥ-b, al-ṣāḥib).

> His companion (ṣāḥib) (the believer) told him (the disbeliever) during an argument, "Do you disbelieve in Him Who created you from dirt then from a sperm-drop and then made you into a man?"[2295]

As such, the companion of a believer may be a disbeliever. Indeed, it is evident to anyone that ponders the issue that companionship is not sufficient for proof of virtue, as hypocrites are typically present among the companions of noble men.

The Sunnī scholars consider all those who fit their very broad definition of companion as just and trustworthy. Ibn Abī Ḥātim al-Rāzī, after praising the companions, said, "[Allāh] has made impossible for them any doubts, lies, errors, or hesitancy, and has called them the just ones (ʿudūl) of the nation."[2296] Ibn Ḥajar said, "The Ahl al-Sunnah concur that [they are] all just. With the exception of a few innovators, no one disagrees with this [opinion]."[2297] This position, however, does not agree with the Qur`ān, which is sometimes critical of at least some of those who fit the definition of companion expounded by these Sunnī scholars:

> Certain of the Arabs around you are hypocrites, as well as [certain] of the people of Madīnah. They are persistent in hypocrisy. You do not know them; We know them. Twice shall We punish them, and in addition shall they be sent to a grievous penalty.[2298]

If being a companion of the Prophet (ص) is proof of being just and immune to error, then the wives of the Prophet (ص) could not possibly commit any flagrant act of misconduct. Yet, the Qur`ān says,

> O wives of the Prophet! Whichever of you who commits manifest lewdness (fāḥishatin mubayyinah) shall have [her] punishment doubled. That is easy for Allāh to do.[2299]

In addition, if Allāh made "doubts, lies, errors, or hesitancy" impossible for the companions, then why would He express concern that they would turn their backs on Islām upon the Prophet's (ص) death?[2300] And if they were so perfect, why would they be threatened with being replaced by a superior group of true believers?[2301] Amazingly, these scholars claim that the companions were immune to "doubts, lies, errors, or hesitancy," yet they transmit forged traditions attributing the vilest of traits to the Prophet (ص) himself,[2302] going as far as claiming that the devil cast a false revelation onto the Prophet (ص), making him erroneously recite a false verse stating that the intercession of the idols will be accepted, thereby creating joy among the pagans of Mecca![2303] Yet, they consider it impossible for a companion to lie or err.

[2295] Qur`ān 18:37.
[2296] Al-Jarḥ wa al-Taʿdīl of Ibn Abī Ḥātim al-Rāzī 1:7.
[2297] Iṣābah 1:9.
[2298] Qur`ān 9:101.
[2299] Qur`ān 33:30.
[2300] Qur`ān 3:144. The text of this verse appears later in this chapter.
[2301] Qur`ān 5:54, 47:38. The text of these verses appears later in this chapter.
[2302] Refer to chapter 75.
[2303] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 6:107-112. Refer to chapter 75.

A Look at the Companions During the Lifetime of the Prophet (ص)

One of the greatest differences between the Shī´ah and Sunnīs is the way they view the companions. The Sunnīs consider the companions as all having been good, straightforward, firmly believing Muslims, while the Shī´ah evaluate each companion individually before granting trust to them for our guidance. What remains for us regarding the traditions of the Prophet (ص) have been transmitted either through the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) or through his other companions. The Sunnīs value the companions greatly for their contributions to Islām, as do the Shī´ah, but have mistakenly become over-confident in regards to their trustworthiness.

The companions disputed the Prophet (ص) on numerous occasions during his lifetime. They disobeyed him during the Battle of Uḥud,[2304] when the Treaty of Ḥudaybīyyah was being signed,[2305] when Usāmah ibn Zayd was made the leader of the Muslim army,[2306] and even when the Prophet (ص) asked the companions to bring him pen and paper at his deathbed.[2307] In these cases, those who disputed the Prophet (ص) were among the most prominent of the companions—the likes of ´Umar. They also questioned him on many occasions, such as when ´Umar disputed his praying for ´Abd Allāh ibn Ubayy ibn Salūl and when the Anṣār questioned his fairness in dividing the khums of the booty of Ḥunayn.[2308]

The Qur`ān contains numerous verses regarding the companions, and these do not portray them as the all-perfect models for mankind. Here are just two examples:

> "O you who believe, what is wrong with you when you are told, 'March off in Allāh's cause'? Do you feel weighted down to the ground? Are you more satisfied with worldly life than with the hereafter? The comfort of the worldly life will mean so little in the hereafter. Unless you march away, He will punish you with a painful torment and will substitute you with some other folk. You will not harm Him in any way, for Allāh is capable of all things."[2309]
>
> "Is it not time for the hearts of those who believe to submit to Allāh's remembrance and what has been revealed of the truth? Let them not act like the ones who were given the Book previously; the waiting period seemed too hard for them, so their hearts became hardened, and many of them are evildoers."[2310]

Indeed, much of the Qur`ān pertains to hypocrites, or those who outwardly profess Islām but who inwardly disbelieve, but since we do not know all their identities, we do not know exactly how many of the companions were hypocrites. Indeed, the word nifāq (hypocrisy), as well as munāfiqāt, munāfiqūn, munāfiqīn (hypocrites), and similarly-derived words appear no less than thirty-five times in the Qur`ān. This is not counting the numerous indirect references to the hypocrites and their likes, where they are labeled as those with diseased hearts[2311] and granted other unflattering titles and descriptions. Obviously, the Qur`ān intends to make us keenly aware of their existence and to warn us of their plots in these numerous verses.

[2304] Refer to chapter 11.
[2305] Refer to chapter 19.
[2306] Refer to chapter 35.
[2307] Refer to chapter 38.
[2308] Refer to chapter 26.
[2309] Qur`ān 9:38-39.
[2310] Qur`ān 57:16.

What Happened to the Hypocrites Among the Companions

According to Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd,

> There were, during the days of the Messenger of Allāh (ص), hypocrites, and they remained after him. It is not possible to say that hypocrisy died by his death. The reason for the obscuration of their situation after him was that he always mentioned them in accordance with what was revealed to him in the Qur`ān. [In fact], he was charged with mentioning them. Do you not see that the majority of what was revealed of the Qur`ān in Madīnah is filled with references to the hypocrites? The Qur`ān is the reason why [there was] news of their [existence], their condition, and their actions. When revelation ceased by his death, the one who criticized them for their errors, who condemned them for their deeds, who ordered caution in regards to them, and who would sometimes openly declare [the nature of] their [plots] yet who was sometimes courteous to them died. Those in charge after him started assuming that all the people were trustworthy and respectable, treating them according to their outer appearance, as is mandated for them by the rule of Islāmic law and [the necessities of] worldly politics. This was unlike the Messenger of Allāh (ص), as his duty towards them was different. Do you not see that he was told, "Do not ever pray upon any one of them who dies"[2312]? This provides reason that he knew the prominent ones among them, otherwise the order not to pray upon them would be commanding [him] to do something he was incapable of... When the [conquered] lands fell to the Muslims and the booty increased, it distracted them from the [types of] actions that they relied upon during the days of the Messenger of Allāh (ص). The caliphs sent them with the rulers to Persia and the Byzantine lands.[2313]

Indeed, according to Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, the Prophet (ص) said that, "Amongst his companions there would be twelve hypocrites out of whom eight would not get into paradise until a camel would be able to pass through the needle hole."[2314] Clearly, we must identify at least who these eight are to ensure that we do not follow their traditions and their erroneous customs and beliefs. If we do not know who these eight are and they happen to be those whose traditions we are following, we would simply be treading the path of the hypocrites towards the fire.

The Predictions of the Qur`ān Regarding the Future of the Companions

The Qur`ān and the Prophet (ص) did not foreshadow a bright future for the companions after the Prophet's (ص) death. The Qur`ān says,

[2311] Qur`ān 2:10, 5:52, 8:49, 9:125, 22:53, 24:50, 33:12, 33:32, 33:60, 47:20, 47:29, 74:31.
[2312] Qur`ān 9:84.
[2313] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 11:41.
[2314] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #38.6688.

> Muḥammad is but a messenger; there have indeed been messengers before him. Will it be that if he dies or is killed you will turn back on your heels? And he who turns back on his heels does not hurt Allāh.[2315]

If the companions of the Prophet (ص) could be trusted not to leave Islām immediately upon Prophet's (ص) death, this verse would have no meaning or purpose. In fact, this verse is clearly not hypothetical, as Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim relates that the Prophet (ص) said that after his death, his companions will be "constantly turning back on their heels."[2316] Indeed, the Qur`ān makes it clear that many will disbelieve after their belief in Islām:

> One day some faces will turn white while other faces will turn black. Those whose faces are blackened [will be asked], "Did you disbelieve after your [profession of] belief? Taste torment because you have disbelieved!" while those whose faces are whitened will live forever in Allāh's mercy.[2317]

The following two verses indicate that if the Prophet's (ص) companions turn away from the straight path, it would not matter because Allāh would raise a nation who will follow His religion.

> "And if you turn back, He will bring in your place another people; they will not be similar to you (lā yakūnū amthālakum)."[2318]
>
> "O you who believe, any of you who abandons his religion [will discover that] Allāh will bring a people whom He will love just as they love Him, [and who are] humble towards the believers yet stern with the disbelievers. They will fight in the path of Allāh and not fear censure from any critic. Such is Allāh's bounty which He gives to anyone He wishes. Allāh is all-embracing, all-knowing."[2319]

The people promised in the latter verse would not be like the Prophet's (ص) companions to which these two verses are addressed because they will: (1) love Allāh and be loved by Him, (2) be humble towards the believers yet stern towards the disbelievers, (3) fight in the path of Allāh instead of run away from the battlefield, and (4) not be concerned about the words of worldly critics. Obviously the Qur`ān asserts that many of the companions lacked these four qualities, otherwise it would be meaningless to threaten them with bringing a group of people who would possess these qualities if they in fact possessed these qualities in the first place. These verses, of course, have foretold the rise of the Shī῾ah of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع), who have fought alongside ῾Alī and Ḥusayn (ع), and who will fight alongside Imām Mahdī (ع). In fact, the statement "who love Allāh and are loved by Allāh" is a clear reference to ῾Alī (ع), as we discussed in the Battle of Khaybar.[2320] Indeed, Abū Bakr and ῾Umar were clearly established as ones lacking reciprocal love for Allāh and His Messenger (ص) in Khaybar, so they and their followers were exactly the ones who were being threatened in this verse.

The Predictions of the Prophet (ص) Regarding the Future of His Companions

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[2315] Qur`ān 3:144.
[2316] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #30.5685.
[2317] Qur`ān 3:106-107.
[2318] Qur`ān 47:38.
[2319] Qur`ān 5:54.
[2320] Refer to chapter 20.

There are numerous traditions according to which the Prophet (ص) predicted that his companions would stray after him. For the sake of brevity, we will examine only a handful of these from Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī and Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim. These traditions are related from a large number of companions and all state the same thing—that the Prophet (ص) will be amazed on the Day of Judgment when he sees companions who were close enough to him in this world that he recognizes their faces, yet they are taken away from him because of their innovations in Islām after his death.

Traditions from Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī

1. Narrated ʿAbd Allāh: The Prophet said: I am your predecessor at the Lake-Fount [of Kawthar], and some of you will be brought in front of me till I will see them. Then they will be taken away from me, and I will say, "O Lord, my companions!" It will be said, "You do not know what they did after you left."[2321]

2. Narrated Anas: The Prophet said: Some of my companions will come to me at my lake-fount, and after I recognize them, they will then be taken away from me, whereupon I will say, "My companions!" Then it will be said, "You do not know what they innovated in the religion after you."[2322]

3. Narrated Sahl ibn Saʿd: The Prophet said, "I will be your predecessor at the lake-fount, and whoever will pass by there will drink from it, and whoever drinks from it will never be thirsty. There will come to me some people whom I will recognize, and they will recognize me, but a barrier will be placed between me and them." Abū Ḥāzim (the narrator) added: Nuʿmān ibn Abī ʿAyyāsh, on hearing me, said, "Did you hear this from Sahl?" I said, "Yes." He said: I bear witness that I heard Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī saying the same, adding that the Prophet said, "I will say, 'They are of me (i.e. my companions).' It will be said, 'You do not know what they innovated in the religion [of Islām] after you left.' I will say, 'Far removed, far removed [from mercy] are those who changed [their religion] after me.'"[2323]

4. Abū Hurayrah narrated that the Prophet said: On the Day of Judgment a group of companions will come to me but will be driven away from the lake-fount. I will say, "O Lord, [those are] my companions!" It will be said, "You have no knowledge as to what they innovated after you left; they turned apostate as renegades."[2324]

5. Narrated Saʿīd ibn Musayyab: The Prophet said: Some men from my companions will come to my lake-fount and they will be driven away from it, and I will say, "O Lord, my companions!" It will be said, "You have no knowledge of what they innovated after you left; they turned apostate as renegades."[2325]

6. Narrated Abū Hurayrah: The Prophet said: While I was sleeping, a group [of my followers were brought close to me], and when I recognized them, a man (i.e. an angel) came out from amongst me and them, and he said [to them], "Come along." I asked, "[To] where?" He said, "To the fire, by Allāh!" I asked, "What

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[2321] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #8.76.578.
[2322] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #8.76.584.
[2323] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #8.76.585.
[2324] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #8.76.585.
[2325] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #8.76.586.

is wrong with them?" He said, "They turned apostate as renegades after you left." Then behold! [Another] group [of my followers] were brought close to me, and when I recognized them, a man (i.e. an angel) came out from [among us and] said [to them], "Come along." I asked, "[To] where?" He said, "To the fire, by Allāh." I asked, "What is wrong with them?" He said, "They turned apostate as renegades after you left. So I did not see any one of them escaping, except a few who were like camels without a shepherd."[2326]

7. The Prophet (ص) said, "By Allāh! I am not afraid that you will worship others along with Allāh after my death, but I am afraid that you will fight with one another for the worldly things."[2327]

Traditions from Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim

1. ʻĀʼishah reported: I heard Allāh's Messenger say in the company of his companions: I will be at the fount waiting for those who would be coming to me from amongst you. By Allāh, some people would be prevented from coming to me, and I will say, "My Lord, they are my followers and the people of my nation (ummah)," and He will say, "You don't know what they did after you; they were constantly turning back on their heels."[2328]

2. Anas ibn Mālik reported that the Messenger of Allāh said: Some people from amongst my associates will turn to my fount. When they are presented to me and I see them, they will be detained on the way to me. I will say, "My Lord, they are my companions, they are my companions," and it will be said to me, "You don't know what innovations they made after you."[2329]

3. ʻAbd Allāh reported that the Messenger of Allāh said: I will be there at the fount before you, and I will have to contend for some people, but I will have to yield. I will be saying, "My Lord, they are my friends, they are my friends," and it will be said, "You don't know what innovations they made after you."[2330]

4. ʻUqbah ibn ʻĀmir reported that the Messenger of Allāh said, "I shall be there as your predecessor on the fount before you, and it is as wide as the distance between Āyilah (at the top of the Gulf of ʻAqabah) and Juḥfah (near Mecca). I am not afraid that you will associate anything with Allāh after me (i.e. become pagans again), but I am afraid that you may be [allured] by the world and [vie] with one another [in possessing material wealth] and begin killing one another, and you would be destroyed as were destroyed those who had gone before you."[2331]

5. ʻUqbah ibn ʻĀmir reported that the Messenger of Allāh said: I shall be present there [at the Fount] before you. I will be your witness and, by Allāh, I perceive as if I am seeing with my own eyes my fount at this very state [in which] I have been given the keys of the treasures of the earth. By Allāh, I am not afraid concerning you that you would associate anything [with Allāh after me], but I am

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2326. Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #8.76.587.
2327. Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #2.23.428.
2328. Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #30.5685.
2329. Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #30.5706.
2330. Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #30.5690.
2331. Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #30.5689.

afraid that you will be vying with one another [for possession of] the treasures of the earth."[2332]

6. Umm Salamah reported that the Messenger of Allāh said: I shall be your harbinger at the fount. Therefore, be cautious lest one of you should come [to me] and may be driven away like a stray camel. I will ask the reasons, and it will be said to me, "You don't know what innovations they made after you." And I will then also say, "Be away!"[2333]

Discussion

Traditions like these are numerous and truly mutawātir, as they are transmitted from many companions, and remain undisputed by the Sunnīs and Shī´ah alike. Bukhārī and Muslim have related these essentially identical traditions through numerous chains of transmission, all confirming that at least some of the companions will stray, innovate in Islām, and therefore be unable to reach the Messenger of Allāh (ص) at the Fount of Kawthar. These traditions are extremely clear that the companions will innovate in Islām, will fight over worldly matters, and will turn on their heels, leaving the path of the Prophet (ص). The Prophet (ص) was very explicit in some of these traditions that they would not leave Islām outright, because they would still be worshipping Allāh. Rather, they would turn their backs on Islām, creating innovations and following the worldly path instead of the divine path leading to paradise. We will later address the race of the companions for worldly possessions in our historical accounts of the period after the Prophet's (ص) death. One must not forget that the caliphate itself is a worldly possession that the companions usurped and fought over.

These traditions provide explicit proofs for Shī´ah beliefs. If the companions could stray and create innovations, we cannot blindly accept what a companion said, did, or believed. Rather, we are obligated to examine their lives, their traditions, their trustworthiness, etc. on an individual basis before granting any weight to their accounts. Whereas Sunnīs trust all the companions, the Shī´ah are very selective in this regards, as they primarily trust traditions from the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) who are immune from sin as well as from some of the truly pious companions of the Prophet (ص), such as Abū Dharr, Miqdād, ´Ammār ibn Yāsir, Salmān al-Fārsī, Bilāl, Qays ibn Sa´d ibn ´Ubādah, and others whose veracity remains undisputed.

Indeed, the Shī´ah claim that examining the conduct of the companions after the death of the Prophet (ص) can help establish whether they were hypocrites or not is clear in the following tradition in Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī:

> Ḥudhayfah ibn Yamān said, "The hypocrites of today are worse than those of the lifetime of the Prophet, because in those days they used to do evil deeds secretly but today they do such deeds openly."[2334]

As such, the open conduct of the companions after the death of the Prophet (ص) is our guide as to whether each companion was a hypocrite or not.

The Comparison of Muslims to the Followers of Previous Religions

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[2332]. Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #30.5688.
[2333]. Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #30.5686-7.
[2334]. Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #9.88.229.

According to traditions in Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī and Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, the Muslim nation will follow the exact path of the Jews, Christians, Persians, and Byzantines (Eastern Romans):

1. Narrated Abū Hurayrah: The Prophet said, "The Hour will not be established until my followers copy the deeds of the previous nations and follow them very closely, span by span, and cubit by cubit (i.e. inch by inch)." It was said, "O Allāh's Apostle! Do you mean by those [nations] the Persians and the Byzantines?" The Prophet said, "Who can it be other than them?"[2335]

2. Narrated Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī: The Prophet said, "You will follow the ways of those nations who were before you, span by span and cubit by cubit so much so that even if they entered a hole of a mastigure (lizard), you would follow them." We said, "O Allāh's Apostle! [Do you mean] the Jews and the Christians?" He said, "Whom else?"[2336]

3. Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī reported that Allāh's Messenger said, "You would tread the same path as was trodden by those before you inch by inch and step by step so much so that if they entered into the hole of the lizard, you would follow them in this also." We said, "Allāh's Messenger, do you mean the Jews and Christians [by your word], 'those before you'?" He said, "Who else?"[2337]

The entire meaning of following in the paths of Judaism, Christianity, and Zoroastrianism refers to the fact that the companions would innovate in their religion as the followers of other prophets innovated in their religions. The Children of Israel started innovating during the forty days in which Moses (ع) was absent by following Sāmirī in worshipping a calf instead of following Aaron (ع), their rightful imām. Most of the companions did not wait but a few hours before they abandoned 'Alī (ع) to follow Abū Bakr. Indeed, in every religion only a select group stayed true to the original teachings while the majority strayed. Islām, unfortunately, has been no exception, and the Prophet (ص) clearly predicted that the majority of his followers would stray.

Islām was Altered During the Lifetime of the Companions

A thorough discussion of how Islām was changed and distorted during the lifetime of the companions is beyond the scope of this work. Yet the following three traditions from Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī demonstrate that this fact was evident to even the companions themselves:

1. Narrated Musayyab: I met Barā' ibn 'Āzib and [said to him], "May you live prosperously! You enjoyed the company of the Prophet and gave him the pledge of allegiance [at Ḥudaybīyyah] under the Tree [of Riḍwān]." On that, Barā'' said, "O my nephew! You do not know what we have done after him (i.e. after his death)!"[2338]

2. Anas said, "I do not find things [practiced nowadays] as they were [practiced] at the time of the Prophet." Somebody said "The prayer [is as it was]." Anas said, "Have you not done to the prayer what you have done?"[2339]

2335. Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #9.92.421.
2336. Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #9.92.422.
2337. Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #34.6448-9.
2338. Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.59.488.
2339. Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #1.10.507.

3. Narrated Zuhrī that he visited Anas ibn Mālik in Damascus and found him weeping and asked him why he was weeping. He replied, "I do not know (i.e. recognize) anything which I used to know during the lifetime of Allāh's Apostle except this prayer which is being lost (i.e. not offered as it should be)."[2340]

These traditions are explicit that Islām was altered during the lifetime of the Prophet's (ص) companions. In fact, the Islām that was practiced during the lifetime of companions after the death of the Prophet (ص) was unrecognizable when compared to the Islām of the Prophet (ص), as is apparent from the above traditions as well as the following tradition from Mālik ibn Anas, the founder of the Mālikī school of Sunnī jurisprudence:

> Mālik [related] from his paternal uncle Abū Suhayl ibn Mālik that his uncle's father said, "I recognize nothing nowadays of what I saw the people doing [at the time of the Prophet] except for the call to prayer."[2341]

This means that even rituals were changed to the point of no longer resembling the Prophet's (ص) rituals. In fact, despite what this tradition says, alterations were even made to the call to prayer (adhān).[2342]

The Lack of Piety of the Companions—They Kept Drinking Despite its Prohibition

The Qur`ān is clear that the companions were overdue in submitting to Allāh and His commands: "Is it not time for the hearts of those who believe to submit to Allāh's remembrance and what has been revealed of the truth?"[2343] The Qur`ān is clear that many companions had trouble accepting and following Islāmic laws. They resisted jihād, as the Qur`ān says, "Fighting is prescribed for you though it is hateful unto you."[2344] They also avoided paying zakāt, as the Qur`ān says, "And what reason do you have not to spend in Allāh's way?"[2345] The Qur`ān answers this question by stating that some of the companions were niggardly: "Among you are some who are niggardly, but any who are niggardly are so at the expense of their own souls."[2346]

Today, a rather rudimentary aspect of being a devout Muslim is avoiding intoxicants. Yet, while drinking alcohol was banned early after the emigration to Madīnah, the companions, in particular ʿUmar, continued to drink for as long as they could until they realized that they would be whipped for drinking. Ibn Kathīr said in his commentary on the Qur`ān,

> Imām Aḥmad [ibn Ḥanbal] recorded that Abū Hurayrah said: There were three stages to prohibiting intoxicants.[2347] When the Messenger of Allāh migrated to Madīnah, the people were consuming alcohol and gambling, so they asked the Messenger of Allāh about these things, [and] Allāh revealed, "They ask you about alcoholic drinks and gambling. Say, 'In them is a great sin (ithmun kabīrun) and [some] benefits for men. Yet their sin is greater than their

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[2340] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #1.10.507. The last parenthetic comment is as per the English translation of Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī.

[2341] Muwaṭṭa` Mālik #3.1.9.

[2342] Refer to chapter 86.

[2343] Qur`ān 57:16.

[2344] Qur`ān 2:216.

[2345] Qur`ān 57:10.

[2346] Qur`ān 47:38.

[2347] A more accurate translation would be, "Intoxicants were prohibited three times."

> benefits."[2348] The people said, "They (intoxicants and gambling) were not prohibited for us. Allāh only said, 'In them is a great sin (ithmun kabīrun) and [some] benefit for men.'" So they went on drinking intoxicants until one day one of the Emigrants led his companions in the maghrib prayer and mixed up the verses in his recitation. Thereafter, Allāh sent down a tougher statement: "O you who believe, approach not the prayers when you are in a drunken state until you know [the meaning of] what you utter."[2349] Then the people would drink before the time of the prayer so that they would attend the prayer while sober. A firmer verse was later revealed: "O you who believe, intoxicants, gambling, idols, and raffles are an abomination of Satan's handiwork. So avoid them in order that you may be successful."[2350] So they said, "We abstained, O Lord!"[2351]
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> ...Imām Aḥmad recorded that ʻUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb said, "O Allāh! Explain the verdict about intoxicants to us clearly." The verse in Sūrah Baqarah was revealed: "They ask you about alcoholic drink and gambling. Say, 'In them is a great sin.'"[2352] ʻUmar was summoned and this verse was recited to him, but he still said, "O Allāh! Make the verdict of intoxicants clear to us." Then the verse in Sūrah Nisāʾ was revealed: "O you who believe, do not approach the prayers when you are in a drunken state."[2353] Thereafter, the Prophet (ص) had someone herald when it was time to pray, "Those in a drunken state are not to approach the prayer." ʻUmar was again summoned and the verse was recited to him, but he still said, "O Allāh! Make the verdict concerning intoxicants clear to us." Then the verses in Sūrah Māʾidah[2354] were revealed, and ʻUmar was summoned and it was recited to him. When he reached the part of the verse that reads, "So will you then abstain?" ʻUmar said, "We abstained, we abstained."[2355] Abū Dāwūd,[2356] Tirmidhī,[2357] and Nasāʾī[2358] recorded this tradition. ʻAlī ibn al-Madyanī and al-Tirmidhī graded it authentic.[2359]

Indeed, traditions stating that ʻUmar kept drinking while asking for new clarifications are widely transmitted and appear in some of the most prominent of Sunnī sources, including, as Ibn Kathīr mentioned, three of the ṣiḥāḥ sittah.[2360] Ḥākim certified his tradition in this regards as authentic by the criteria of both Bukhārī and Muslim.[2361]

According to three traditions that are certified as authentic in Mustadrak Ḥākim, the person who drank during prayer was ʻAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʻAwf who entered his maghrib

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2348. Qurʾān 2:219.
2349. Qurʾān 4:43.
2350. Qurʾān 5:90-91.
2351. Musnad Ḥanbal #8605.
2352. Qurʾān 2:219.
2353. Qurʾān 4:43.
2354. Qurʾān 5:90-91.
2355. Musnad Ḥanbal #378.
2356. Sunan Abū Dāwūd #3670.
2357. Sunan Tirmidhī #3049.
2358. Sunan Nasāʾī #5540.
2359. Tafsīr Ibn Kathīr, verse 5:90-91.
2360. Sunan Abū Dāwūd #3670; Sunan Tirmidhī #3049; Sunan Nasāʾī #5540; Mustadrak Ḥākim #3101 (certifies the tradition as authentic by the criteria of both Bukhārī and Muslim); Musnad Ḥanbal #378; Sunan al-Kubrā Bayhaqī #17101; Sunan al-Kubrā Nasāʾī #5049; Kanz al-ʻUmmāl #13652; Haykal 361-2; Tafsīr Qurṭubī, verse 4:43; Tafsīr Ibn Kathīr, verses 4:43 and 5:90; Tafsīr Shawkānī and Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, verse 2:219. Similarly, Tafsīr Rāzī and Tafsīr Zamakhsharī, verse 2:219.
2361. Mustadrak Ḥākim #3101.

prayer drunk, not understanding a word of what he said.[2362] In his drunken stupor, he recited, "Say: O disbelievers, I don't worship what you worship, but we worship that which you worship."[2363] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī describes the event in which the final verse banning intoxicants was revealed as follows:

> Narrated Anas ibn Mālik: We had no alcoholic drink except that which was produced from dates and which you call faḍīkh. While I was standing offering drinks to Abū Ṭalḥah and so-and-so and so-and-so, a man cam and said, "Has the news reached you?" They said, "What is that?" He said, "Alcoholic drinks have been prohibited. They said, "Spill [the contents of these pots] O Anas!" Then they neither asked about [alcoholic drinks] nor returned to it after the news from that man.[2364]

In its discussion of this tradition, Fatḥ al-Bārī cites other traditions stating that there were a total of eleven people gathered together at that time. Those present included: (1) Anas ibn Mālik, who was the one serving the drinks; (2) Abū Ṭalḥah (Zayd ibn Sahl) who was the host; (3) Abū ʿUbaydah ibn al-Jarrāḥ whom the Prophet (ص) had designated as the brother of Abū Ṭalḥah; (4) Ubayy ibn Kaʿb; (5) Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī; (6) Muʿādh ibn Jabal; (7) Suhayl ibn Bayḍāʾ; (8) Abū Dujānah (Sammāk ibn Kharashah); (9) Abū Bakr; (10) ʿUmar; and (11) Abū Bakr ibn Shaghūb (or Shaʿūb).[2365] As such, it is clear that Abū Bakr and ʿUmar were drinking all the way until the third verse banning intoxicants was revealed. As such, "so-and-so and so-and-so" in the Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī tradition is a replacement for "Abū Bakr and ʿUmar," as the narrators of the tradition have aspired to delete their names from this shameful event.

Since Sūrah Māʾidah, which contains the final verse banning intoxicants, was revealed around the time of the Farewell Pilgrimage.[2366] As such, Abū Bakr and ʿUmar drank until the end of the year 10 A.H., even though it was clear from the first verse revealed regarding intoxicants that all liquor was prohibited. Even ʿĀʾishah said, "When Sūrah Baqarah was revealed, the forbiddance (taḥrīm) of intoxicants was revealed in it, so the Prophet forbade [drinking]."[2367] The verse in Sūrah Baqarah reads: "They ask you about liquor and gambling. Say, 'In each of them lies great sin (ithmun kabīrun) as well as some benefits for mankind. Yet their sin is greater than their benefits.'"[2368] Even though it does not take a genius to know that sinning is, by definition, prohibited, the Qurʾān actually prohibited sins (ithm) around the time of the emigration to Madīnah. In the seventh sūrah, which was revealed in Mecca,[2369] it was made clear to all the believers that anything that is referred to as ithm, which means sin, is prohibited in Islām: "Say: My Lord has prohibited only shocking deeds (fawāḥish), what is hidden of it and what appears thereof, and ithm (sin)."[2370]

Accordingly, Abū Hurayrah said, "Intoxicants were prohibited three times,"[2371] referring to the fact that each of the three verses forbade intoxicants. It is therefore clear that all sin had been prohibited years before the third verse regarding the prohibition of liquor was revealed and that drinking alcohol had been declared a great sin (ithmun kabīrun). As such, Abū Bakr and ʻUmar spent around eight or nine years drinking what had been forbidden to them, committing a great sin in the process. If drinking is a great sin, one must obviously avoid it. It is interesting that the Khārijītes spent so much effort claiming that ʻAlī (ع) was a disbeliever because he sinned by having a ceasefire with Muʻāwīyah, an act they considered a great sin, yet they never seemed to be concerned about the fact that Abū Bakr and ʻUmar drank for years after the Qurʽān had called drinking a "great sin." Moreover, according to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, the Prophet (ص) said, "A person, at the time of drinking an alcoholic drink, is not a believer."[2372] Indeed, one has to wonder how well the traditions of companions could be trusted if they were frequently under the influence of intoxicants that would impair their perception and memory.

[2362] Mustadrak Ḥākim #7220-2. Ḥākim (#7222) said, "These chains of transmission are all authentic."
[2363] Mustadrak Ḥākim #7222 (certifies the tradition as authentic).
[2364] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #6.60.141.
[2365] Fatḥ al-Bārī #5260.
[2366] Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, introduction to sūrah 5.
[2367] Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, verse 2:219; Tārīkh Baghdād #4457 (Dāwūd ibn Zibriqān).
[2368] Qurʾān 2:219.
[2369] Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, introduction to sūrah 7.
[2370] Qurʾān 7:33.
[2371] Musnad Ḥanbal #8605.

According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, ʻĀʽishah said, "If the first thing to be revealed was, 'Do not drink alcoholic drinks,' people would have said, 'We will never leave alcoholic drinks,' and if it had been revealed, 'Do not commit illegal sexual intercourse,' they would have said, 'We will never give up illegal sexual intercourse.'"[2373] This tradition demonstrates that the companions were not pious individuals who loved to follow the laws, but rather did not like Allāh's commands and would even openly defy them. It also makes it clear that the companions with weak faith loved alcohol so much that would have ignored any laws forbidding alcoholic beverages, saying, "We will never leave alcoholic drinks." Of course, when they realized that they would be whipped for drinking, they were forced to give it up.

What is interesting is how blatantly ʻUmar came up with excuses so he could continue drinking. He was obviously not concerned about the fact that the Qurʽān called drinking a "great sin" and therefore kept on claiming that the verses were not clear enough. Indeed, his continually asking for more clarification from Allāh while he kept on drinking was very similar to the event in which the Jews kept on asking Moses (ع) for further clarification regarding the qualities of the cow they were ordered to slaughter because they were hoping they would never have to slaughter it at the end:

> 67. And when Moses said to his people, "Surely Allāh has commanded you to sacrifice a cow," they said, "Do you ridicule us?" He answered, "Allāh forbids that I should be among the ignorant."
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> 68. They said, "Pray for us unto your Lord so that He makes clear to us what [kind of cow] she is." [Moses] answered, "Surely He said, 'Verily she is a cow neither advanced in age nor too young, of middle age between the two,' so do that which you are commanded."
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> 69. They said, "Pray for us unto your Lord that He makes clear to us of what color she is." [Moses] answered, "Surely He said, 'Verily she is a yellow cow. Bright is her color, delightful to beholders.'"
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> 70. They said, "Pray for us unto your Lord that He makes clear to us what [kind of cow] she is. Surely cows are much alike to us; and surely if Allāh wills, we may be led aright."

[2372] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #7.69.484.
[2373] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #6.61.515.

> 71. [Moses] answered, "Surely He said, 'Verily she is a cow unyoked who neither ploughed the soil nor watered the tilth, whole and without mark.'" They said, "Now you have brought us the truth." So they sacrificed her, although they were planning not to.[2374]

This event in itself shows how similar the companions of the Prophet (ص) were to the companions of Moses (ع). They did not want to perform what they were ordered to do, so they kept coming up with excuses and further questions to avoid or delay the implementation of Allāh's commands. ʿUmar's continually asking for more clarification until drinking was more and more strictly prohibited is also problematic because, according to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, the Prophet (ص) said, "The most sinful person among the Muslims is the one who asked about something which had not been prohibited, but was prohibited because of his asking."[2375]

ʿUmar Broke His Fast with Sexual Intercourse

Another fact that shows that the leading companions were not stellar examples of piety and great conduct is the fact that ʿUmar could not even maintain his fast. According to a tradition that appears in prominent Sunnī commentaries on the Qurʾān, Ibn ʿAbbās said,

> During the month of Ramaḍān, after Muslims would pray nighttime (ʿishāʾ) prayers, it was forbidden for them to [have intercourse with] their wives or to eat until the next night. Then some Muslims, including ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, indulged in food and [intercourse with] their wives after ʿishāʾ. They complained to Allāh's Messenger. Then Allāh revealed [the verse], "Allāh knows that you used to deceive yourselves (takhtānūna anfusakum), so He accepted your repentance and forgave you. So now have sexual relations with them."[2376,2377]

According to another tradition, ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb had sexual intercourse with his wife after he found her sleeping, even though she admonished him against doing so, as it would break their fasts. ʿUmar then mentioned what had happened to the Prophet (ص), and the above verse was revealed.[2378] Ṭabarī asked,

> And what is this betrayal (khīyānah) with which the people betrayed themselves that required Allāh to [accept] their repentance and forgive them? It is said that it was their betraying their own selves in the two ways that Allāh mentions—first, by having intercourse with women, and second by eating and drinking during the time in which these [activities] were forbidden to them.[2379]

What Ṭabarī was referring to was that, at that time, the fast began after ʿishāʾ prayers and lasted until maghrib the next day, yet the companions ate, drank, and had sexual intercourse during the time in which these acts were forbidden as part of their fast of Ramaḍān.

[2374] Qurʾān 2:67-71.
[2375] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #9.92.392.
[2376] Qurʾān 2:187.
[2377] Tafsīr Ṭabarī, Tafsīr Ibn Kathīr, Tafsīr Shawkānī, and Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, verse 2:187. This is also referred to in Tārīkh al-Khulafāʾ 112.
[2378] Tafsīr Qurṭubī, Tafsīr Ṭabarī, and Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, verse 2:187.
[2379] Tafsīr Ṭabarī, verse 2:187.

This verse is explicit that ʿUmar betrayed himself. According to Rāghib, betrayal (khīyānah) is defined as, "opposing what is right by secretly breaking a covenant. What is broken by the act of betrayal is [called a] trust (amānah)."[2380] By breaking the covenant of fasting, ʿUmar opposed what was right and broke the trust of Allāh. Being trustworthy is a key qualification for the leader of the Muslim nation. Someone who cannot be trusted not to betray his own self and not to break his own trust with Allāh most certainly cannot be trusted not to betray the nation and break his trust with the Muslim ummah. Moreover, the Qur`ān says, "Allāh does not love the betrayers (khā`inīn),"[2381] and "Allāh does not love he who is a sinful betrayer."[2382] It is therefore clear that Allāh did not love ʿUmar, as he was a sinful betrayer who betrayed himself by performing the sin of breaking his fast. Of course, this fact was made further evident in the Battle of Khaybar, when ʿUmar's loss to the Jews was attributed to his lack of mutual love with Allāh and His Messenger (ص).[2383] Amazingly, Suyūṭī has listed the revelation of the verse chastising ʿUmar for breaking his fast among his virtues![2384]

ʿUmar's breaking his fast by having intercourse with his wife shows the utmost of disrespect for the laws of Islām, as even those of weak faith can maintain a day's fast. ʿUmar had no excuse for doing so, as the Qur`ān says in several verses, "No burden do We place on any soul, but that which it can bear."[2385] It is unclear how ʿUmar could not bear to control his urges for one day. Someone who has so little self-control cannot possibly be qualified to lead the nation.

The Qur`ān says, "and it is a great [burden] except for the humble (khāshiʿīn)."[2386] Since ʿUmar found his fast burdensome, this verse proves that ʿUmar was not humble. The Qur`ān also says, "[Those who are] humble before Allāh do not trade the revelations of Allāh for a trifling gain."[2387] Therefore, one who lacks humility cannot be the leader of the nation because he cannot be trusted not to sell the religion of Allāh for a trifling gain. Moreover, according to Ibn Kathīr, Ibn ʿAbbās said, "[The humble] are those who believe in the truth of what Allāh has revealed."[2388] What Ibn ʿAbbās said is rather self-evident, as those who truly believe in Islām in its totality including all its precepts and commands humbly follow Islām and would never find the laws of Islām to be burdensome.

A Qur`ānic Verse was Revealed Ordering ʿUmar to Stop Sodomizing His Wife

According to Tirmidhī, Ḥanbal, Nasā`ī, Bayhaqī, Ibn Ḥajar, and a number of Qur`ānic commentators, Ibn ʿAbbās said,

> ʿUmar went to the Messenger of Allāh and said, "I am doomed!" He asked, "Why are you doomed?" He said, "Last night, I altered my position." The Messenger of Allāh (ص) did not respond to him. The following verse was then revealed to him: "Your wives are a tilth for you, so approach your tilth as you please,"[2389] [so the Prophet (ص) said], "[You may approach their fronts] from

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[2380] Mufradāt al-Qur`ān 163 (kh-ū-n, al-khīyānah).
[2381] Qur`ān 8:58.
[2382] Qur`ān 4:107.
[2383] Refer to chapter 20.
[2384] Tārīkh al-Khulafā` 112.
[2385] Qur`ān 6:152, 7:42, 23:62, 65:7.
[2386] Qur`ān 2:45.
[2387] Qur`ān 3:199.
[2388] Tafsīr Ibn Kathīr, verse 2:45.
[2389] Qur`ān 2:223.

> the front or from the back, but avoid their backside and the menstruating [woman]."[2390]

Ibn Ḥajar certified this tradition as authentic.[2391] Khāzin said, "To alter a position was a reference to his approaching [his wife] in a place that he was not used to."[2392] Abū Ḥayyān was so ashamed of attributing this event to ʿUmar that he changed the tradition to: "*Some of the companions* went to the Messenger (ص), saying, 'I am doomed!'"[2393] The verse of the Qurʾān is clear that women can only be approached vaginally, as it says, "Your wives are a tilth for you, so approach your *tilth* as you please."[2394] Clearly, a tilth is a reference to the fact that without women procreation would be impossible. As such, men are allowed to approach their women just as a farmer would approach his land. However, it would be absurd to call the anus a tilth, as no offspring are produced from approaching it. As such, the verse, particularly in the context revealed, is clear that any sexual position is permissible as long as it involves the vagina (tilth). If the verse was allowing anal intercourse, then it would say, "approach your *women* as you please," not "approach your *tilth* as you please." Accordingly, the Prophet (ص), Ibn ʿAbbās, Mujāhid, ʿIkrimah, Ubayy ibn Kaʿb, Qatādah, and Saddī all said that a woman can be approached from any direction as long as it is vaginally and not during her menses.[2395] Indeed, the Prophet (ص) forbade anal intercourse in numerous traditions.[2396]

Yet, some of the early generations have opted to support ʿUmar's act. Based on numerous accounts compiled by Suyūṭī, a number of facts are noteworthy: (1) According to numerous traditions, ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar believed that the verse of tilth was revealed permitting sodomy with women and that he saw no problem with this act. Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr said, "The tradition from Ibn ʿUmar in this regards is authentic, famous, and well-known." (2) Shāfiʿī said, "Based on analogy (qīyās), [sodomy with women] is permissible (ḥalāl)." (3) Mālik considered sodomy with women to be permissible (mubāḥ) and when he was asked about sodomy with one's wife, he replied, "Just now I washed myself after performing it."[2397] Ibn Kathīr said, "This opinion (i.e. the permissibility of performing sodomy with women) has been attributed to a group of the jurists of Madīnah and others."[2398] In contrast, when Ibn ʿAbbās was asked about a man who sodomized his wife, he said, "This is disbelief (kufr)."[2399] He also said, "Allāh will not look [with mercy] at a man who approaches his wife from her backside."[2400] Similarly, when Ṭāwūs was asked about this act, he said, "Are you asking me about disbelief?"[2401] Accordingly, Shīʿah scholars consider this act to be either forbidden (ḥarām) or severely detestable (mahrūh). According to Lumʿah al-Damishqīyyah, "Anal intercourse is detestable (makrūh), severely detestable, and according to some traditions forbidden."[2402]

The Claim that One Ought Not to Criticize the Companions

[2390] Sunan Tirmidhī #2980; Musnad Ḥanbal #2703; Sunan al-Kubrā Nasāʾī #8977; Sunan al-Kubrā Bayhaqī #13903; Fatḥ al-Bārī #4253; Tafsīr Ibn Kathīr, Tafsīr Baghawī, and Tafsīr Khāzin, verse 2:223.

[2391] Fatḥ al-Bārī #4253.

[2392] Tafsīr Khāzin, verse 2:223.

[2393] Tafsīr Abū Ḥayyān, verse 2:223.

[2394] Qurʾān 2:223.

[2395] Tafsīr Ṭabarī, verse 2:223.

[2396] Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, verse 2:223.

[2397] Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, verse 2:223.

[2398] Tafsīr Ibn Kathīr, verse 2:223.

[2399] Sunan al-Kubrā Nasāʾī #9004.

[2400] Sunan al-Kubrā Nasāʾī #9001-2.

[2401] Sunan al-Kubrā Nasāʾī #9007. Similarly, Sunan al-Kubrā Nasāʾī #9006.

[2402] Lumʿah al-Damishqiyyah of Shahīd al-Awwal Muḥammad ibn Jamāl al-Dīn al-Makkī al-ʿĀmilī 160.

A common criticism of the Shī'ah is that they criticize the companions. The Salafī view is that the companions were far superior to us, that we are not in a position to judge them, and that we ought to accept that they were all venerable characters without inspecting the details of their conduct. This, however, is simply incorrect. Although it is true that backbiting against other Muslims is forbidden, there are two key exceptions to this: (1) if a sinful act is performed openly and blatantly, renunciation and repudiation of the sin and sinner are permissible, and backbiting is meaningless, as the sin was committed publicly; (2) if the formulation of religious beliefs and laws require determination of the status of piety of an individual based on whose words one forms beliefs and laws. Many of the sins of the companions fall into the first category. In fact, minor sins that did not fall into the purview of the general public would generally not be transmitted. Thus, the sins we know about are among their open and blatant sins or grave and public errors in judgment. Second, all Muslims believe in the permissibility of analyzing the trustworthiness of the transmitters of prophetic tradition, as this is necessary for the evaluation of traditions and the formulation of proper laws and beliefs. The only exception is that Sunnīs do not question the companions, whereas the Shī'ah are more discerning, requiring the establishment of the trustworthiness and lack of ulterior motives of each companion before accepting their traditions as authoritative. Indeed, to consider all companions equally knowledgeable, trustworthy, and reliable goes against common sense.

It should also be noted that the Qur`ān opposes the claim that all companions were trustworthy and should not be questioned because it says, "O you who believe! When a wicked person comes to you with any news, ascertain the truth lest you harm people unwittingly and afterwards become full of remorse for what you have done."[2403] It is widely accepted that this verse was revealed regarding Walīd ibn 'Uqbah, who fit squarely within the Sunnī definition of companion cited earlier.[2404] Therefore, the Qur`ān ordered the companions that when a wicked person such as Walīd would come to them with any news, they were not to act upon it without further inquiry. This proves that wicked companions existed, requiring one to determine whether or not any specific companion was wicked or not. The Qur`ān also orders us to investigate the claims of the companions, as some of their claims may be false. In summary, the Shī'ah believe in following the Qur`ān while others apparently believe in blindly following the companions, some of whom the Qur`ān orders us not to listen to.

Another reality is that if we are to use the companions as examples, we would conclude that holding very negative opinions of the companions is permissible. As transmitted by Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, 'Umar said that 'Alī (ع) and 'Abbās considered Abū Bakr and 'Umar to be "liar[s], sinful, treacherous, and dishonest."[2405] If 'Alī (ع) and 'Abbās, two of the eminent companions, could hold such beliefs about the first two caliphs, then it should be permissible for others to hold the same beliefs. If 'Alī (ع) and 'Abbās did not believe that, then we would have no choice but to believe that 'Umar was a liar who appended falsehoods to 'Alī (ع) and 'Abbās. Since lying itself is a sin, regardless of whether 'Umar spoke the truth or lied, 'Umar would be established as a sinful liar.

The Prophet (ص) was Ordered to Love Only Four of His Companions

Ḥākim has related a tradition that he certified as authentic by the criteria of Muslim, according to which Buraydah said,

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[2403] Qur`ān 49:6.
[2404] Refer to chapter 64.
[2405] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #19.4349.

> The Prophet (ص) said, "Allāh has ordered me to love four of my companions and has told me that He loves them." We asked, "And who are they, O Messenger of Allāh?" We were all hoping to be among them. He said, "Truly ʿAlī is among them." He then was quiet. He then said, "Truly ʿAlī is among them." He was then quiet again.[2406]

This tradition shows that the Prophet (ص) was only instructed to love four of his companions. Unless instructed to, he would not love any others, as his words and actions were based entirely on divine inspiration. Although the Prophet (ص) only specified ʿAlī (ع) in this tradition, Tirmidhī and others have related the names of the other three companions in the following tradition:

> The Prophet (ص) said, "Allāh has ordered me to love four and has informed me that He loves them." He was asked, "O Messenger of Allāh, name them for us." He said, "ʿAlī is among them," three times [and then said], "and Abū Dharr and Miqdād and Salmān. Allāh has ordered me to love them and has informed me that He loves them."[2407]

In this and similar traditions, Abū Dharr, ʿAmmār, Salmān, Bilāl, and Miqdād are alternatively listed along with ʿAlī (ع) as the four companions whom the Prophet (ص) was ordered by Allāh to love.[2408] It is hard to imagine traditions better than these to prove the Shīʿah notion of the companions. If Allāh only loved four of them and only instructed the Prophet (ص) to love those four, why should the Muslims love all of them? Moreover, those mentioned were ʿAlī (ع) and his most loyal supporters and foremost Shīʿah—Abū Dharr, Miqdād, Salmān, ʿAmmār, and Bilāl. These are exactly the companions that the Shīʿah love and revere the most. Indeed, it appears that paradise is eagerly awaiting only the Shīʿah of ʿAlī (ع) from among the companions, as the Prophet (ص) said in another tradition, "Paradise is eager for three—ʿAlī and ʿAmmār and Salmān."[2409]

Given these traditions with such clear implications, a tradition was invented, according to which the Prophet (ص) said, "Allāh has ordered me to love four of my companions. The most beloved of them are Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, ʿUthmān, and ʿAlī."[2410] Yet, according to Ibn ʿAsākir who related this tradition, "Sulaymān ibn ʿĪsā," who appears in the chain of transmission, "would forge [traditions]."[2411] This same tradition has also been related by Ibn Ḥajar and Dhahabī in their discussions of Sulaymān ibn ʿĪsā, and both have rejected him as a liar and inventor of traditions.[2412]

This brief discussion should be sufficient for any fair-minded individual who believes in the Qurʾān and Sunnah to realize that the definition of "companion" used by Sunnī scholars is absurd, and that the companions are not to be blindly revered and trusted. The companions will receive some additional attention in chapter 80 after the discussion of their shameful conduct in the Battle of Jamal. In addition, arguments that the Qurʾān

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2406. Mustadrak Ḥākim #4649 (certifies the tradition as authentic by the criteria of Muslim).
2407. Sunan Tirmidhī #3718 (certifies the tradition as good [ḥasan]); Tārīkh al-Khulafāʾ 152; Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:188; Jāmiʿ al-Ṣaghīr Suyūṭī #1692; Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #33127.
2408. Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:182; Tārīkh Damishq 60:176.
2409. Sunan Tirmidhī #3797; Mustadrak Ḥākim #4666 (certifies the tradition as authentic).
2410. Tārīkh Dahmishq 39:127.
2411. Tārīkh Dahmishq 39:127.
2412. Lisān al-Mīzān vol 3 #333 (Sulaymān ibn ʿĪsā); Mīzān al-Iʿtidāl #3496 (Sulaymān ibn ʿĪsā).

and prophetic traditions prove the glory of the companions will be addressed in chapters 81 and 82.

Chapter 37
The Prophet (ص) Barred Abū Bakr from Leading the Final Prayer

There are numerous Sunnī traditions showing that the Prophet (ص), despite the severity of his final illness, rose from his deathbed to remove Abū Bakr from the leadership of prayer. According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, ʿĀʾishah described the severity of the Prophet's (ص) final illness as follows:

> The Prophet became seriously ill and asked whether the people had prayed. We replied, "No, O Allāh's Apostle! They are waiting for you." He added, "Put water for me in a trough." We did so. He took a bath and tried to get up but fainted. When he recovered, he again asked whether the people had prayed. We said, "No, they are waiting for you, O Allāh's Apostle." He again said, "Put water in a trough for me." He sat down and took a bath and tried to get up but fainted again. Then he recovered and said, "Have the people prayed?" We replied, "No, they are waiting for you, O Allāh's Apostle." He said, "Put water for me in the trough." Then he sat down and washed himself and tried to get up but he fainted. When he recovered, he asked, "Have the people prayed?" We said, "No, they are waiting for you, O Allāh's Apostle!"[2413]

Despite the severity of his illness, when he found Abū Bakr as leading the prayer, he did everything he could to find one last ounce of strength to remove him from the miḥrāb[2414]. He fainted three times but still found the strength to make it to the front of the lines before the prayers were completed. According to ʿĀʾishah, the Prophet (ص) was so sick that he had to be helped around by two men, with his feet dragging on the floor:

> [He was] walking between two men with his feet dragging on the ground, between ʿAbbās ibn ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib and another man.[2415]

Of course, the other man carrying him was ʿAlī (ع), but ʿĀʾishah could not bear to mention his name. As related in Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, ʿUbayd Allāh said,

> I told ʿAbd Allāh [ibn ʿAbbās] of what ʿĀʾishah had said. ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās said to me, "Do you know who the other man whom ʿĀʾishah did not name is?" I said, "No." Ibn ʿAbbās said, "It was ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib."[2416]

[2413] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #1.11.655.

[2414] The miḥrāb is the location where the leader of prayer stands.

[2415] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.59.727.

[2416] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.59.727. Similarly, Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #1.11.655.

As such, despite his dire state of health, the Prophet (ص) was able to make it to the front of the mosque with the help of ʿAlī (ع) and ʿAbbās so that he could remove Abū Bakr from leadership of prayer. According to ʿĀʾishah,

> As the prayer began, the Messenger of Allāh felt some relief; he got up and moved supported by two persons and his feet dragged on earth [due to excessive weakness]... The Messenger of Allāh came and seated himself on the left side of Abū Bakr. The Messenger of Allāh was leading people in prayer sitting.[2417]

Abū Bakr continued to pray standing, and instead of leading the prayer, just made the Prophet's (ص) takbīrs audible to the people. This fact is highlighted in four accounts in Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim:

1. Jābir reported, "The Messenger of Allāh was ill and we said prayer behind him and he was sitting. And Abū Bakr was making audible to the people his takbīr."[2418]

2. Jābir said, "The Messenger of Allāh led the prayer and Abū Bakr was behind him. When the Messenger of Allāh recited the takbīr, Abū Bakr also recited [it] in order to make it audible to us."[2419]

3. Ibn Musʾhir said, "The Messenger of Allāh was brought until he was seated by [Abū Bakr's] side and the Apostle led the people in prayer and Abū Bakr was making his takbīrs audible to them."[2420]

4. ʿĪsā [said], "The Messenger of Allāh sat and led the people in prayer and Abū Bakr was by his side and he was making [the takbīrs] audible to the people."[2421]

It should be noted that ʿĀʾishah's statement that the Prophet (ص) was supported by two men and the assertion of Ibn ʿAbbās that ʿAlī (ع) was one of the two is significant because Sunnī scholars claim that ʿAlī (ع) had an obligation to pledge allegiance to Abū Bakr because the Prophet (ص) had ordered him to follow Abū Bakr in this prayer.[2422] Yet, it is absolutely clear that he never followed Abū Bakr in this prayer, but was rather with the Prophet (ص), tending to him and helping him depose Abū Bakr from leading that prayer.

The Accounts of the Companions

ʿĀʾishah's Accounts

Obviously it was rather troubling for Abū Bakr's supporters that when the Prophet (ص) found him to be the one leading prayers, he rose from his deathbed to stop him. ʿĀʾishah tried to cover up the event by presenting the story as follows:

[2417] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #4.837.
[2418] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #4.824.
[2419] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #4.825.
[2420] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #4.838.
[2421] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #4.838.
[2422] Al-Faṣl fī al-Milal wa al-Ahwāʾ wa al-Niḥal of Ibn Ḥazm 4:235.

> When the Messenger of Allāh was confined to bed, Bilāl came to him to summon him to prayer. [The Prophet] said, "Ask Abū Bakr to lead the people in prayer." [ʿĀʾishah] said, "Messenger of Allāh, Abū Bakr is a tenderhearted man, if he were to stand at your place he would not be able to make the people hear anything (i.e. his recitation would not be audible to the followers in prayer). You better order ʿUmar [to lead the prayer]."
>
> [The Prophet] said, "Ask Abū Bakr to lead people in prayer." [ʿĀʾishah] said, "I asked Ḥafṣah to [convey] my impression to [the Prophet] that Abū Bakr was a tenderhearted man, so when he would stand at his place, he would not be able to make the people hear anything. He better order ʿUmar." Ḥafṣah conveyed this to [the Prophet].
>
> The Messenger of Allāh said, "[You are behaving] as if you are the females who gathered around Joseph. Order Abū Bakr to lead the people in prayer." So Abū Bakr was ordered to lead the people in prayer. As the prayer began, the Messenger of Allāh felt some relief; he got up and moved, supported by two persons, and his feet dragged on earth [due to excessive weakness]. As he entered the mosque, Abū Bakr perceived his [arrival]. He was about to withdraw, but the Messenger of Allāh, by the gesture [of his hand], told him to keep standing at his place. The Messenger of Allāh came and seated himself on the left side of Abū Bakr. The Messenger of Allāh was leading people in prayer sitting. Abū Bakr was following the prayer of the Apostle in a standing posture and the people were following the prayer of Abū Bakr.[2423]

Indeed, there are several traditions according to which ʿĀʾishah claimed that the Prophet (ص) asked Abū Bakr to lead prayers during his final illness.[2424] Of note, similar traditions related from Ḥamzah ibn ʿAbd Allāh[2425] and Abū Mūsā[2426] in Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī are also explicitly based on ʿĀʾishah's account.

There are two obvious errors in her account. The first is the claim that the Prophet (ص) verbally asked Abū Bakr to lead the prayer. This is only related from ʿĀʾishah and no other account in Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī or Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim makes such a claim. If he did ask Abū Bakr to lead prayer, there would be no reason to change imāms mid-prayer, and there would be no need for the people to stop following Abū Bakr in mid-prayer if they had already started praying with him as their legitimate imām. The second is ʿĀʾishah's claim that the people were following the prayer of Abū Bakr. In fact, her own accounts expose the inaccuracy of this claim. According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, ʿĀʾishah said,

> Allāh's Apostle, during his illness, prayed at his house while sitting whereas some people prayed behind him standing. The Prophet beckoned them to sit down. On completion of the prayer, he said, "The imām is to be followed: bow when he bows, raise up your heads (i.e. stand erect) when he raises his head, and when he says, 'Samiʿ Allāhu liman ḥamidah (Allāh hears those who send praises to Him),' say then, 'Rabbanā wa laka al-ḥamd (O our Lord, all the praises are for You!),' and if he prays sitting, then pray sitting."[2427]

2423. Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #4.837.
2424. Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #1.11.633, #1.11.646-7, #1.11.651 #1.11.655, #1.11.680-1, #1.11.684, #5.59.727; Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #4.837, #4.839, #4.844.
2425. Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #1.11.650.
2426. Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #4.55.599.
2427. Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #1.11.656.

This tradition makes it clear that the Prophet (ص) was so upset by the fact that some people were following Abū Bakr by praying while standing instead of following him by praying while sitting that he chastised them on his last day. This is most explicit proof that even ʿĀʾishah did not believe that the Prophet (ص) considered Abū Bakr to be the imām of that congregational prayer, because if Abū Bakr were the imām then the Muslims should have stood and followed him. Therefore, her claim that Abū Bakr followed the Prophet (ص) and the people followed Abū Bakr is true to the extent that some people did follow Abū Bakr in standing, but the Prophet (ص) scolded them and told them that they were wrong to do so.

There is no clearer defamation of Abū Bakr than this event in which the Prophet (ص) mustered his last bit of strength to depose him from his position as leader of prayer. Yet, not surprisingly, some have tried to turn this not only into some sort of virtue for Abū Bakr but even a proof that he should be the caliph because he led this prayer. They argue by analogy that leadership of prayer is like leadership of the entire nation. Even if reasoning by analogy were allowed, this would be the weakest analogy imaginable, as any Muslim, regardless of how wicked or sinful, can lead prayer according to the Sunnīs. In fact, if Sunnīs can argue that his leadership of prayer was analogous to being caliph of the nation, then the reality is that the Prophet's (ص) deposing him from that prayer would be analogous to the Prophet (ص) deposing him from any right to lead the nation as its caliph. If Abū Bakr were not even fit for leading prayers and ought to have been deposed from it at all cost, there is no clearer proof that Abū Bakr was not fit for leading the nation. Moreover, if the Muslims were chastised for following Abū Bakr's prayer in the standing position, one can only imagine what grief will befall them for following him as the nation's leader.

Some even go as far as to claim that Abū Bakr was designated as the caliph by the Prophet (ص) when he was asked to lead this prayer. These individuals are rather ill-informed, because the entire concept of Sunnīsm is that the imām and caliph is not designated by the Prophet (ص) but rather selected by the nation at large, or more specifically those of influence therein (ahl al-ḥall wa al-ʿaqd). Moreover, it is clear that the Prophet (ص) did not appoint Abū Bakr for this prayer, except as claimed by ʿĀʾishah, who was trying to salvage her father's tarnished reputation vis-à-vis this embarrassing event. And it is completely clear, even by ʿĀʾishah's accounts, that Abū Bakr was deposed from leading this prayer.

In ʿĀʾishah's defense, it must be said that ʿĀʾishah was right about one thing—that her father taking up the Prophet's (ص) miḥrāb was a bad omen. She said in regards to her father leading that prayer, "I felt that anybody standing in [the Prophet's] place would be a bad omen to the people."[2428]

Anas ibn Mālik's Accounts

ʿĀʾishah's motive for her false accounts on this subject was to protect the honor of her father. Anas ibn Mālik transmitted a different story, but his motive was similar to his motive for denying the virtues of ʿAlī (ع), a motive that ended up afflicting him with leprosy, as was discussed earlier.[2429] In the first of his two accounts, he claimed that the Prophet (ص) was merely pleased to find Abū Bakr at his miḥrāb. In the second, he went even further to claim that the Prophet (ص) non-verbally selected Abū Bakr to lead the prayer.

[2428] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.59.727.

[2429] Refer to chapter 34.

1. Anas ibn Mālik reported [that] Abū Bakr led them in prayer due to the illness of the Messenger of Allāh from which be died. It was a Monday and they stood in rows for prayer. The Messenger of Allāh drew aside the curtain of [ʿĀʾishah's] apartment and looked at us while he was standing, and his face was [as bright] as the paper of the Holy Book. The Messenger of Allāh felt happy and smiled. And we were confounded with joy while in prayer due to the arrival [among our midst] of the Messenger of Allāh. Abū Bakr stepped back upon his heels to say prayer in a row perceiving that the Messenger of Allāh had come out for prayer. The Messenger of Allāh with the help of his hand signaled to them to complete their prayer. The Messenger of Allāh went back [to his apartment] and drew the curtain. The Messenger of Allāh breathed his last breath on that very day.[2430]

2. Anas reported: The Apostle of Allāh did not come to us for three days. When the prayer was about to start, Abū Bakr stepped forward [to lead the prayer], and the Apostle of Allāh lifted the curtain. When the face of the Apostle of Allāh became visible to us, we [found] that no sight was more endearing to us than the face of the Apostle of Allāh as it appeared to us. The Apostle of Allāh, with the gesture of his hand, directed Abū Bakr to step forward [and lead the prayer]. The Apostle of Allāh then drew the curtain, and we could not see him till he died.[2431]

It is interesting that he noted in the second tradition that the Prophet (ص) did not go to his companions for three days. These were the three days in which they were camped outside Madīnah in the army of Usāmah before defying the Prophet (ص) by returning to Madīnah, thereby invoking the curse of Allāh on themselves.[2432] On the final day, the Prophet (ص) found them back in Madīnah against his explicit orders and found Abū Bakr standing on his miḥrāb. According to Ibn Qutaybah, "Abū Bakr was not deposed from leading the prayers with people until it was the day on which the Prophet (ص) died."[2433] It is obvious why that would be—the Prophet (ص) was in Madīnah while Abū Bakr was leading their prayers in Jurf for the army led by Usāmah. As soon as he returned to Madīnah and the Prophet (ص) saw him leading prayers, he deposed him immediately.

What is even more interesting is the fact that Anas completely left out the part related by all the other companions, including even ʿĀʾishah, that the Prophet (ص) led this prayer at the end and not Abū Bakr. One can see that at least ʿĀʾishah related the event in a way that would at the very least have accounted for the obvious facts that were clear to everyone present—that the Prophet (ص) took over the leadership of the prayer from Abū Bakr.

Tabarī's Account from Ibn ʿAbbās and Ibn Abī al-Hadīd's Commentary

According to Ṭabarī,

> Arqam ibn Shuraḥbīl [said]: I asked Ibn ʿAbbās, "Did the Messenger of Allāh make a will?" "No," he replied. "How was that?" He replied: The Messenger of

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[2430] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #4.840-2. Similarly, Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #1.11.648-9.
[2431] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #4.843.
[2432] Refer to chapter 35.
[2433] Imāmah wa Sīyāsah 14.

> Allāh asked for ʹAlī but ʹĀʾishah said, "[I wish] you had asked for Abū Bakr!" Ḥafṣah said, "[I wish] you has asked for ʹUmar!" So all of them gathered before the Messenger of Allāh. He asked them to disperse, for he would call them if there should be any need, and they went away.[2434]

This makes it clear that the Prophet (ص) intended to leave a will, but that ʹĀʾishah and Ḥafṣah prevented him from doing so, bringing their fathers Abū Bakr and ʹUmar in to surround the Prophet (ص) to make sure that he could not do so. According to Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd,

> [According to the tradition in Ṭabarī], the Prophet (ص) intended to send a message to ʹAlī to come so he could give him his last will. ʹĀʾishah became envious of [ʹAlī] and asked for her father to appear, as did Ḥafṣah who also asked for her father to appear. [Abū Bakr and ʹUmar] appeared even though they were not asked to do so [by the Prophet (ص)]. Apparently, there is no doubt that their two daughters were the ones who called for them to appear. The word of the Prophet (ص) after they all gathered, "Go! If I need you, I will send for you," is a command that shows his dissatisfaction and inner anger at the presence of those two and shows that [his] wives were accused of calling them to appear. Where was this greed [towards advancing her father's cause] when she asked that [her father] be excused [from leading prayer]? This act of ʹĀʾishah is not compatible with the saying attributed to her requesting for her father to be excused from leading prayer because of his tenderhearted nature and her asking ʹUmar to take his place instead. This creates the impression that what the Shīʹah say—that Abū Bakr's leading prayer was according to ʹĀʾishah's order—is true. Of course, I do not believe this and am not saying this, but a close look at this tradition and its meaning would result in such a thought.
>
> ...And if you ask how one knows that ʹAlī was asked to appear to receive the Prophet's (ص) will and not for another task, I would say that the background for Ibn ʹAbbās' statement requires the making of a will to be the intention. Don't you see that Arqam ibn Shuraḥbīl, the narrator, said, "I asked Ibn ʹAbbās, 'Did the Messenger of Allāh make a will?' He said, 'No.' I asked him, How was that?' Ibn ʹAbbās said that during his final illness the Prophet said, 'Send for ʹAlī and call him to me.'" ...If Ibn ʹAbbās did not reach the conclusion from the Prophet's (ص) words that he wanted to give ʹAlī [his] will, there would be no reason for him to answer Arqam in this way.[2435]

The Prophet (ص) Deposed Abū Bakr from Leading Prayers Another Time as Well

Indeed, this was not the only time in which Abū Bakr was deposed from the leadership of prayers. When he went to the tribe of Banū ʹAmr ibn ʹAwf, Abū Bakr took advantage of the Prophet's (ص) short-lived absence to start leading prayers. Yet, the prayer ended, yet again, with Abū Bakr deposed from the miḥrāb by the Prophet (ص). Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī and Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim have related this as follows:

> Allāh's Apostle went to establish peace among the Banū ʹAmr ibn ʹAwf. In the meantime, the time of prayer was due and the muʾadhdhin (one reciting the call

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[2434] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 9:179.
[2435] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 13:33-35.

> to prayer) went to Abū Bakr and said, "Will you lead the prayer, so that I may pronounce the iqāmah (second call to stand for prayer)?" Abū Bakr replied in the affirmative and led the prayer. Allāh's Apostle came while the people were still praying and he entered the rows of the praying people until he stood in the [first row]. The people clapped their hands. Abū Bakr never glanced sideways in his prayer, but when the people continued clapping, Abū Bakr looked and saw Allāh's Apostle. Allāh's Apostle beckoned him to stay at his place. Abū Bakr raised his hands and thanked Allāh for that order of Allāh's Apostle and then he retreated till he reached the first row. Allāh's Apostle went forward and led the prayer.[2436]

The simple facts were as such: The Prophet (ص) saw Abū Bakr starting to lead prayers, so he made a gesture removing him from the miḥrāb, entered the miḥrāb, and took over as the leader of prayer. That the gesture meant for Abū Bakr to stay put is simply embellishment that achieves them very little. If that was the intention of the gesture, it would be a sin for Abū Bakr to move in mid-prayer against the orders of the Prophet (ص). This proves that it was, at the very least, undesirable for Abū Bakr to lead prayer. If he was disqualified from leading prayer, he was certainly disqualified from leading the nation as its caliph.

The reason Abū Bakr was not qualified to lead prayer is that, as the Shī'ah believe, the one leading prayers must be just ('ādil) and Abū Bakr was not. If he was not just enough to lead prayers, he certainly was not just enough to lead the nation. If the Sunnīs say that Abū Bakr was deposed mid-prayer because someone preferable for leadership of prayer appeared, and if they assert that leadership of prayer is analogous to leadership of the nation, then one who believes in reasoning by analogy (qīyās) would reach the conclusion that the leadership of the less preferable (tafḍīl al-mafḍūl) over the nation is impermissible.

If the Sunnīs claim that nothing can be concluded from the dismissal of Abū Bakr from the leadership of prayer because, according to their jurisprudence, anyone can lead prayers, then it becomes clear that his leading the prayer was devoid of value, so they cannot conclude that he ought to have led the nation because of his leadership of prayer, as anyone could lead prayer, including any sinful deviant. Indeed, it is the position of the Sunnīs that any sinful deviant can both lead prayers and lead the nation, so no virtue can be proved for Abū Bakr from this. According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, Zuhrī went as far as claiming that a homosexual can lead prayers if necessary.[2437] This tradition is so shameful that it has been left out in the English translation of Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī altogether,[2438] even though it is clearly present in the Arabic text.

The Prophet's (ص) Farewell Speech

In his last public speech, the Messenger of Allāh (ص) said:

> O people! I have been called [towards the hereafter] and I have accepted. I leave among you two weighty items—the Book of Allāh and my offspring, my Ahl al-Bayt, so that if you hold on to the two, you will not stray. The two will not separate until they come to me at the Fount [of Kawthar]. Learn from them but

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[2436] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #1.11.652, #2.22.309; Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #4.845-7.

[2437] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī Arabic original #663.

[2438] It should appear between Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #1.11.663 and #1.11.664.

> do not teach them, for they are more knowledgeable than you. The earth will not be empty of them; if it were to be empty of them, its inhabitants would be destroyed. O Allāh! You will not leave this earth empty of a proof (ḥujjah) upon your creation, so that Your proof would become nullified. And your devotees (walīs) will not be misguided after You have guided them. They are few in number but great in stature in [the eyes of] Allāh. Allāh, the oft-high, has called for knowledge and wisdom to be in my offspring and in the offspring of my offspring, and in my children and in the children of my children until the Day of Judgment. So accept my prayer.[2439]

Thus he instilled the need to follow the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) one last time before he left his life on this earth.

2439. Yanābī´ al-Mawaddah 1:74.

Chapter 38

The Prophet (ص) Died After ʿUmar Barred Him from Writing a Last Will

ʿUmar Barred the Prophet from Writing a Will, Calling Him Delirious

One specific event during the Prophet's (ص) final illness was the root cause of all differences and strayings within the Muslim nation till the Day of Judgment. Several companions were at the house of the Prophet (ص) when he ordered them to get some pen and paper so that he could dictate something that, when written, would prevent them from straying forever. According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, Ibn ʿAbbās said,

> When the ailment of the Prophet became worse, he said, "Bring for me paper and I will write for you a statement after which you will not go astray." But ʿUmar said, "The Prophet is seriously ill, and we have got Allāh's Book with us and that is sufficient for us." The companions of the Prophet differed about this matter and there was a hue and cry. On that the Prophet said to them, "Go away! It is not right that you should quarrel in front of me." Ibn ʿAbbās came out saying, "It was most unfortunate that Allāh's Apostle was prevented from writing that statement for them because of their disagreement and noise."[2440]

According to Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, before Ibn ʿAbbās recounted this he said, "Thursday! What is this Thursday!" and he "then wept so much that his tears moistened the pebbles."[2441] It is easy to understand why Ibn ʿAbbās would sob upon remembering that day, as few events are as upsetting as what happened then. It truly was a disaster for the Muslims that ʿUmar and his accomplices prevented the Prophet (ص) from writing a statement that would prevent the Muslim nation from going astray.

Analysis of the events clarify why ʿUmar would go as far as to claim that the Prophet (ص) was talking nonsense in order to prevent him from writing what he intended to write. The Prophet (ص) reiterated his oft-cited and undisputed tradition that he would leave two weighty items—the Book of Allāh and his Ahl al-Bayt (ع)—both at Ghadīr Khumm and during his last public speech, stressing that if the nation were to stick to the two, it would not stray. After making that clear, as his death became imminent, he dispatched all the men in Madīnah to fight the Byzantines, while keeping ʿAlī (ع) in Madīnah to take over matters upon his death without any of the other fighting men left in town to dispute his authority. Upon sending Abū Bakr and ʿUmar and their accomplices to war, the Prophet (ص) cursed anyone who would desert the army of Usāmah, making it clear that if they returned in defiance of his orders, they would be doing so in clear opposition to his orders. Yet, the companions did not go to battle as ordered, and remained camped outside Madīnah instead. When news of the Prophet's (ص) impending death reached them, they abandoned the army and returned to Madīnah. The Prophet (ص) found them back in his mosque, with Abū Bakr trying to lead them in congregational prayer. The Prophet (ص) regained enough consciousness and mustered enough strength to kick Abū Bakr off the miḥrāb of his mosque in mid-prayer. He then returned to his deathbed to find himself surrounded by a group of companions who had deserted the army and who were now hovering around him awaiting his death so that they could take control over Madīnah.

[2440] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #1.3.114. Also refer to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.59.716, #7.70.573; Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #13.4014-6.
[2441] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #13.4014.

The accounts differ somewhat as to whether the pen and paper incident occurred on Thursday, which would be four days prior to the death of the Prophet (ص), or on Monday, the last day of his life. If it occurred on Thursday, it shows that the Prophet (ص) ordered Usāmah and the companions out of Madīnah after ʹUmar had prevented him from writing his will, in an attempt to rid the city of the companions so that ʹAlī (ع) could take over by default. If it occurred on Monday, it shows that the Prophet (ص) asked for pen and paper after he realized that his attempt to rid Madīnah of the companions had failed, as they had reconverged on the city in an obvious coup d'état. The Prophet (ص) therefore tried to have a final declaration written, but was prevented from doing so by ʹUmar.

If the Prophet (ص) were to verbally express his final desire, those who had barred him from writing it would have denied it, and would have instead forged their own conflicting tradition, as they did numerous other times. So he asked for pen and paper so that he could write one final instruction, something so important that, if heeded, would prevent the nation from ever straying after his death. If it were in writing, it would be more difficult for anyone to dispute it. The Prophet (ص) was going to tell the Muslims in his last moments what he had told them many times before—that the only path to guidance was to stick to the Book of Allāh and his Ahl al-Bayt (ع), and that ʹAlī (ع) was his one and only designated successor (khalīf) and the mawlā the believers were to adopt upon his death.

ʹUmar and many of the others present were well-aware of what the Prophet (ص) was about to write. Upon hearing that the Prophet (ص) has asked for pen and paper so that he could tell them something that would prevent them from misguidance, ʹUmar created an uproar, saying that the Prophet (ص) was delirious and was talking nonsense. ʹUmar related the story as follows:

> We were with the Messenger of Allāh. There was a curtain between us and the women. The Messenger of Allāh said, "Wash me with seven containers of water [so that the cold water may reduce my high fever], then bring paper and ink so that I may write for you that with which you would never ever be misguided." The women said, "Act upon the Prophet's wish!" I said, "Shut up! You are the types of companions that press your eyes and cry when the Messenger gets sick, but when he gets better, you are squeezing his neck." The Messenger of Allāh replied, "They are better than you, [O ʹUmar]."[2442]

Other Accounts of this Incident

1. According to Ibn ʹAbbās: When Allāh's Apostle was on his deathbed in [his] house, there were some people [gathered around him], among whom was ʹUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb. The Prophet said, "Come, let me write for you a

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[2442] 2442. Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 2:243-244.

statement after which you will not go astray." ʿUmar said, "The Prophet is seriously ill and you have the Qurʾān, so the Book of Allāh is enough for us." The people present in the house differed and quarreled. Some said, "Go near so that the Prophet may write for you a statement after which you will not go astray," while the others said as ʿUmar said. When they caused a hue and cry before the Prophet, Allāh's Apostle said, "Go away!" Ibn ʿAbbās used to say, "It was very unfortunate that Allāh's Apostle was prevented from writing that statement for them because of their disagreement and noise."[2443]

2. Jābir said, "The Messenger of Allāh (ص), at the time of his death and in the last hours of his life asked for paper so that he could write in it for his nation a letter, by which neither would they be misguided, nor would they misguide others. There was much clamor and arguing in the house, and ʿUmar spoke. The Prophet (ص) dismissed him (rafaḍahu)."[2444]

3. Ibn ʿAbbās said: Thursday, and what a Thursday that was! The ailment of Allāh's Messenger became worse and he said, "Fetch me something so that I may write to you something after which you will never go astray." The people [present] differed in this matter, although it was not right to argue before a prophet. Some said, "What is wrong with him? He is delirious."[2445]

4. Ibn ʿAbbās said: The Messenger of Allāh (ص) said during his fatal illness, "Bring paper and ink so that I will write you a writing so that after [I write] it you would never be misguided." ʿUmar started talking, saying, "There are [all these cities such as] Madāʾin [in Persia] and Rome [that remaining unconquered]. The Messenger of Allāh will not die until we conquer them. And if he dies, we will await him the way the Children of Israel awaited Moses." Zaynab [bint Jaḥsh], the wife of the Prophet (ص), said, "Don't you hear that he wants to make a will?" Again clamor arose. [At this time, the Messenger of Allāh (ص)] said, "Get up [and leave]." Once they got up, the Messenger of Allāh (ص) left this world."[2446]

This pen and paper incident is so famous that there is absolutely no doubt among anyone in regards to it, and Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī and Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim have both related numerous traditions pertaining to this event. Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd said, "All the experts of tradition (muḥaddithīn) have consensus in regards to transmitting [this event]."[2447]

Of note, the final tradition is rather problematic, as ʿUmar said, "And if he dies, we will await him the way the Children of Israel awaited Moses." The way the Children of Israel awaited Moses (ع) was to abandon his religion and to instead follow the call of Sāmirī to worship the calf; when Aaron (ع) called them to remain loyal to the religion of Moses (ع), they oppressed him and conspired to kill him. As such, ʿUmar picked a very bad example for the nation, even though he did hold true to his promise, as he called the nation towards Abū Bakr and as he oppressed and conspired to kill the Prophet's Ahl al-Bayt (ع) whom he had appointed as his rightful successors.

Discussion

[2443] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #7.70.573.

[2444] Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 2:243.

[2445] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.59.716.

[2446] Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 2:244-245.

[2447] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 6:51.

It is clear that ʹUmar deliberately prevented the Prophet (ص) from writing what he was intending to write to prevent misguidance among Muslims until the Day of Judgment. Therefore, one can say that all misguidance among the Muslims from that day until now and in the future until the Day of Judgment is ʹUmar's fault because the Prophet (ص) said that if he did write it, his nation would never ever be misguided. There is no indication in these traditions that anyone other than ʹUmar prevented the bringing of pen and paper and no one but ʹUmar is recorded to have claimed that the Prophet (ص) was delusional or delirious. Of course, his friends who he brought along for support merely reiterated and supported his blasphemous claims. Amazingly, when Abū Bakr was making a final will and asked ʹUthmān to bring him pen and paper so that he could appoint ʹUmar as his successor, ʹUmar did not call him delirious even though he was so ill that he fainted in the midst of dictating his political will.[2448]

The reader may wonder why the Prophet (ص) did not verbally tell them what was on his mind anyways. Yet, one must realize that the Prophet (ص) had already been insulted and disrespected by ʹUmar. As any polite person would do, he remained quiet despite the clamoring and simply asked ʹUmar to leave. Moreover, ʹUmar's words were calculated and nullified anything that the Prophet (ص) would write or say. Had he repeated that ʹAlī (ع) was to be the khalīf after him, ʹUmar would have said, "The Prophet's words are worthless, as he said them while he was delirious. Suffices us the Book of Allāh!" The Prophet (ص) realized quite well that ʹUmar had destroyed the value of anything he would say and that if he spoke, he would only sow further discord in the nation.

ʹUmar's misguided actions are apparent in several ways:[2449]

1. He appended delusions and nonsensical talk to the Messenger of Allāh (ص) even though the Qur`ān clearly states, "Your companion has neither strayed not is he misguided. He does not speak from some whim; it is merely inspiration that is revealed to him."[2450]

2. ʹUmar used the ultimate level of disrespect in the way he handled the situation. When Allāh refers to the holy Prophet (ص) by saying, "Do not set the calling of the Prophet amongst yourselves like the way some of you call others,"[2451] and by ordering the believers, "Do not raise your voices above the voice of the Prophet, nor speak aloud to him in talk as you may speak aloud to one another, lest your deeds become nullified and you perceive not,"[2452] how could ʹUmar be so daring as to call the Prophet (ص) delirious and say that he was talking nonsense in front of his own face? In front of any respectable person, such behavior is considered the utmost of disrespect. In from of the Messenger of Allāh (ص) such behavior amounts to disbelief. Indeed, ʹUmar's tone of speech proved his hypocrisy, as the Qur`ān says, "You will recognize [the hypocrites] from the tone of their speech."[2453]

[2448]. Refer to chapter 53.

[2449]. Adapted from Ḥaqq al-Yaqīn 223-226.

[2450]. Qur`ān 53:2-4.

[2451]. Qur`ān 24:63.

[2452]. Qur`ān 49:2.

[2453]. Qur`ān 47:30.

3. The Qur`ān says in many places statements such as, "Obey Allāh and the Messenger."[2454] It also says, "Take what the Messenger gives you and keep away from what he forbids you,"[2455] as well as, "There is no decision for the believing men and women when Allāh and His Messenger decide a matter of theirs."[2456] These verses are all-encompassing and order the Muslims to obey the Prophet (ص) at all times. There is no verse that says that there is an exception to these verses or that we may disobey the Prophet (ص) when he is sick.

4. Writing a will is strongly recommended, if not mandatory, in Islām, and the Qur`ān orders the believers to leave a will when death approaches them.[2457] As such, the Prophet (ص) would not allow himself to die without fulfilling this obligation. Even if a menial laborer is dying and calls for a will to be written and someone bars him from doing so, the Muslims would renounce him for standing in the way of the will being written. If the person dying is the Messenger of Allāh (ص), barring him from leaving a will amounts to enmity with Allāh and His Messenger (ص).

5. Preventing the Prophet (ص) from writing what he wants to amounts to opposing him, and the Qur`ān says in this regards, "Whoever opposes the Messenger after guidance has been manifested unto him and who follows other than the believer's way, We appoint for him that unto which he himself has turned, and expose him unto hell, an evil refuge."[2458]

6. ʻUmar harassed the Prophet (ص) and angered him to the point that the Prophet (ص), despite his ultimate kindness and mercy, ordered him to leave. The Qur`ān says in this regards, "And for those who harass the Messenger of Allāh is a harsh torment,"[2459] and, "Those who harass Allāh and His Messenger—Allāh has cursed them in this world and in the hereafter and has prepared for them a disgracing torment."[2460]

7. By saying, "Suffices us the Book of Allāh," ʻUmar made several errors: (1) He claimed either the ignorance of the Messenger of Allāh (ص) or his foolishness, for he either did not know that the Book of Allāh was sufficient and needed to be taught that by ʻUmar, or knew that it was sufficient but erred. (2) All the verses from which matters of jurisprudence have been derived number at around five hundred, and they are general and inconclusive. Some say that the most concrete verse of the Qur`ān is the verse of wuḍū` (ablution),[2461] yet there are nearly one hundred quagmires in it. And if the Qur`ān was sufficient and ʻUmar was able to determine matters from it, how come he professed lack of knowledge and said, "Were it not for ʻAlī, ʻUmar would have perished,"[2462] and that, "Everyone knows more about Islāmic jurisprudence than ʻUmar, even house-bound women."[2463] (3) If the Qur`ān was sufficient, the Prophet (ص)

[2454] Qur`ān 3:32.
[2455] Qur`ān 59:7.
[2456] Qur`ān 33:36.
[2457] Qur`ān 2:181.
[2458] Qur`ān 4:115.
[2459] Qur`ān 9:61.
[2460] Qur`ān 33:57.
[2461] Qur`ān 5:6.
[2462] Refer to chapters 17 and 57.
[2463] Refer to chapter 57.

> would have not added the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) to the tradition of thaqalayan. Indeed, saying what ʿUmar said is the same as saying that since there are books of medicine, we need no doctors, for we can refer to them ourselves, even though not everyone has the ability to use the contents of such books. This is why the Qurʾān says, "And if they returned it to the Messenger and to the foremost in authority, those who derived matters from them would have known it."[2464] And the Qurʾān says that the true Book is what is held only by the true possessors of knowledge— "It is clear verses in the hearts of those who possess knowledge."[2465] (4) If the Qurʾān was sufficient, why didn't ʿUmar use the Qurʾān at the Saqīfah and instead admitted that he resorted to personal opinion and what he considered to be for the benefit of the community? And why was the Qurʾān not used when Abū Bakr selected ʿUmar as the caliph after him?

In addition, ʿUmar's claim that the Qurʾān is sufficient is simply false and against the words of the Prophet (ص), as he said, "Let me not find one of you reclining on his couch when he hears something regarding me that I have commanded or forbidden saying, 'We do not know; what we found in Allāh's Book we have followed.'"[2466] The Prophet (ص) was clearly warning about the likes of ʿUmar who would attempt to nullify his Sunnah by claiming that the Qurʾān was sufficient. Of course, the Qurʾān does contain knowledge of all matters, but the ability to access such knowledge belongs purely to the imām. As such, the Qurʾān is insufficient without an imām, which is why the Prophet (ص) left two weighty items—the Qurʾān and his Ahl al-Bayt (ع)—as they would together be sufficient for all matters till the Day of Judgment.

All of ʿUmar's Deeds were Erased on that Day

Allāh says, "O you who believe! Raise not your voices above the voice of the Prophet, nor speak aloud to him in talk as you may speak aloud to one another, lest your deeds become nullified and you perceive not."[2467] Clearly on that day ʿUmar's voice was raised over the voice of the Prophet (ص) and as a result any deeds he had performed during the Prophet's (ص) lifetime were rendered null and void. Indeed, this verse clarifies the fact that this nullification may go unnoticed by the individual. As such, according to the explicit words of the Qurʾān, ʿUmar and his supporters have not perceived this nullification, even though it did occur.

Fabrications in Regards to the Pen and Paper Incident

Since this incident is clear proof of Shīʿism, the supporters of ʿUmar have had no choice but to fabricate absurd accounts in order to confuse the matter. Ibn Kathīr, in his Sīrah, after rambling some sectarian rhetoric, claimed that the Prophet (ص) said, "Bring for me a scroll so I can write something down for Abū Bakr so that not a single person would dispute him."[2468] This account is obviously weak, otherwise fanatics such as Bukhārī and Muslim would have never overlooked such accounts. Moreover, the absurdity of the tradition is obvious for several reasons: (1) This tradition clearly states that Abū Bakr was designated by the Prophet (ص) as the khalīf, yet it goes against the Sunnī belief that the Prophet (ص) did not select a successor, but rather left it up to the nation to do so. If the Sunnīs admit that the Prophet (ص) selected a khalīf for himself, then the Sunnīs would be forced to evaluate the evidence regarding whom he selected, and they would clearly find that it was none other than ʻAlī (ع). (2) If the Prophet (ص) did want to designate Abū Bakr, ʻUmar would not have prevented him from putting it into writing. In fact, since ʻUmar was planning to make Abū Bakr the caliph upon the Prophet's (ص) death, he would have only yearned for such a writing to settle the matter. (3) Even if the Prophet (ص) was trying to select Abū Bakr, ʻUmar still sinned by not letting him write down his order that Abū Bakr would be his designated caliph, and therefore ʻUmar became the cause of the misguidance of all the Shīʻah of ʻAlī (ع) until the Day of Judgment. As such, ʻUmar is the cause of the straying of either all the Sunnīs or all the Shīʻah. Anyone who leads so many Muslims astray through his defiance of the Prophet's (ص) commands would not be fit to lead the nation, but rather fit to be reprimanded and for his errors to be renounced.

[2464] Qurʾān 4:83.
[2465] Qurʾān 29:49.
[2466] Sunan Abū Dāwūd #4605.
[2467] Qurʾān 49:2.
[2468] Sīrah Ibn Kathīr 4:452.

The Words of the Prophet (ص) to Fāṭimah (ع)

When his death became imminent, the Prophet (ص) told Fāṭimah (ع), "You will be the first of my family to join me."[2469] Ṣaḥiḥ Bukhārī has related from ʻĀʼishah that,

> The Prophet called Fāṭimah during his fatal illness and told her something secretly and she wept. Then he called her again and told her something secretly and she started laughing. When we asked her about that, she said, "The Prophet first told me secretly that he would expire in that disease in which he died, so I wept; then he told me secretly that I would be the first of his family to follow him, so I laughed."[2470]

According to a more detailed tradition in Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, ʻĀʼishah said,

> Once Fāṭimah came walking, and her gait resembled the gait of the Prophet. The Prophet said, "Welcome, my daughter!" Then he made her sit on his right or on his left side, and then he told her a secret and she started weeping. I asked her, "Why are you weeping?" He again told her a secret and she started laughing. I said, "I never saw happiness so close to sadness as I saw today." I asked her what the Prophet had told her. She said, "I would never disclose the secret of Allāh's Apostle." When the Prophet died, I asked her about it. She replied, "The Prophet said, 'Every year Gabriel used to recite the Qurʼān with me once only, but this year he has done so twice. I think this portends my death, and you will be the first of my family to follow me.' So I started weeping. Then he said, 'Don't you like to be the chief (sayyidah) of all the ladies of paradise or the mistress of all the lady believers?' So I laughed upon [hearing] that."[2471]

Some of the Final Interactions of the Prophet (ص) with His Wives

According to Haykal,

> In his last illness, when the Prophet was surrounded by his wives, Ṣafīyyah came forward and said, "O Prophet of Allāh, I surely wish that that from which you

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[2469] Jāmiʻ al-Ṣaghīr Suyūṭī #2832.

[2470] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.59.718. Similar accounts appear in Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #4.56.819, #4.56.820, #5.57.62; Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #31.6003-4; Musnad Ḥanbal #24527, #26074, #26457; Faḍāʼil Ḥanbal #1322; Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 2:247.

[2471] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #4.56.819. Similar accounts appear in Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #31.6005; Sunan Ibn Mājah #1621; Sunan Tirmidhī #3873; Musnad Ḥanbal #26456; Khaṣāʼiṣ Nasāʼī 117; Faḍāʼil Ḥanbal #1343; Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 2:247-8, 8:26-7; Iṣābah 4:2598 #11579 (Fāṭimah al-Zahrāʼ); Istīʻāb 4:449 #3491 (Fāṭimah bint Rasūl Allāh).

> suffer might be in me rather than in you." Muḥammad's wives winked at one another, and the Prophet, observing their reaction, said, "Go on and wink at one another! By Allāh, I know that Ṣafiyyah is truthful and loyal."[2472]

This shows that the other wives present not only would not give up their lives for the Prophet (ص), but that they could not even fathom someone else being willing to do so. According to Ibn Isḥāq,

> Then some of his wives gathered to him, Umm Salamah and Maymūnah and some of the wives of the Muslims, among them Asmā` bint ʹUmays while his uncle ʹAbbās was with him, and they agreed to force him to take the medicine. ʹAbbās said, "Let me force him," but they did it. When he recovered he asked who had treated him thus. When they told him it was his uncle he said, "This is a medicine which women have brought from that country," and he pointed in the direction of Abyssinia... "Let no one stop in the house until they have been forced to take this medicine, except my uncle." Maymūnah was forced to take it although she was fasting because of the Apostle's oath, as a punishment for what they had done to him."[2473]

Clearly, the wives of the Prophet (ص) gave him this "medicine" against his will. Such an assault on his holy body against his will shows their sheer disrespect for his wishes even on his deathbed. This account may also be referring to the allegation that the wives of the Prophet (ص), namely ʹĀ`ishah and Ḥafṣah, poisoned him. This allegation can be found in rare Shīʹah traditions, such as the following one related from Imām Jaʹfar al-Ṣādiq (ع) in Tafsīr ʹAyyāshī: "[The Prophet (ص)] was poisoned prior to his death. The two women had him drink it, so we say that the two of them and their fathers are the worst of Allāh's creation."[2474] However, according to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, ʹĀ`ishah asserted that he died of poison that had been fed to him at Khaybar:

> Narrated ʹĀ`ishah: The Prophet, in his ailment in which he died, used to say, "O ʹĀ`ishah! I still feel the pain caused by the food I ate at Khaybar, and at this time, I feel as if my aorta is being cut from that poison."[2475]

However, according to Abū Hurayrah's account, it appears that the Prophet (ص) did not eat from the roasted poisoned sheep that he had been presented at Khaybar, and instead asked, "Have you poisoned this sheep?" They replied, Yes." He asked, "What made you do so?" They replied, "We wanted to know if you were a liar, in which case we would get rid of you, and if you were a prophet, then the poison would not harm you."[2476]

Although ʹĀ`ishah asserted that the Prophet (ص) died of poisoning, it is difficult to accept her claim that he died of poison fed to him at Khaybar. Poisoning is either acute or chronic. In acute poisoning, the victim becomes immediately ill and then either recovers or dies soon thereafter if the exposure dose is sufficient. In chronic poisoning, continual exposure to the poison is required. The people of Khaybar would have had to lace the Prophet's (ص) food with an acute poison that would kill him after a single exposure. If he did not eat enough of their poisoned meal to die then, he would have at most gotten sick and then recovered as the toxic effects of the poison wore off. Though biologically implausible, if it were some poison that continually acted without being metabolized or excreted by his body, the Prophet (ص) would have had a steady decline in health from Khaybar onwards. Yet, he was totally healthy even a few years later, as in the year 9 A.H. he went to Tabūk on a physically challenging expedition, and just a few months before his death he went on a ḥajj pilgrimage to Mecca. As such, if he did die of poisoning, as ʿĀʾishah asserted, it appears implausible that it was due to poison given to him at Khaybar.

[2472] Haykal 374.
[2473] Sīrah Ibn Isḥāq 680.
[2474] Tasfīr ʹAyyāshī, sūrah 3, tradition #152, verse 3:144.
[2475] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.59.713.
[2476] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #4.53.394, #7.71.669.

The Last Person the Prophet (ص) Talked to was ʿAlī (ع)

Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā includes two sections regarding where the Prophet (ص) died. The first section is entitled, "The word of those who say that the Messenger of Allāh (ص) did not leave a will and that he died in the room of ʿĀʾishah."[2477] This section enumerates the claims of ʿĀʾishah that the Prophet (ص) did not leave ʿAlī (ع) a will and that he died in her room with his head resting on her. The subsequent section is entitled, "The word of those who say that the Messenger of Allāh (ص) died in the room of ʿAlī."[2478] This sections enumerates a number of traditions from various individuals clearly showing that the Prophet (ص) died in ʿAlī's (ع) room and with his head resting on him. Jābir ibn ʿAbd Allāh said,

> Kaʿb al-Aḥbār asked ʿUmar when we were seated with ʿUmar, "Who was the last person the Messenger of Allāh spoke to?" ʿUmar said, "Ask ʿAlī." He said, "Where is he?" He said, "He is over here." He asked ʿAlī and he replied, "I had him reclining on my chest with his head on my shoulder, and he said, 'Prayer! Prayer!'" Kaʿb said, "This (prayer) is the final covenant of the prophets; they prescribe it and were sent [by Allāh] to uphold it."[2479]

Indeed, Ibn ʿAbbās clearly called ʿĀʾishah and/or her nephew ʿUrwah ibn Zubayr who related the claim that the Prophet died resting on ʿĀʾishah a liar. Abū Ghaṭafān said,

> I asked Ibn ʿAbbās, "Did you see the Messenger of Allāh (ص) die with his head resting on someone?" He replied, "He died lying on ʿAlī's chest." I said, "ʿUrwah [ibn Zubayr] related to me from ʿĀʾishah that she said, 'The Messenger of Allāh died between my chest and my neck.'" Ibn ʿAbbās said, "By Allāh, he died and he was resting on ʿAlī's chest."[2480]

According to a tradition Ḥākim certified as authentic, Umm Salamah said,

> By the One Whom I swear to, ʿAlī was the closest of people to the Messenger of Allāh (ص). We used to visit the Messenger of Allāh (ص) every morning and [on his final morning] he continually asked, "Has ʿAlī come? Has ʿAlī come?" Fāṭimah said, "It seems like you sent him on some business." ʿAlī came after a while. I thought that he had some business with [ʿAlī], so we left the house and sat by the door. I was among the closest of them to the door. The Messenger of Allāh (ص) got close to him and talked to him and told him some secrets and

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[2477] Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 2:260-262.
[2478] Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 2:262-264.
[2479] Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 2:262-263.
[2480] Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 2:263.

> private matters. The Messenger of Allāh (ص) passed away on that day, so ʿAlī was the closest person [to him].2481

As is clear from this tradition, when the Prophet (ص) was dying, he called for ʿAlī (ع). This fact is reiterated by the following tradition related by Ibn Kathīr:

> The Messenger of Allāh (ص) said, "Call for me my brother!" Abū Bakr was called for him." [The Prophet (ص)] turned away from him and said, "Call for me my brother!" ʿUmar was called for him." [The Prophet (ص)] turned away from him and said, "Call for me my brother!" ʿUthmān was called for him." [The Prophet (ص)] turned away from him and said, "Call for me my brother!" ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib was brought to him and he covered him with his cloak and pulled [himself] up to him. When [ʿAlī] left his presence, he was asked, "What did he say?" [ʿAlī] replied, "He taught me a thousand doors [of knowledge], each door leading to a thousand [other] doors."2482

These traditions are clear that ʿAlī (ع) was the last person the Messenger of Allāh (ص) spoke to before he died. It is interesting that there are numerous traditions in Sunnī sources from ʿĀʾishah in which she claimed that the Prophet (ص) died with his head laying on her. Yet, suspiciously enough, ʿĀʾishah appears to be the only one to have narrated that. It makes complete sense that the Prophet's (ص) dying while whispering secrets into ʿAlī's (ع) ears pained ʿĀʾishah to no end, so she created such a story to make it appear that the Prophet (ص) was particularly fond of her. Indeed, we have seen her delete ʿAlī's (ع) name from the event she related in which ʿAlī (ع) helped carry the Prophet (ص) on his last day so that he could depose her father from the leadership of prayer.2483 So it would not be beyond her to try to cover up the fact that the Prophet (ص) died while whispering into ʿAlī's (ع) ears. Apparently, the inaccuracy of her claim became so apparent during her lifetime that she later had to recant it and tell the truth. According to Muḥibb Ṭabarī,

> ʿĀʾishah said: When death approached [the Prophet], he said, "Call my friend (ḥabībī) to me." So they called Abū Bakr. He took a look at him and then set his head [back down] and said, "Call my friend to me." So they called ʿUmar. He took a look at him and then set his head back down and said, "Call my friend to me." So they called ʿAlī. When he saw him, he had him come into the cloak he had on, and he did not stop holding him in his arms until he died with his hand [resting] on him.2484

The Death of the Prophet (ص) was by His Own Will

As is apparent from the following Sunnī traditions, prophets do not die without being given a choice. Rather, they die in accordance with their own will:

1. According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, ʿĀʾishah said, "I used to hear that no prophet dies without being given a choice between the world and the hereafter. I heard the Prophet in his fatal disease, with his voice becoming hoarse, reciting, 'In the company of those on whom is the grace of Allāh among the prophets, the

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2481. Mustadrak Ḥākim #4671 (certifies the tradition as authentic); Musnad Ḥanbal #26607; Faḍāʾil Ḥanbal #1171; Majmaʿ al-Zawāʾid #14662 (certifies those in the chain as trustworthy [thiqah]); Khaṣāʾiṣ Nasāʾī.

2482. Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:396.

2483. Refer to chapter 37.

2484. Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:141.

truthful, the witnesses, and the righteous, and what good friends they are.'[2485] Thereupon I thought that the Prophet had been given the option [of dying]."[2486]

2. The Prophet (ص) said, "A prophet never dies until he is shown his place in paradise and then is made alive and given a choice."[2487]
3. The Messenger of Allāh (ص) said, "There is no prophet except that once his soul is taken, he is shown his reward (thawāb) and is then returned to choose [between this life and the hereafter]."[2488]
4. The Prophet (ص) said, "There is no prophet who dies until he chooses [to do so]."[2489]

According to Shī'ah traditions, the imāms also die by their own will.[2490] However, some Wahhābīs denounce the belief that a person could die by his own decision and assert that such claims by the Shī'ah amount to disbelief (kufr). Yet, if this is possible for all the prophets, it is not clear why it is not possible for the imāms. In fact, the Sunnī scholar Muḥibb Ṭabarī has related the following tradition from Abū Dharr"

> The Prophet (ص) said: When I traveled by night [during the mi'rāj], I passed by an angel sitting on a bed made of light with one leg [of the bed] in the east and the other in the west. In front of him was a tablet that he was looking at... I said, "O Gabriel, who is this?" He said, "This is 'Izrā'īl (the angel of death), so go and greet him." I went to him and greeted him and he said, "Peace be upon you, O Aḥmad! What is your paternal uncle's son, 'Alī, doing?" I asked, "How do you know my paternal cousin's son, 'Alī?" He replied, "And how would I not know him when Allāh has put me in charge of taking the spirits of all of creation except for your spirit and the spirit of your paternal uncle's son, 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, as Allāh takes away the spirits of the two of you as He pleases."[2491]

This tradition shows that the mechanism for taking away the spirit of prophets and imāms is different than that by which the spirits of other living beings is taken. Indeed, some Shī'ah traditions state that the death of imāms, like that of prophets, is by their own will, and this tradition of Abū Dharr provides a clear corollary to that claim.

As such, the Messenger of Allāh (ص) left this world by his own choice after being disobeyed and openly insulted by a number his so-called "companions". He cast them away, spending his final moments with 'Alī (ع), giving him his final instructions on how to handle the difficult affairs that would come to pass after his death and passing onto him a thousand doors of knowledge, each of which led to another thousand doors.

[2485] Qur'ān 4:69.
[2486] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.59.719; Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 2:229.
[2487] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.59.721; Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 2:229.
[2488] Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 2:229.
[2489] Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 2:230. Similarly, Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 13:33.
[2490] For example, Uṣūl al-Kāfī #667, #671.
[2491] Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:121.

Chapter 39
´Umar Created Mass Confusion upon Prophet's (ص) Death

The Messenger of Allāh (ص) passed away, having been disobeyed by his companions, having been called delirious, and having been derided for talking nonsense.[2492] In the meanwhile, after being publicly humiliated by the Prophet (ص) for attempting to lead prayers in the Prophet's Mosque, Abū Bakr left for his house in the outskirts of Madīnah in an area called Sunḥ.[2493] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd said, "All the experts of history relate that when the Messenger of Allāh (ص) died, Abū Bakr was in his house in Sunḥ."[2494] Indeed, there is no mention of Abū Bakr during the pen and paper dispute because Abū Bakr was in Sunḥ. Accordingly, Ṭabarī said, "When the Messenger of Allāh died, Abū Bakr was not present, and he came after three [hours]."[2495]

Apparently, ´Umar had made plans for the death of the Prophet (ص), but was unsure how to carry them out in the absence of Abū Bakr. So he created chaos and confusion in order to occupy the companions until Abū Bakr would return. He came up with a brilliant strategy—denying that the Prophet (ص) had died. As long as there was confusion as to whether he was dead or not, the Muslims would not rush to pledge allegiance to ´Alī (ع). According to Ibn Sa´d, Ḥanbal, Ibn Kathīr, and others,

> ´Umar and Mughīrah ibn Shu´bah entered upon the body of the Prophet (ص) and took the cloth off from his face. ´Umar said, "What a deep coma the Messenger of Allāh has entered!" The two rose and as they were going to the door, Mughīrah said, "O ´Umar, by Allāh, the Messenger of Allāh has died" ´Umar said, "You lie! The Messenger of Allāh has not died. Rather, you are a man who stirs up trouble (fitnah)."[2496]

´Umar then went out into the streets and yelled, "Some of the hypocrites allege that the Messenger of Allāh is dead. By Allāh, he is not dead, but has gone to his Lord as Moses the son of ´Imrān went and remained hidden from his people for forty days. Moses returned after it was said that he had died. By Allāh, the Messenger of Allāh will return and will cut off the hands and feet of those who allege that he is dead."[2497] ´Umar also said, "No, by Allāh, he has not died but has been raised like Jesus the son of Mary was raised, and they will return."[2498]

[2492] Refer to chapter 38.

[2493] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.57.19. The fact that Abū Bakr lived in Sunḥ is also referred to in Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #2.23.333 and #5.59.733.

[2494] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 2:40.

[2495] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 9:185.

[2496] Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 2:267; Musnad Ḥanbal #25883; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 5:262; Kanz al-´Ummāl #18755. Similarly, Haykal 504.

[2497] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 9:184. Similarly, Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 1:178; Haykal 505.

[2498] Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 2:271.

Ibn Umm Maktūm recited for ʿUmar, "Muḥammad is but a messenger; there have indeed been messengers before him. Will it be that if he dies or is killed you will turn back on your heels? And he who turns back on his heels does not hurt Allāh."[2499,2500] Yet others came with further proof for ʿUmar of the Prophet's (ص) mortality. But their arguments had absolutely no effect.

ʿAbbās ibn ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib asked, "If anyone can recall a word from the Messenger of Allāh (ص) regarding [the impossibility of] his death, then he should tell us now?" They replied, "No." He said, "Is there anything you know, O ʿUmar, in regards to this?" He replied, "No." ʿAbbās said, "Bear witness that no one but a liar would testify that the Messenger of Allāh (ص) has said anything about [the impossibility of] his death to anyone. By Allāh, other than Whom is no god, the Messenger of Allāh (ص) has just tasted death."[2501] ʿAbbās added, "The Messenger of Allāh (ص) ages like people age. The Messenger of Allāh (ص) has just died, so bury your companion."[2502] Yet, ʿUmar, standing at the door of the room in which the Prophet's (ص) body lay, yelled out, "Do not bury him, for the Messenger of Allāh has not died!"[2503] Asmāʾ bint ʿUmays placed her hands between the Prophet's (ص) two shoulders and said, "The Messenger of Allāh (ص) has just died. The seal [of prophecy] has just been removed from between his shoulder blades."[2504]

Yet, "ʿUmar kept talking until the corners of his mouth foamed,"[2505] and he did not pass by anyone who said that the Prophet (ص) was dead without threatening to kill him by the sword "the way an apostate is killed," until Abū Bakr came.[2506] In the meanwhile, Sālim ibn ʿUbayd left to Sunḥ to inform Abū Bakr of the Prophet's (ص) death.[2507] Of note, some have believed that Sālim ibn ʿUbayd was the same person as Sālim mawlā Abī Ḥudhayfah.[2508]

Soon, Abū Bakr arrived and ʿUmar was instantly appeased. The moment ʿUmar saw Abū Bakr coming, he sat quietly.[2509] Abū Bakr recited the same verse that was recited to ʿUmar earlier, and ʿUmar immediately stopped his denial of the Prophet's (ص) death. ʿUmar said, "By Allāh, as soon as I heard Abū Bakr recite it, my legs betrayed me so that I fell to the ground, and my legs would not bear [to keep] me [standing]. I knew that the Messenger of Allāh had indeed died."[2510] ʿUmar also said, "By Allāh! It was as though the people did not know that this verse had been revealed until Abū Bakr recited it that day!"[2511] Yet, it is rather clear that the people knew this verse; it was only ʿUmar who was in denial of it.

Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī's Account of this Event

According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī,

2499. Qurʾān 3:144.
2500. Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #18775.
2501. Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 2:271-272; Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #18775.
2502. Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 2:267; Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #18773.
2503. Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 2:271.
2504. Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 2:272.
2505. Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 2:267; Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #18773.
2506. Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 1:178.
2507. Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 5:265.
2508. Iṣābah 1:679 #3053 (Sālim mawlā Abī Ḥudhayfah).
2509. Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #18775; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 5:263.
2510. Tārīkh Ṭabarī 9:185; Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #18736; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 2:40-41.
2511. Sīrah Ibn Hishām 1070; Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #18756; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 1:179.

> Allāh's Apostle died while Abū Bakr was at a place called Sunḥ. ʹUmar stood up and said, "By Allāh! Allāh's Apostle is not dead!" ʹUmar [later on] said, "By Allāh! Nothing came to my mind except that." He said, "Verily! Allāh will resurrect him and he will cut the hands and legs of some men." Then Abū Bakr came and uncovered the face of Allāh's Apostle, kissed him, and said, "Let my mother and father be sacrificed for you. You are good in life and in death. By Allāh in Whose hands my life is, Allāh will never make you taste death twice." Then he went out and said, "O oath-taker (i.e. ʹUmar)! Don't be hasty!" When Abū Bakr spoke, ʹUmar sat down. Abū Bakr praised and glorified Allāh and said, "No doubt! Whoever worshipped Muḥammad, then Muḥammad is dead, but whoever worshipped Allāh, then Allāh is alive and shall never die." Then he recited Allāh's statement, "[O Muḥammad!] Verily you will die, and they also will die."[2512] He also recited, "Muḥammad is no more than an apostle; and indeed many apostles have passed away before him. If he dies or is killed, will you then turn back on your heels? And he who turns back on his heels, not the least harm will he do to Allāh, and Allāh will reward those who are grateful."[2513] The people wept loudly.[2514]

Interpretation of Events

Some claim that ʹUmar had gone mad that day, but the following words of Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd appear closer to the truth:

> ʹUmar was of greater status than to believe what was expressed by him during this incident. However, when he discovered that the Messenger of Allāh (ص) had just died, he feared that some temptation would arise in regards to the imāmate and that the people, including the Anṣār and others, would turn to it.[2515]

Is it not odd that a man, who according to some scholars lost his mind at the death of the Prophet (ص), did not even attend the Prophet's (ص) funeral? Would it not have be appropriate for one who truly loved the Prophet (ص) to stay and help with his bathing and preparation for burial, or at the very least to attend his funeral? But instead of being present at these events, ʹUmar, along with his accomplices, rushed to the Saqīfah to bicker over the leadership of the nation.

Amazingly, during the Battle of Uḥud, ʹUmar had no problem accepting the rumor that the Messenger of Allāh (ص) had died and used it as an excuse to turn his back and flee from the battlefield.[2516] His words and actions at Uḥud clearly prove that ʹUmar knew that the Prophet (ص) was mortal and would die. As such, ʹUmar would routinely profess belief not in the truth, but in what would benefit him. When it benefited him for the Prophet (ص) to be dead, he claimed that the Prophet (ص) was dead, and when it benefited him for the Prophet (ص) to be alive, he claimed that he was alive. It did not matter to him whether or not he was blatantly wrong.

In any case, ʹUmar is proved unfit for the caliphate by this event. There are only two possibilities—(1) ʹUmar believed that the Prophet (ص) was not dead, or (2) ʹUmar believed that the Prophet (ص) was dead. In the first case, it proves ʿUmar's lack of knowledge of Islām and the Qurʾān. Moreover, he acted based on his lack of knowledge, despite being informed by several companions who recited to him from the Qurʾān. He even went further, promising to kill those who disagreed with his ignorance. Such a man cannot be the leader of the Muslim nation, because he is not only ignorant, but imposes his ignorance on others and quells critics by promising to kill them or to chop off their hands and feet. With such a caliph, the nation would be led astray, and that cannot be permissible. In the second case, it proves that he was willing to knowingly append a lie on the Prophet (ص) and to threaten to kill anyone who dared to speak the truth. Any person who knowingly and willingly leads the nation astray and who appends lies to the Prophet (ص) and who threatens those who speak the truth is the enemy of Islām, not its leader.

[2512] Qur`ān 39:30.
[2513] Qur`ān 3:144.
[2514] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.57.19. Similarly, Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #2.23.333.
[2515] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 2:42-3.
[2516] Refer to chapter 11.

ʿUmar Became the First to Reason by Analogy (Qīyās)

As discussed earlier, ʿUmar said, "By Allāh, he is not dead, but has gone to his Lord as Moses the son of ʿImrān went and remained hidden from his people for forty days."[2517] By saying this, ʿUmar became the first of many in the Muslim nation to reason by analogy (qīyās). While Abū Ḥanīfah used qīyās extensively in inventing new religious laws for his followers, some of the subsequent Sunnī experts of jurisprudence have renounced or strictly limited this type of reasoning. The problem with reasoning by analogy is that analogies are easy to come by and they can easily lead one astray. In fact, the first to reason by analogy was Satan. According to the Qurʾān, "[Allāh] said [to Satan], 'What prevented you from prostrating when I commanded you [to do so]?' [Satan] replied, 'I am better than [Adam, for] You created me from fire and him from clay.'"[2518] By invoking the superiority of fire over clay, Satan claimed that he was superior to Adam (ع). Yet, the analogy did not hold, because Adam (ع), as a prophet of Allāh, was imbued with knowledge and virtues that would have otherwise been unimaginable for an object made of clay to be imbued with. It is therefore clear that reasoning by analogy is how Satan was led astray, and this type of reasoning therefore is the source of all sin. In fact, reasoning by analogy is one form of *ẓann*, or conjecture, and the Qurʾān says in this regards, "If you obey the majority of those on earth, they will lead you away from the way of Allāh. They follow nothing but conjecture (ẓann)."[2519] The Qurʾān also says, "Verily conjecture (ẓann) does not take the place of the truth at all."[2520]

ʿUmar used reasoning by analogy to support his erroneous claim that the Prophet (ص) was still alive. In fact, he so adamantly insisted on the truthfulness of his false conjecture that he went as far as to threaten to kill anyone who would dispute him in that regards. Thus, ʿUmar became the first in the nation to reason based on analogies, the first in the nation to err in doing so, the first in the nation to denounce those who disagreed with their erroneous conjectures, and the first in the nation to threaten to kill those who disagreed with their conjectures based on erroneous analogies.

Occultation (Ghaybah) and Return (Rajʿah)

Two concepts that ʿUmar cited in this event were the concepts of ghaybah and rajʿah. Ghaybah, which means absence, is commonly referred to in English as occultation. What

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2517. Tārīkh Ṭabarī 9:184. Similarly, Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 1:178; Haykal 505.

2518. Qurʾān 7:12. Similarly, Qurʾān 38:76.

2519. Qurʾān 6:116. The use of conjecture is also condemned in verses 6:148, 10:36, 10:66, and several other verses.

2520. Qurʾān 10:36.

it refers to is the state of being physically present on earth while being absent from sight in the sense that the individual would be withdrawn from public life to the point that he would either not be seen or would not be recognized during the period of absence. ʹUmar referred to the temporary absence of Moses (ع) in these terms. The second concept he cited was that of rajʹah, which means return, and refers to return after death. The reference of ʹUmar to Jesus (ع) falls within the concept of rajʹah, as Jesus (ع) died according to the Qurʹān (see below) and will return after his death.

It is clear that the concepts of ghaybah and rajʹah were in existence from early Islām, as ʹUmar invoked those concepts upon the death of the Prophet (ص). Subsequently, these concepts surfaced again and again upon the death of various individuals with a following. The Twelver Shīʹah maintain that the twelfth imām is in ghaybah, and it is a commonly held view among the Twelver Shīʹah that the Prophet (ص) and other imāms will return in the form of rajʹah, as will Jesus (ع).

Sunnīs have not fully expounded their views on these concepts, although there are many allusions to these in the Sunnī literature. Examples include the ghaybah of Khaḍir (ع), the ghaybah of Dajjāl (Antichrist) since before the time of the Prophet (ص) until the ends of time according to Sunnī traditions, the ghaybah of Gog and Magog (Yaʹjūj wa Maʹjūj), etc. Sunnīs also often maintain that Jesus (ع) has not died, but is also in ghaybah. Another Qurʹānic example is the ghaybah of Joseph (ع) from his father Jacob (ع) for many years. Even though Joseph (ع) was physically present, his father, who was a prophet, had no idea where he was. As such, for Muslims to demand knowledge of the physical location of one whom Allāh has kept alive but hidden is sheer arrogance, as even Allāh's prophet did not know the location of his own son.

The Rajʹah of Jesus (ع)

Although Sunnīs commonly believe that Jesus (ع) is still alive and will return after a period of occultation (ghaybah), this is not correct because the Qurʹān clearly states, "Allāh said, O Jesus, I will take your life (mutawaffīka) and raise you unto Me."[2521] The word mutawaffīka literally means, "I will make you die," and comes from the same root as the word for death (w-f-y). Therefore, the return of Jesus (ع) is a return after death, or rajʹah.

The Ghaybah of Khaḍir (ع)

Khaḍir (ع) is claimed to be the longest-living man.[2522] The time of birth of Khaḍir (ع) is disputed, and Ibn Ḥajar had cited ten different opinions regarding his lineage and birth.[2523] Among the many claims are that he was the son of Adam (ع)[2524] or the son of Cain (Qābīl), and hence the grandson of Adam (ع).[2525] It is widely accepted that Khaḍir (ع) was alive at the time of Moses (ع) and that this is referred to in the Qurʹān.[2526] There are numerous Sunnī accounts showing that Khaḍir (ع) remained alive but in occultation through the lifetime of the Prophet (ص) and that he will continue to live until the ends of time. Ibn Ḥajar included Khaḍir (ع) among the companions of the Prophet

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[2521] Qurʹān 3:55.
[2522] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 1:380.
[2523] Iṣābah 1:489 #2272 (Khaḍir).
[2524] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 1:380; Tārīkh Damishq 16:400.
[2525] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 1:380.
[2526] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #1.3.74, #1.3.78, #1.3.123, #3.50.888, #4.55.612, #4.55.613, #6.60.250, #9.93.570; Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #30.5864-7. The verses in the Qurʹān referring to Khaḍir are 18:65-82.

(ص), and his work al-Iṣābah fī Tamyīz al-Ṣaḥābah includes a detailed discussion of the life of Khaḍir (ع) before, during, and after the life of the Prophet (ص).[2527] Indeed, it is commonly believed that Khaḍir (ع) remained alive after the Prophet (ص), and the caliph ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz even claimed to have spoken to him.[2528] According to Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, he will remain alive until the end of time and, "The Dajjāl (Antichrist) would then make an attempt to kill him but he would not be able to do so."[2529] The fact that Khaḍir (ع) is alive today as he was during the lifetime of the Prophet (ص) but keeps his location secret is a clear example of ghaybah.

ʿAlī (ع) Rejected the Pledge of Allegiance of ʿAbbās

After ʿUmar finally conceded that the Prophet (ص) had died, a handful of the Prophet's (ص) family and close companions got busy tending to his funeral preparations. In the meanwhile, a group of those greedy for power used this opportunity to gather at a place known as the Saqīfah (roofed enclosure) of the Banū Sāʿidah, abandoning the Prophet's (ص) body to bicker over power. At that time, the Prophet's (ص) uncle ʿAbbās ibn ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib offered ʿAlī (ع) his pledge of allegiance, but ʿAlī (ع) refused. ʿAbbās told him, "Stretch out your hand so that I pledge allegiance to you and the people will also pledge allegiance [to you]."[2530] According to another account, he told ʿAlī (ع), "Stretch out your hand, so that I pledge allegiance to you. The people will say that the uncle of the Messenger of Allāh (ص) pledged allegiance to the son of the uncle of the Messenger of Allāh (ص) and no two would dispute you."[2531] According to a more detailed account,

> When the Messenger of Allāh (ص) died, ʿAbbās said, "O ʿAlī, stand so that those present [here] and I may pledge allegiance to you. When this happens, the caliphate will be in our hands and nothing similar to it would happen (i.e. pledging allegiance to anyone else)." ʿAlī said, "And is there someone who would seek this [caliphate] other than us?" ʿAbbās said, "I believe, by Allāh, that they do exist!" When Abū Bakr was selected and they returned from the mosque, ʿAlī heard the takbīr and asked, "What is this?" ʿAbbās said, "This is what I invited you to but you refused!" ʿAlī said, "Has this truly happened?!" ʿAbbās said, "An opportunity like this will never return."[2532]

The main reason why ʿAlī (ع) refused the pledge of allegiance of ʿAbbās was because ʿAbbās was proposing an illegitimate method for the selection of a caliph. ʿAlī (ع) clearly denounced the position that an imām could be selected by a pledge of allegiance rather than by designation. The imāmate was something that Allāh and His Messenger (ص) bestowed upon ʿAlī (ع) and not something he would or could attain by arguing with others over power. Apparently, ʿAlī (ع) was surprised by the audacity of those who plotted to take away his definite right to political leadership. His surprise shows just outrageous the acts of Saʿd ibn ʿUbādah, Abū Bakr, ʿUmar and their accomplices were. Furthermore, ʿAlī (ع) was opposed to a pledge of allegiance being made in private or behind closed doors, where the legitimacy of the pledge cannot be openly challenged.[2533]

The Candidates for the Caliphate

[2527] Iṣābah 1:489-513 #2272 (Khaḍir).
[2528] Tadhkirah al-Huffāẓ #104 (ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz).
[2529] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #41.7017.
[2530] Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 2:246.
[2531] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 1:160-1.
[2532] Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 2:246-247. Similarly, Imāmah wa Sīyāsah 15.
[2533] Refer to chapter 78.

Before discussing the events of the Saqīfah leading to the selection of Abū Bakr as caliph, it is worthwhile to present the three candidates who were nominated for the caliphate: Sa´d ibn ´Ubādah, Abū Bakr ibn Abī Quḥāfah, and ´Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib (ع).

Sa´d ibn ´Ubādah

The Anṣār gathered in the Saqīfah of the Banū Sā´idah to select Sa´d ibn ´Ubādah, the chief of the Khazraj, as the caliph. It was unlikely, however, for Sa´d to actually become caliph because on the one hand the Muhājirīn would not have consented to having a caliph from other than the Quraysh, and on the other hand the Aws would have been reluctant to see him as their caliph, as the two tribes of Aws and Khazraj had a long history of mutual hostility before Islām and had continued friction and enmity even long after accepting Islām. Traditional Arab tribal prejudice would have simply not allowed the Aws to accept Sa´d ibn ´Ubādah, the leader of the Khazraj, to become caliph.

Abū Bakr

Abū Bakr was the one who actually ended up becoming caliph. He was one of the Muhājirīn, and was nominated by ´Umar and supported by most of the Emigrants, with the exception of those who were most closely related to ´Alī (ع) by blood ties or by religious devotion. Abū Bakr had no particular claim to the caliphate, so he used the claim of kinship with the Prophet (ص) to unseat the Anṣār, even though he was very distantly related to the Prophet (ص) and his claim amounted to nothing more than being a member of the Quraysh. Yet, when ´Alī (ع) used the same claim of kinship, Abū Bakr ignored his claim.[2534]

´Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib (ع)

While the Muhājirīn and Anṣār were busy clamoring over the caliphate, ´Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib (ع) was preparing the Prophet's (ص) for burial. As we have seen, the Prophet (ص) had introduced ´Alī (ع) as the imām after him over and over again, both privately and publicly, from his introduction of ´Alī (ع) to his family as the khalīf after him at the onset of the prophetic mission[2535] to his crowning of ´Alī (ع) at Ghadīr Khumm.[2536] Yet, these facts were no deterrent for those eager to seize power, as they would gladly step on both of the weighty items the Prophet (ص) had left his nation—the Qur`ān and the Ahl al-Bayt—in order to achieve their worldly aims.

[2534] Refer to chapter 46.
[2535] Refer to chapter 2.
[2536] Refer to chapter 34.

Chapter 40
The Selection of Abū Bakr as Caliph at the Saqīfah

Summary of the Historical Events at the Saqīfah

In this chapter, a brief historical account of the Saqīfah will be presented and discussed. According to ʹUmar, "The Anṣār were assembled with Saʹd ibn ʹUbādah (the leader of the Khazraj) in the Saqīfah of the Banū Sāʹidah."[2537] Abū Bakr and ʹUmar proceeded to the Saqīfah, taking along with them Abū ʹUbaydah ibn al-Jarrāḥ,[2538] while "ʹAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib was working busily preparing the Apostle [for burial]."[2539] At first, Abū Bakr, ʹUmar, and Abū ʹUbaydah were told by the Anṣār, "Go back, for it will not be as you wish," but they refused.[2540] The Anṣār cited their qualities and then said, "There should be one ruler (amīr) from us and one from you."[2541] ʹUmar said, "When I saw that they wanted to cut us off from our roots and wrest authority from us, I wanted to make a speech which I had composed in my mind. As I used to treat Abū Bakr with gentle courtesy to some extent, [and considered] him more sober and gentler than me, I conferred with him about [the speech]."[2542] Abū Bakr then declared, "O men of the Anṣār, you deserve all the fine qualities that you have mentioned about yourselves, but the Arabs will not recognize this authority except in this clan of Quraysh, for they represent the best in lineage and standing."[2543] He further explained, "The Quraysh is closer to Muḥammad than you,"[2544] and stated that "They are the most deserving of people [to the caliphate], so do not envy them."[2545] He then added, "I am pleased [to offer] you one of these two men (ʹUmar and Abū ʹUbaydah ibn al-Jarrāḥ); render your oath of allegiance to any one of them that you like."[2546] According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī,

> ʹUmar wanted to speak but Abū Bakr stopped him. ʹUmar later on used to say: By Allāh, I intended only to say something that appealed to me as I was afraid that Abū Bakr would not speak so well. Then Abū Bakr spoke and his speech was very eloquent. He said in his statement, "We are the rulers and you [Anṣār] are the ministers." Ḥubāb ibn Mundhir said, "No, by Allāh we won't accept this. Rather, there must be a ruler from us and a ruler from you."[2547]

[2537] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.57.19.
[2538] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.57.19; Tārīkh Ṭabarī 9:186, 10:3.
[2539] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 10:3.
[2540] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 10:4.
[2541] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.57.19.
[2542] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 9:193. Similarly, Sīrah Ibn Isḥāq 685-686.
[2543] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 9:193.
[2544] Tārīkh Yaʹqūbī 2:123.
[2545] Imāmah wa Sīyāsah 16.
[2546] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 9:193; Imāmah wa Sīyāsah 16; Haykal 509.
[2547] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.57.19.

ʹUmar replied, "No way! Two swords will not fit into one sheath. By Allāh! The Arabs will not consent to you holding power when the Prophet is from [a tribe] other than you. Rather, the Arabs will not allow anyone to hold power except for those among whom prophecy was held."[2548] Similarly, Abū Bakr said, "No, we will be the rulers and you will be the ministers, for they (i.e. the Quraysh) are the best family amongst the Arabs and of the best origin. So you should elect either ʹUmar or Abū ʹUbaydah ibn al-Jarrāḥ as your ruler."[2549] ʹUmar then told Abū ʹUbaydah, "Put forth your hand so that I may pledge allegiance to you." He replied, "You want to pledge allegiance to me even though [Abū Bakr] al-Ṣiddīq who is the second of the two [who were present in the cave during the emigration] is [present] among you?!"[2550] ʹUmar and Abū ʹUbaydah then told Abū Bakr, "We will never take precedence over you!"[2551] or, according to the account in Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, "No but we elect you."[2552]

Another member of the Quraysh, ʹAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʹAwf argued, "O Anṣār! Even though you have shown your superiority in Islām, there is no one like Abū Bakr, ʹUmar, or ʹAlī among you." Mundhir ibn Arqam replied, "We do not deny the good qualities of those whom you have just mentioned. But among them there is one, who if he were to seek this matter, not one would dispute," referring to ʹAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib.[2553]

ʹUmar then cut in the middle of the arguments, and according to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, "took Abū Bakr's hand and gave the pledge of allegiance."[2554] He later claimed that he had feared total disagreement so he said to Abū Bakr, "Stretch out your hand [so that] I may give you the oath of allegiance."[2555] He then gave Abū Bakr his pledge of allegiance and thereby the new caliph was selected.

Others Pledged Allegiance, and ʹUmar Attacked Saʹd ibn ʹUbādah Because He Refused to Pledge Allegiance to Abū Bakr

When Abū Bakr stretched his hand to accept pledges of allegiance, Bashīr ibn Saʹd al-Khazrajī pledged allegiance as well. Ḥubāb ibn Mundhir said, "O Bashīr, you completely cut yourself off from your family (i.e. the Anṣār)! By Allāh, you did not do this except out of jealousy towards your uncle's son (Saʹd ibn ʹUbādah)."[2556] According to Ibn Qutaybah, Bashīr's pledge of allegiance to Abū Bakr was due solely to the fact that he had personal envy towards Saʹd ibn ʹUbādah, as he was also among the leaders of the Khazraj.[2557] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd said, "When the Aws saw that a leader of the Khazraj (Bashīr ibn Saʹd) had pledged allegiance [to Abū Bakr], Usayd ibn Ḥuḍayr, who was a leader of the Aws, stood and pledged allegiance out of jealousy towards Saʹd as well."[2558] He also said, "That which has been proved to me is that the first who pledged allegiance to him was ʹUmar, then Bashīr ibn Saʹd, then Usayd ibn Ḥuḍayr, then Abū ʹUbaydah ibn al-Jarrāḥ, and then Sālim mawlā Abī Ḥudhayfah."[2559] Thus the new caliph was selected by the decision of five individuals motivated by either self-interest or envy, without any divine or prophetic mandate, and without any consultation with the Muslim nation at large.

[2548] Imāmah wa Sīyāsah 18.
[2549] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.57.19.
[2550] Tārīkh al-Khulafāʹ 65.
[2551] Tārīkh Yaʹqūbī 2:123.
[2552] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.57.19.
[2553] Tārīkh Yaʹqūbī 2:123.
[2554] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.57.19.
[2555] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 9:194.
[2556] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 6:10.
[2557] Imāmah wa Sīyāsah 18.
[2558] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 6:10.
[2559] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 6:18.

The rest of the Anṣār were very upset at the strategy ʿUmar had employed to appoint Abū Bakr as the caliph and thus refused to pledge allegiance. Great fighting broke out, and in the middle of the chaos caused by giving the pledge to Abū Bakr, Saʿd ibn ʿUbādah, who had earlier been nominated as the caliph by the Anṣār, was nearly killed. Someone yelled out that Saʿd had been killed. ʿUmar said, "May Allāh kill him!"[2560] This event is described by Tārīkh Ṭabarī as follows:

> People approached from all sides swearing allegiance to Abū Bakr and they almost stepped over Saʿd ibn ʿUbādah. Some of Saʿd's associates said, "Be careful not to step on Saʿd." At this ʿUmar said, "Kill him; may Allāh slay him!" Then he stepped on his head, saying, "I intend to tread upon you until your arm is dislocated." At this, Saʿd took hold of ʿUmar's beard and said, "By Allāh, if you remove a single hair from it you'll return with no front teeth in your mouth." Then Abū Bakr said, "Take it easy, ʿUmar; compassion would be more effective at this point." So ʿUmar turned away from him. Saʿd said, "By Allāh, if I had the strength to get up (i.e. if I was not sick), you would have heard from me in the regions and streets [of Madīnah], roaring in a way that would make you and your companions take cover; by Allāh, I shall join to you a group among whom you would be a follower, not a leader. Now carry me from this place."[2561]

In this way, the people at the Saqīfah, who were no more than a handful, chose the successor of the Messenger of Allāh (ص), and decided upon the fate of the Muslim community without asking for either the opinion of other Muslims or searching in the Book of Allāh and the Sunnah of the Prophet (ص) for guidance in this matter. Indeed, they abandoned both weighty items—the Book of Allāh and the Ahl al-Bayt of the Prophet (ص)—on that day. They also abandoned the consensus of the nation, as those present did not agree, and ʿUmar even wanted to kill Saʿd ibn ʿUbādah to quell the dissent.

Indeed, the arrogance of ʿUmar in pledging allegiance to Abū Bakr despite the ongoing debate is truly astonishing. Instead of discussing the matter and coming up with the right course of action, he forced his opinion by pledging allegiance to Abū Bakr despite the clear disagreements that were being actively voiced at the Saqīfah. Doesn't the Qurʾān say that it has been sent "to judge between the people on matters regarding which they disagree"?[2562] Doesn't the Qurʾān say, "And we have not sent the Book for you, except to clarify what they disagree in, and to be a guide and mercy for those who believe."[2563] Indeed all disagreement is caused by sin: "And they have not disagreed therein except after clear signs have come for them due to transgression amongst them."[2564] The Qurʾān similarly says, "And those to whom the Book was given did not disagree until after knowledge was given to them due to transgression amongst them."[2565] Since ʿUmar was the one saying earlier that day that the Book of Allāh was sufficient so that he could quiet the Prophet (ص) when he was asking for pen and paper,[2566] how come he did not leave the issue of the caliphate up to the Book of Allāh? Instead, he usurped the right of Allāh and His Prophet (ص) to select a caliph. At the very least, he usurped the rights of every other Muslim, as he took away their rights to freely choose a caliph on that day. Indeed, there is no possible rational explanation for why ʿUmar had any more right to select a caliph on that day than any other Muslim.

[2560] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 9:194; Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.57.19; Sīrah Ibn Isḥāq 686; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 5:267.

[2561] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 10:8-9. Saʿd's statements similarly appear in Imāmah wa Siyāsah 20.

[2562] Qurʾān 2:213.

[2563] Qurʾān 16:64.

[2564] Qurʾān 45:17.

[2565] Qurʾān 3:19.

[2566] Refer to chapter 38.

Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī's Account of the Saqīfah

According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, ʿUmar said,

> And no doubt after the death of the Prophet we were informed that the Anṣār disagreed with us and gathered in the shed of the Banū Sāʿidah. ʿAlī and Zubayr and whoever was with them opposed us, while the Emigrants gathered with Abū Bakr. I said to Abū Bakr, "Let's go to these Anṣārī brothers of ours." So we set out seeking them, and when we approached them, two pious men of theirs met us and informed us of the final decision of the Anṣār, saying, "O group of Muhājirīn (Emigrants)! Where are you going?" We replied, "We are going to these Anṣārī brothers of ours." They said to us, "You shouldn't go near them. Carry out whatever we have already decided." I said, "By Allāh, we will go to them." And so we proceeded until we reached them at the shed of the Banū Sāʿidah.
>
> Behold! There was a man sitting amongst them [who was] wrapped in something. I asked, "Who is that man?" They said, "He is Saʿd ibn ʿUbādah." I asked, "What is wrong with him?" They said, "He is sick." After we sat for a while, the Anṣār's speaker said, "None has the right to be worshipped but Allāh," and [after] praising Allāh as He deserved [to be praised], he added, "To proceed, we are Allāh's Anṣār (helpers) and the majority of the Muslim army, while you, the Emigrants, are a small group; yet some people among you have come with the intention of preventing us from practicing this matter (the caliphate) and [with the intention of] depriving us of it."
>
> When the speaker had finished, I intended to speak, as I had prepared a speech which I liked and which I wanted to deliver in the presence of Abū Bakr, and I used to avoid provoking him. So, when I wanted to speak, Abū Bakr said, "Wait a while." I disliked to make him angry. So Abū Bakr himself gave a speech, and he was wiser and more patient than I. By Allāh, he never missed a sentence that I liked in my own prepared speech, but he said the like of it or better than it spontaneously. After a pause, he said, "O Anṣār! You deserve all [the qualities] that you have attributed to yourselves, but this question [of the caliphate] is only for the Quraysh, as they are the best of the Arabs in regards to descent and home, and I am pleased to suggest that you choose either of these two men (ʿUmar or Abū ʿUbaydah), so give the oath of allegiance to either of them as you wish." And then Abū Bakr held my hand and Abū ʿUbaydah ibn ʿAbd Allāh's (i.e. Abū ʿUbaydah ibn al-Jarrāḥ's[2567]) hand who was sitting amongst us. I hated nothing of what he had said except that proposal, for by Allāh, I would rather have my neck chopped off as expiation for a sin than become the ruler of a nation one of whose members is Abū Bakr, unless at the time of my death my own self suggests something I don't feel at present.

[2567] According to Iṣābah 4:2299 (Abū ʿUbaydah ibn al-Jarrāḥ), the name of Abū ʿUbaydah was ʿĀmir ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Jarrāḥ.

> And then one of the Anṣār said, "I am the pillar on which the camel with a skin disease rubs itself to satisfy the itching (i.e. I am noble), and I am as a high class palm tree! O Quraysh! There should be one ruler from us and one from you." Then there was a hue and cry among the gathering and their voices rose so that I was afraid there might be great disagreement, so I said, "O Abū Bakr! Hold your hand out!" He held his hand out and I pledged allegiance to him, and then [eventually] all the Emigrants gave the pledge of allegiance and so did the Anṣār afterwards. And so we became victorious over Sa´d ibn ´Ubādah [whom the Anṣār wanted to make a ruler]. One of the Anṣār said, "You have killed Sa´d ibn ´Ubādah!" I replied, "Allāh has killed Sa´d ibn ´Ubādah!"[2568]

Indeed, the accounts of the events of the Saqīfah are essentially identical with minor differences in details. Abū Bakr, ´Umar, and Abū ´Ubaydah went to the meeting of the Anṣār and claimed that only the Quraysh could rule. The Anṣār were not too happy with their proposal, but ´Umar went ahead and pledged allegiance to Abū Bakr anyways. This was followed by a member of the Khazraj and then one from the Aws. Sa´d ibn ´Ubādah and his supporters dissented but were physically attacked and Sa´d was nearly trampled. In fact, the attack on Sa´d was completely deliberate. According to Ṭabarī, ´Umar said, "We jumped on Sa´d ibn ´Ubādah so someone said that we had killed him. I said, '[May] Allāh kill him!'"[2569] This was the manner in which a small band of people at the Saqīfah picked the new caliph. However, consensus was not obtained, as Sa´d ibn ´Ubādah and perhaps others refused to pledge allegiance to Abū Bakr.

The Reaction of the People of Madīnah

After news of the incident reached the people of Madīnah, there was an uproar and much dissent. The Anṣār said, "We will not give the oath of allegiance [to anyone] except ´Alī."[2570] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd said, "The masses of the Muhājirīn and the great majority of the Anṣār had no doubt that ´Alī was the rightful leader (ṣāḥib al-amr) after the Messenger of Allāh (ص)."[2571] Indeed, many of the closest companions of the Prophet (ص) did not pledge allegiance until forced to do so, as they believed that ´Alī (ع) was the rightful ruler. These included ´Alī (ع), Fāṭimah (ع), ´Abbās ibn ´Abd al-Muṭṭalib, ´Abd Allāh ibn ´Abbās, Salmān al-Fārsī, Abū Dharr, Miqdād, Bilāl, ´Ammār ibn Yāsir, Zubayr ibn ´Awwām, and indeed the entire Banū Hāshim.[2572] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd said,

> The Banū Hāshim gathered in the house of ´Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, and among them was Zubayr, who considered himself among the men of the Banū Hāshim [since his mother was Ṣafiyyah bint ´Abd al-Muṭṭalib]. ´Alī used to say, "Zubayr did not cease to support us Ahl al-Bayt until his sons matured and turned him away from us." The Banū Umayyah gathered in the house of ´Uthmān ibn ´Affān, and the Banū Zuhrah gathered in the house of Sa´d and ´Abd al-Raḥmān. ´Umar and Abū ´Ubaydah went to them. ´Umar said, "What is it that I see you are up to? Stand up and pledged allegiance to Abū Bakr for the people (i.e. Muhājirīn) have just pledged allegiance to him and so have the Anṣār." ´Uthmān and those with him stood and Sa´d and ´Abd al-Raḥmān and those with them stood and pledged allegiance to Abū Bakr.[2573]

2568. Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #8.82.817. Similarly, Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.57.19
2569. Tārīkh Ṭabarī 9:194.
2570. Tārīkh Ṭabarī 9:186; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 1:358; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 2:22.
2571. Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 6:21.
2572. Refer to chapter 48.
2573. Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 6:11.

Getting the Muhājirīn with the exception of those gathered in the house of ʹAlī (ε) to pledge allegiance to Abū Bakr was rather easy, because none of the Muhājirīn except for ʹAlī (ε) had a particular claim to the caliphate and most of them simply wanted to make sure that power remained in the hands of the Quraysh. Moreover, the Quraysh despised ʹAlī (ε) for having killed so many of their men in various battles, most notably the Battle of Badr. The Muhājirīn, however, had to convince the Anṣār to pledge allegiance to Abū Bakr.

That evening, the Muhājirīn met with the Anṣār at the mosque. ʹAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʹAwf said something similar to what he had said at the Saqīfah: "O Anṣār, you are those foremost in good qualities, in helping [the Prophet] and in your record for [serving him]. But there is none among you like Abū Bakr, ʹUmar, ʹAlī, or Abū ʹUbaydah." Zayd ibn Arqam replied, "We know that among those whom you named of the Quraysh there is one who, if he seeks the caliphate, none would dispute—ʹAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib."[2574] As such, the issue of the pledging of the Anṣār remained unsettled until the next morning.

The Public Inauguration of Abū Bakr

According to Ibn Kathīr, "A [small] group pledged allegiance to [Abū Bakr] in the Saqīfah of the Banū Sāʹidah, but the public pledge of allegiance occurred on the pulpit,"[2575] apparently the day after the Prophet's (ص) death, as is evident from the following account in Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī:

> Narrated Anas ibn Mālik: [ʹUmar] sat on the pulpit on the day following the death of the Prophet... Some people had already taken the oath of allegiance to [Abū Bakr] in the shed of Banū Sāʹidah, but the oath of allegiance taken by the public was taken at the pulpit. I heard ʹUmar saying to Abū Bakr on that day, "Please ascend the pulpit," and he kept on urging him till he ascended the pulpit whereupon all the people swore allegiance to him.[2576]

The situation was still rather tenuous that morning, as the masses needed to be convinced to accept what a handful of individuals had decided for them. As luck had it, the tribe of Aslam arrived in Madīnah and they were told that the new caliph was Abū Bakr and that they must pledge allegiance to him if they wanted to be allowed to trade. Their pledging of allegiance gave Abū Bakr and ʹUmar some numbers from those residing around Madīnah, further alienating those who opposed Abū Bakr. According to Ṭabarī, ʹUmar used to say, "It was not until I saw Aslam that I was certain we had won the day."[2577] ʹUmar then rose before the congregation of the mosque and said,

> Yesterday, I presented you a novel idea [based on my own opinion][2578]. I drew it neither from the Book of Allāh, nor from any memory I have of the Messenger

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[2574] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 6:19-20.

[2575] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 5:268.

[2576] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #9.89.326.

[2577] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 10:8.

[2578] The phrase, "based on my own opinion," appears in Ṭabarī 9:200, which quotes this tradition from Sīrah Ibn Isḥāq. Of note, Ṭabarī is the apparent source for the tradition of Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr, even though the latter has omitted this phrase and the editors have added it back parenthetically. Kanz al-ʹUmmāl took the tradition from Ibn Kathīr, and therefore omitted this phrase as well. Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah has also omitted this phrase, even though its stated source is Ibn Isḥāq. The intermediary source for Haykal who also omitted this phrase is not stated. It appears that this phrase was in the original tradition in Ibn Isḥāq, but was later omitted by others who quoted this tradition.

> of Allāh. It just occurred to me that the Messenger of Allāh would continue to lead us in this world forever and that he would outlive us all. But now I know better. Allāh has left us His Holy Book, the repository of His Messenger's guidance. If we hold closely to it, Allāh will surely guide us to the same felicity to which He guided His Messenger. Allāh has consolidated you together under the leadership of the best man among you, of the companion of the Messenger of Allāh who was blessed by Allāh with the honor of the Prophet's company in the cave when the Meccans were following in close pursuit. Rise and give him your oath of fealty.[2579]

Abū Bakr then rose and delivered the following speech:

> O Men! Here I have been assigned the job of being ruler over you while I am not the best among you. If I do well in my job, help me. If I do wrong, redress me. Truthfulness is fidelity and lying is treason. The weak shall be strong in my eyes until I restore to them their lost rights, and the strong shall be weak in my eye until I have restored the rights of the weak from them. No people give up fighting for the cause of Allāh except that Allāh inflicts upon them abject subjection, and no people give themselves to lewdness but that Allāh envelopes them with misery. Obey me as long as I obey Allāh and His Prophet. But if I disobey Allāh's command or His Prophet's, then no obedience is incumbent upon you. Rise to your prayer so that Allāh may bless you.[2580]

Ibn Kathīr has certified the tradition containing these two sermons as authentic.[2581] According to numerous Sunnī sources, Abū Bakr also said,

> I have a Satan that takes possession of me. When I am angry, keep away from me so that I do not have any evil effect on your hairs and skins.[2582]

On the one hand, ʹUmar said that the selection of Abū Bakr was neither taken from the Book of Allāh nor from anything he remembered from the Prophet (ص). On the other hand, Abū Bakr said, "Obey me as long as I obey Allāh and His Prophet." These appear contradictory because if Abū Bakr were to have obeyed the Qur`ān and Sunnah, he would not have been in the position of caliph in the first place, as ʹUmar had just admitted that the Qur`ān and Sunnah did not contain any provisions for the caliphate of Abū Bakr. Indeed, Abū Bakr's usurpation of the caliphate was against the Book of Allāh and the words of the Messenger of Allāh (ص), which clearly made ʹAlī (ع) the mawlā, walī, khalīf, and imām over the people. Therefore, if the people were to obey Abū Bakr and not follow him whenever he contradicted the Book of Allāh and the Sunnah of the Prophet (ص), they ought to have rejected his caliphate and ought to have confronted him, as he asked the people to do when he said, "If I do wrong, redress me." However, the people knew that these were just empty words, as Saʹd ibn ʹUbādah had nearly been killed the rejecting Abū Bakr's caliphate just the day before. Indeed, Abū Bakr proved to be a ruthless and vindictive caliph with no tolerance for dissent, as will be established as we examine his caliphate.

[2579] Haykal 510; Tārīkh Ṭabarī 9:200; Sīrah Ibn Isḥāq 686-687; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 5:268-9; Kanz al-ʹUmmāl #14064; Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 1:240.

[2580] Haykal 510-511; Tārīkh Ṭabarī 9:201; Sīrah Ibn Isḥāq 687; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 5:269; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 6:20; Tārīkh al-Khulafā` 65; Kanz al-ʹUmmāl #14064; Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 1:254; Tārīkh al-Khamīs 2:169.

[2581] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 5:269.

[2582] Kanz al-ʹUmmāl #14050, #14112; Tārīkh Ṭabarī 10:12; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 6:334; Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 3:212; Imāmah wa Sīyāsah 26. Abū Bakr's first sentence also appears in Tafsīr Zamakhsharī, verse 7:200.

We must ask the question: What gave ʿUmar, in lieu of the rest of the nation, the right to invent rules regarding which he found nothing in the Book of Allāh or the Sunnah of the Prophet (ص)? Also, if Abū Bakr, as he said himself, was "not the best" of the people, then why did he not hand over the caliphate to the one who was the best of them? Also, why do the Bakrīyyah insist that he was the best of the companions when he himself admitted that he was not? Abū Bakr's speech gave many promises that were never fulfilled. We shall see how freely he had Muslims killed during his caliphate for nothing more than their opposition to his illegitimate rule, even though Abū Bakr said, "If I disobey Allāh's command or His Prophet's, then no obedience is incumbent upon you."

A Few of the Disqualifications of Abū Bakr

There are numerous reasons why Abū Bakr was specifically unqualified for the position of caliph and one could easily write an entire treatise on the subject. For the sake of brevity, only a few will be mentioned here and some others will be left for later discussion[2583]:

1. Abū Bakr said, "There is for me a Satan that comes to me..." This makes it clear that Abū Bakr was not fit for the position of leader of the nation, because he could be making central decisions for the Muslims in accordance with the guidance of Satan. Also, the Qur`ān is clear that, "He who turns away from the remembrance of the Gracious, We set for him a Satan to be his companion."[2584] Also, Satan said, "O Lord! Because You have put me in the wrong, I will adorn the path of error for them in the earth, and will lead every one of them astray except for the sincere ones among Your servants."[2585] The fact that Abū Bakr admitted to sometimes following Satan proves that he was not a sincere servant of Allāh and that proves that he was not fit to lead the Muslim nation. Indeed, the Qur`ān confirms that Abū Bakr would sometimes follow Satan when it says in regards to those who escaped at Uḥud, "Those among you who turned away on the day the two groups met (Uḥud) were caused [to do so] only by Satan because of some of what they had done."[2586] As such, it is clear that he was prone to being misled by Satan and that he was therefore not a sincere servant of Allāh. These facts prove Abū Bakr's lack of qualification for the imāmate for the following reasons: (1) When Abū Bakr's actions were affected by Satan, he would sin. When he sinned, it would be necessary for someone else to guide him and it would be incumbent on Abū Bakr to follow that person's guidance. Therefore, the second person would become Abū Bakr's imām, not Abū Bakr himself. (2) Satan might affect Abū Bakr's following of the Qur`ān and Sunnah during his reign in power. Thus it would become the rule of Satan over the people, not the rule of Islām over the people. (3) The Qur`ān explicitly states that sinners from the offspring of Abraham (ع) may not become imāms when it says, "When Abraham's Lord tested him by means of [certain] words and he fulfilled them, [Allāh] said, 'I am going to make you into an imām for mankind.' Abraham asked, 'And my offspring [as well]?' [Allāh] replied, 'My covenant does not apply to oppressors (ẓālimīn).'"[2587] Since the Qur`ān explicitly states that any sin is a form of oppression,[2588] this verse

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[2583] A summary of some of Abū Bakr's faults appears in chapter 53.
[2584] Qur`ān 43:36.
[2585] Qur`ān 15:39-40.
[2586] Qur`ān 3:155.
[2587] Qur`ān 2:124.
[2588] Qur`ān 65:1.

clearly shows that sinners among Abraham's (ع) offspring are not qualified for the imāmate.

2. Abū Bakr and ʹUmar were part of the army of Usāmah and were to follow his command at all times until Palestine was conquered and they returned to Madīnah. How could the follower take over power in lieu of the commander?

3. Abū Bakr, ʹUmar, Abū ʹUbaydah ibn al-Jarrāḥ, and several others abandoned the army of Usāmah. This was in clear opposition to the command of the Prophet (ص). Indeed, the Messenger of Allāh (ص) cursed anyone who would leave the army. Those accursed by the tongue of the Prophet (ص) are clearly not fit to lead the nation.

4. Abū Bakr said, "O Men! Here I have been assigned the job of being ruler over you while I am not the best among you." By saying this, he showed that he was unqualified to be imām because he ought to have deferred to the one who was superior to him.

5. The Messenger of Allāh (ص) often chose people to lead over the other Muslims. Yet, Abū Bakr's role was consistently that of follower, not leader. He chose Abū Bakr for two key missions, only to publicly humiliate him. The first was when he gave him the banner at Khaybar, so that the Prophet (ص) could prove that Abū Bakr did not love Allāh and His Messenger (ص) and was not loved by them.[2589] The second instance was when he asked Abū Bakr to deliver the verses of renunciation, immediately after which he called him back and gave them to ʹAlī (ع) instead, publicly proclaiming that Abū Bakr was unqualified to deliver the message of Islām on behalf of the Prophet (ص).[2590] The Prophet (ص) also deposed him from the position of leader of prayer two times when Abū Bakr tried to lead prayers, most notably when he tried to lead the final prayer during the Prophet's (ص) lifetime.[2591]

6. Abū Bakr had a bad temper. For that reason he said, "When I am angry, keep away from me so that I do not have an effect on your hairs and skins." This type of temper is not befitting for the one who is to lead the Muslims, for he would turn away the believers and make non-believers less likely to be attracted to Islām. Indeed, the nature of Abū Bakr's personality is referred to in Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, according to which the Prophet (ص) told ʹĀʾishah, after she raised her voice and insulted Zaynab, "She is really the daughter of Abū Bakr!"[2592] As such, the Prophet (ص) believed that ʹĀʾishah had inherited her unpleasant and offensive personality from her father.

7. In his inauguration speech, Abū Bakr asked the people for help, saying, "If I do wrong, redress me... Obey me as long as I obey Allāh and His Prophet. But if I disobey Allāh's command or His Prophet's, then no obedience is incumbent upon you." This is contrary to the position of the imām, as the people are to follow the imām and to look towards him for guidance. As such, Abū Bakr was doing the opposite of acting as imām by asking the people to guide him. Some may argue that the Prophet (ص) was also ordered to discuss matters with the people. However, it is clear that Prophet (ص) was ordered to do so only to soften the hearts of his followers, not in order to seek the straight path and guidance from them.

[2589] Refer to chapter 20.
[2590] Refer to chapter 32.
[2591] Refer to chapter 37.
[2592] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #3.47.755.

The Illegitimacy of the Decision of the Saqīfah

Aside from Abū Bakr's personal lack of qualification, another issue that must be pointed out is whether or not the people who gathered in the Saqīfah had a right to choose a successor for the Prophet (ص). The clear answer to this question is no, because the Prophet (ص) would have never allowed a few power-hungry individuals to gather after his death to choose a caliph. Even ʿUmar said, "I drew it neither from the Book of Allāh, nor from any memory I have of the Messenger of Allāh." ʿUmar also said later when he was in power, "If I do not nominate a successor, the Messenger of Allāh did not nominate his successor; and if I nominate one, Abū Bakr did nominate one."[2593] In this sentence, ʿUmar reiterated the Sunnī claim that the Prophet (ص) had selected no successor. If the Prophet (ص) left no successor, it is not clear what gave ʿUmar the right to select one for him. Giving ʿUmar such a right is equivalent to giving him a power beyond what was allowed for the Prophet (ص) himself. Similarly, if the Prophet (ص) left no successor, it would Islāmically be against the Sunnah for Abū Bakr to later appoint ʿUmar as his own successor.

Indeed, when ʿUmar said, "I drew it neither from the Book of Allāh, nor from any memory I have of the Messenger of Allāh," he contradicted his own saying at the Prophet's (ص) deathbed that is related in Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī that, "The Book of Allāh is enough for us."[2594] If the Book of Allāh were sufficient, then he should have picked a caliph based on its commands. If the Qurʾān were sufficient and he did not pick a caliph based on it, he did so either due to his ignorance of the Book of Allāh or due to his ignoring the commands of the Book of Allāh. In the first case, according to which he did not know what the Qurʾān said about choosing a caliph, his duty would have been to ask because the Qurʾān says, "Ask the Ahl al-Dhikr if you do not know."[2595] As we have discussed, the Ahl al-Dhikr, literally the People of Remembrance, refers to the Ahl al-Bayt of the Prophet (ص).[2596] In fact, regardless of who the Ahl al-Dhikr refers to, if ʿUmar was ignorant of the command of the Qurʾān, he should have sought the Ahl al-Dhikr and asked them how to pick a caliph based on the Qurʾān and Sunnah. According to the second possibility, he actively ignored the command of the Book of Allāh, thereby making a ruling in opposition to what Allāh has decreed in His Book. The Qurʾān says, "Whoever does not command based on what Allāh has revealed is a disbeliever (kāfir),"[2597] and "Whoever does not command based on what Allāh has revealed is an oppressor (ẓālim),"[2598] and "Whoever does not command based on what Allāh has revealed is a deviant (fāsiq)."[2599]

Accepting that Islām is a complete religion based on the verse of completion (ikmāl),[2600] there are only two possibilities: (1) Islām is complete and it has rules regarding the selection of a leader, which is the opinion of the Shīʿah. (2) Islām is complete and does not have rules regarding the leader, which is the opinion of the Sunnīs, even though it is

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2593. Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #20.4486; Musnad Ḥanbal #332; Fatḥ al-Bārī #6792; Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #14240, #36045; Sunan al-Kubrā Bayhaqī #16349; Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 3:342; Tārīkh Baghdād #86 (Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥīm); Tārīkh Damishq 44:431, 44:432.

2594. Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #7.70.573.

2595. Qurʾān 16:43 and 21:7.

2596. Refer to chapter 18.

2597. Qurʾān 5:44.

2598. Qurʾān 5:45.

2599. Qurʾān 5:47.

2600. Qurʾān 5:3. Refer to chapter 34 for the text of this verse and a discussion of its revelation in regards to Ghadīr Khumm.

self-contradictory. If one says that Islām is complete without any rules regarding the caliphate, one would have to agree that any rules regarding the caliphate were not proclaimed in Islām and therefore any future rules regarding it would be outside of the realm of Islām. It is therefore clear that the Sunnī belief in the caliphate, which is what distinguishes them from the Shī'ah, is an innovation. We have already examined traditions in which the Prophet (ص) warned that his companions would be sent away from him on the Day of Judgment because of their innovations in Islām. Indeed, this selection process at the Saqīfah was one of their first innovations and therefore 'Umar and Abū Bakr became the first to innovate in Islām.

However, one must remember that the events in the Saqīfah were not religious but rather political. That is why many of the closest companions of the Prophet (ص) did not attend the meeting, did not approve of its proceedings, and instead gathered around 'Alī (ع).[2601] And that it why the most loyal companions of the Prophet (ص) were not even informed about the Saqīfah. If they had been present at the Saqīfah, they would have tried their hardest to ensure that 'Alī (ع) would receive his right to caliphate.

Furthermore, 'Umar's statement, "I drew it neither from the Book of Allāh, nor from any memory I have of the Messenger of Allāh," clearly proves that there is absolutely nothing in the Qur`ān or the Sunnah to establish the caliphate of Abū Bakr, and therefore proves his caliphate to be an innovation. This statement also negates anything the Sunnīs could bring up to claim that Abū Bakr's caliphate was somehow ordained by the Prophet (ص), because if he had in any way ordained Abū Bakr's caliphate, then 'Umar should have pointed that out instead of saying that he had no recollection of anything from the Qur`ān or Sunnah that would establish Abū Bakr's caliphate. If there was even the most indirect and circumstantial evidence that the Prophet (ص) wanted Abū Bakr to be his successor, it should have been brought forth at the Saqīfah and immediately afterwards; the absence of any such claim at that time proves that the Prophet (ص) showed absolutely no indication in favor of Abū Bakr being his successor. Subsequent Sunnī claims that the Prophet (ص) wanted Abū Bakr to lead after him because he allowed him to lead the final prayer, because he opened a window from Abū Bakr's house to the mosque, or because he wanted to write a note confirming him as the caliph at his deathbed are simply untrue; if these were the case, 'Umar should have pointed these facts out at the Saqīfah instead of openly and publicly admitting that there was absolutely nothing from the Sunnah to indicate that Abū Bakr should lead the nation. Of course, it has already been established that these three claims are absolute lies.[2602]

Another simple proof of the illegitimacy of the Saqīfah is the tradition of Ghadīr, in which the Prophet (ص) confirmed that he was more of a master over the believers than their own selves and then proclaimed, "Whosever master I am, 'Alī is his master (mawlā)." Clearly, those in the Saqīfah had abandoned 'Alī (ع) as their master, otherwise they would not have embarked on such a critical and divisive decision without consulting 'Alī (ع). Even if mawlā is taken in the sense of helper, as Fakhr Rāzī has claimed,[2603] then the tradition of Ghadīr would mean, "Whosever helper I am, 'Alī is his helper." Since the Prophet's (ص) help was utilized in matters of guidance and in solving disputes, those in the Saqīfah should have gone to 'Alī (ع) for help in solving their dispute. Had such a dispute arisen during the lifetime of the Prophet (ص), he would have been the one to whom the believers would have referred to help solve it, so, based on the tradition of

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[2601] Refer to chapter 48.
[2602] Refer to chapters 37, 9, and 38 respectively for discussions of these three claims.
[2603] Refer to chapters 31 and 34.

Ghadīr, ʿAlī (ع) ought to have been the one to help resolve the dispute after the Prophet's (ص) death. Thus, those at the Saqīfah abandoned ʿAlī (ع) as their mawlā in every sense of the word. Since whoever takes the Prophet (ص) as a mawlā takes ʿAlī (ع) as a mawlā and they did not take ʿAlī (ع) as a mawlā, it deductively follows that they abandoned the Prophet (ص) as their mawlā immediately upon his death because if the Prophet (ص) was their mawlā, ʿAlī (ع) would have been their mawlā as well, which was clearly not the case. Since the Qur`ān says, "The Prophet is awlā (more of a walī) to the believers than their own selves,"[2604] it is clear that those who abandoned ʿAlī (ع) and therefore the Prophet (ص) as their mawlā on the day of the Saqīfah were not believers but rather hypocrites because of their outward pretense to being Muslim. Hypocrites are in no position to choose a leader for the nation and any decision they make is illegitimate and must be denounced and opposed by the nation.

ʿUmar Said that Abū Bakr's Caliphate was a Thoughtless Act (Faltah)

In a famous and widely narrated tradition known as the tradition of faltah, which even appears in Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, ʿUmar said, "The pledge of allegiance to Abū Bakr was a faltah, but Allāh protected us from its evils. Remember that whoever gives the pledge of allegiance to anybody among you without consulting the other Muslims, neither that person, nor the person to whom the pledge of allegiance was given, are to be supported, lest they both should be killed!"[2605] In fact, even Abū Bakr said, "The pledge of allegiance to me was a faltah and Allāh protected us from its evil."[2606]

The word "faltah" refers to an imprudent, thoughtless act, or a hasty mistake. In everyday English, a faltah act is referred to as a "foolish" one, as it is carried out hastily and thoughtlessly and without proper consideration. One must ask what right did the new caliph have to call his denouncers apostates, and to attack and execute them[2607] when his becoming a caliph was an imprudent thoughtless act in the first place?

According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, during the caliphate of ʿUmar, someone decided that as soon as ʿUmar died, he would personally pledge allegiance to "so-and-so," who based on other traditions, was ʿAlī (ع). Upon hearing this, ʿUmar became enraged and gave an angry speech. According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī,

> [A man came to the] Commander of the Faithful [ʿUmar], saying, "O Commander of the Faithful! What do you think about so-and-so who says, 'If ʿUmar should die, I will give the pledge of allegiance to such-and-such person, as by Allāh, the pledge of allegiance to Abū Bakr was nothing but a prompt sudden action (faltah) which got established afterwards'?" ʿUmar became angry and then said, "Allāh willing, I will stand before the people tonight and warn them against those people who want to deprive others of their rights [over the question of leadership]."...

[2604] Qur`ān 33:6.

[2605] ʿUmar's statement calling the pledge of allegiance to Abū Bakr a faltah has been related in a number of traditions with minute differences in wording in the following sources: Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #8.82.817; Musnad Ḥanbal #391; Sunan al-Kubrā Nasā`ī #7151, #7154; Majmaʿ al-Zawā`id #9772; Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #14137; Tārīkh Ṭabarī 9:191-192; Tārīkh Ibn Kathir 5:266; Sīrah Ibn Hishām 1073; Sīrah Ibn Isḥāq 685; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 2:23, 2:26, 2:29, 9:31, 12:147, 13:224, 17:164, 20:21; Milal wa Niḥal 19; Tārīkh al-Khulafā` 63.

[2606] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 2:50.

[2607] Refer to chapters 48 and 51.

> ʹUmar stood up, and after having glorified and praised Allāh as He deserved, he said, "...I have been informed that a speaker amongst you says, 'By Allāh, if ʹUmar should die, I will give the pledge of allegiance to such-and-such person.' One should not deceive oneself by saying that the pledge of allegiance given to Abū Bakr was given suddenly (faltah) and it was successful. No doubt, it was like that, but Allāh saved [the people] from its evil, and there is none among you who has the qualities of Abū Bakr. Remember that whoever gives the pledge of allegiance to anybody among you without consulting the other Muslims, neither that person nor the person to whom the pledge of allegiance was given are to be supported, lest they both should be killed...
>
> By Allāh, apart from the great tragedy that had happened to us (i.e. the death of the Prophet), there was no greater problem than the allegiance pledged to Abū Bakr because we were afraid that if we left the people [at the Saqīfah], they might give the pledge of allegiance after us to one of their men, in which case we would have given them our consent for something against our real wish, or would have opposed them and caused great trouble. So if any person gives the pledge of allegiance to somebody without consulting the other Muslims, then the one he has selected should not be granted allegiance, lest both of them should be killed."[2608]

According to Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, this speech was delivered after ʹAmmār ibn Yāsir said, "If ʹUmar dies, I will pledge allegiance to ʹAlī."[2609] Balādhurī's account claims that it was Zubayr who made this statement.[2610] From the words of ʹUmar one can deduce that ʹUmar was worried that ʹAlī (ع) would take power by a quick pledge of allegiance by his Shīʹah immediately upon ʹUmar's death so he therefore did everything he could to avert that possibility. By saying that people are not to pledge allegiance the way the pledge was given to Abū Bakr, ʹUmar admitted that the pledge to Abū Bakr was a mistake and an error not to be repeated. However, he admitted this only because he feared that ʹAlī (ع) might take power, and he was not concerned about its implications because his own rule had been solidly established. In any case, this tradition demonstrates several facts:

1. According to ʹUmar, the selection of Abū Bakr was an imprudent, thoughtless act (faltah). Muslims should never follow such acts, as such acts are clearly forbidden because the Qurʾān calls us to following reason (ʹaql), and an act of faltah by necessity implies the lack of reason.

2. ʹUmar said that Abū Bakr's selection was "evil" but that Allāh protected the nation from it. If the selection of Abū Bakr was evil, then the caliphate of Abū Bakr is proved as an innovation because all evil is an innovation and not part of Islām.

3. ʹUmar said that he had to select Abū Bakr because he was concerned that the caliph would be selected without his consent and against his wish. Yet, he had no problem selecting Abū Bakr without the consent of ʹAlī (ع) or the rest of the Prophet's Ahl al-Bayt (ع) and against their wish. Thus, the selection of Abū Bakr as caliph was a selfish act. A selfish act is, by definition, not part of Islām.

[2608] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #8.82.817.
[2609] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 2:25.
[2610] Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:250.

4. ʹUmar said that anyone who would give the pledge of allegiance to anyone else among the Muslims without consulting the other Muslims was not to be supported, yet ʹUmar pledged allegiance to Abū Bakr without consulting the other Muslims. As such, according to his own words, he should have not been supported.

5. ʹUmar said that anyone who pledges allegiance to one person deprives the others of their rights. That is exactly what ʹUmar did and he was therefore the usurper of the rights of the Muslims.

6. ʹUmar said that anyone who pledges allegiance in this way or who supports the one to whom allegiance is pledged in this way ought to be killed. Since ʹUmar selected a caliph in that manner himself, he and Abū Bakr and their supporters ought to be have been killed according to ʹUmar's own words. And if they ought not have been killed, then ʹUmar was innovating laws that necessitated the needless murder of Muslims.

If anyone claims that ʹUmar was speaking of a different situation than was present at the time he selected Abū Bakr, they are clearly wrong because ʹUmar was discussing exactly the same type of situation in which someone wanted to replicate the events of the Saqīfah in ʹAlī's (ع) favor. This shows that ʹUmar gave no legitimacy to the process used at the Saqīfah and that he believed that any caliph selected in that way ought to be killed.

The Caliphate of Abū Bakr was an Innovation of ʹUmar

A bidʹah is an innovation in religion. When something non-existent in Islām is added to it in a way that makes something forbidden permissible or makes something permissible forbidden, it becomes a bidʹah. ʹUmar said, "Yesterday, I presented you a novel idea. I drew it neither from the Book of Allāh, nor from any memory I have of the Messenger of Allāh." Based on this saying of ʹUmar, he clearly admitted that the selection of Abū Bakr was not derived from Islām, but was rather ʹUmar's own political innovation. According to Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, Prophet (ص) said, "The most evil affairs are innovations, and every innovation is error."[2611] As such, the Prophet (ص) clearly described the mode of selection of Abū Bakr as an evil innovation, as did ʹUmar when he said, "The pledge of allegiance to Abū Bakr was a faltah, but Allāh protected us from its evil." At the very least, one has to admit based on the tradition of faltah, that ʹUmar followed his own whim in the matter, and the Qurʹān says, "Do not obey anyone... who follows his own whims."[2612]

2611. Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #4.1885-7.
2612. Qurʹān 18:28.

Chapter 41
The Role of Majority Opinion in Islām

Consensus or Lack Thereof with Respect to the Caliphate of Abū Bakr

Sunnī scholars have transmitted a tradition from the Messenger of Allāh (ص) according to which he said, "Allāh will never allow my nation to have consensus over something false."[2613] The tradition states that if all the Muslims in the Prophet's (ص) nation agree upon a matter, then that matter cannot be wrong. However, the condition for this statement is met only if all the Muslims agree on a matter. If even one Muslim disagrees, the condition for the tradition is not met. Unfortunately, there are few cases in which all Muslims or even all Muslim scholars have complete agreement on a matter of contention. As such, Imām Ḥanbal said, "Whoever claims the existence of consensus is a liar!"[2614] The Shī'ah technically agree with this tradition because if there is consensus on a matter, the matter must be true because there is at least one infallible member of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) present at every time who would, by definition, have to be part of the consensus.

Even though it is clear that the decision to make Abū Bakr the first caliph was by no means unanimous, some claim that Abū Bakr's rule gained legitimacy by the consensus of the nation. Historical accounts, however, show much opposition to the decision of the Saqīfah. According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, 'Umar said, "The Anṣār disagreed with us and gathered in the shed of the Banū Sā'idah. 'Alī and Zubayr and whoever was with them opposed us."[2615] In fact, consensus was never obtained, as everyone agrees that Sa'd ibn 'Ubādah never accepted Abū Bakr as caliph and could not be forced to do so despite the immense pressures imposed on him.[2616] Some accounts claim that he was killed during the caliphate of 'Umar, while other accounts state that he was killed during the caliphate of Abū Bakr.[2617] If he was killed during the caliphate of 'Umar, then Abū Bakr ruled his entire time without a mandate by consensus. If he was killed during Abū Bakr's reign, then Abū Bakr ruled illegitimately for a good part of his caliphate until Sa'd's assassination by the caliph's order[2618] created a so-called consensus.

Moreover, those who gathered in the house of Fāṭimah (ع) were forced by the sword and the threat of being burned alive to pledge allegiance,[2619] and such pledges of allegiance not only do not prove consensus, but rather prove lack thereof. Indeed, 'Alī (ع) himself either did not pledge allegiance or did so under dire compulsion, as is clear in the following tradition in Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī and Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim:

[2613] Sunan Tirmidhī #2167.
[2614] Al-Iḥkām fī Uṣūl al-Aḥkām of Sayf al-Dīn al-Āmidī 282.
[2615] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #8.82.817.
[2616] Refer to chapter 51.
[2617] Istī'āb 2:164 #949 (Sa'd ibn 'Ubādah).
[2618] Refer to chapter 51.
[2619] Refer to chapter 48.

> [Fāṭimah] remained alive for six months after the death of the Prophet. When she died, her husband ʿAlī buried her at night without informing Abū Bakr and he said the funeral prayer by himself. When Fāṭimah was alive, the people used to respect ʿAlī much, but after her death, ʿAlī noticed a change in the people's attitude towards him. So ʿAlī sought reconciliation with Abū Bakr and gave him an oath of allegiance. ʿAlī had not given the oath of allegiance during those months.[2620]

Clearly, ʿAlī (ع) was pressured into pledging allegiance according to this account of ʿĀʾishah, which would naturally state the best case scenario for Abū Bakr. If he was publicly shunned to the point of needing to pledge allegiance, then his pledge of allegiance was meaningless, as is any act performed under compulsion, duress, or the threat of force.

Not only was there no consensus in favor of Abū Bakr's caliphate, but the decision to make him caliph was not even based on a simple majority, as he was selected by a small group with personal agendas strong enough to make them clamor over power instead of mourn for the Prophet (ص).

Even if we assume that the majority of the companions did choose Abū Bakr, there is no reason to consider their decision valid. Most people follow the path of worldly affairs and are indifferent to religious concepts. The following verses provide proof that the decision of the majority is not only invalid but also a source of deviance:

1. "If you obey the majority of those on earth, they will misguide you from the path of Allāh. They follow nothing but conjecture and do nothing but lie."[2621]

2. "[The Prophet] approached you with the truth, but the majority of you are averse to the truth."[2622]

3. "And indeed many become misguided by their desires due to lack of knowledge."[2623]

4. "The majority of them do not know the truth and turn away from it."[2624]

There are dozens of verses that indicate the majority of people lack faith,[2625] are disbelievers (kāfirs),[2626] are ignorant,[2627] are evil-doers (fāsiq),[2628] are ungrateful to Allāh,[2629] follow only conjecture,[2630] do not use their minds,[2631] do not listen to the truth,[2632] and are heedless to the verses of Allāh.[2633] In some thirty verses of the Qurʾān, the majority of the people are labeled as un-knowledgeable, unreasonable, or ignorant.[2634] The Qur`ān goes as far as saying, "Do you think that the majority of them listen or think? They are like cattle. Nay, they are farther astray in [their] path!"[2635] This clearly proves that the majority of the people are not able to make decisions that are proper from an Islāmic point of view.

[2620] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.59.546; Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #19.4352.
[2621] Qurʾān 6:116.
[2622] Qurʾān 43:78.
[2623] Qurʾān 6:119.
[2624] Qurʾān 21:24.
[2625] Qurʾān 36:7, 12:103, 11:17, 13:1, 40:59, 2:100.
[2626] Qurʾān 16:83.
[2627] Qurʾān 6:111.
[2628] Qurʾān 3:110, 9:8.
[2629] Qurʾān 2:243, 7:17, 10:60, 12:38, 25:50, 27:73, 40:61.
[2630] Qurʾān 10:36.
[2631] Qurʾān 5:103, 29:63.
[2632] Qurʾān 25:44, 41:4.
[2633] Qurʾān 10:92.

In case anyone argues that the majority referred to are the non-Muslims, he is wrong because the Qur`ān, referring to the companions of the Prophet (ص), says, "And the majority of them do not believe without raising partners to Allāh."[2636] This verse shows that even among the people who appear to have adopted belief in Islām, the majority still nurture partners for Allāh in their hearts.

Could the Majority of the Companions Stray?

We have mentioned many traditions in which the Prophet (ص) predicted the straying of his companions after him, their quarrels over worldly possessions, and their innovations in his religion.[2637] But some ask whether it is possible for so many of the companions to have erred by selecting Abū Bakr as their caliph. The answer to this question is evident. First, as we shall soon see, many of the closest companions of the Prophet (ص), including the entirety of his family, did not approve of the decision of the Saqīfah.[2638]

Second, the companions, like the companions of previous prophets, were susceptible to sins, errors, misdeeds, and misguidance. The Children of Israel worshipped the calf during the life of Prophet Moses (ع),[2639] even though Aaron (ع) had been left as the khalīf of Moses (ع) among their companions during the absence of Moses (ع).[2640] This did not prevent the Children of Israel from erring, and in fact, Aaron (ع) was about to be killed for his fealty to worshipping Allāh. According to the Qur`ān, Aaron (ع) said to Moses (ع), "O son of my mother! The people did indeed oppress me and were plotting to me."[2641] In fact, the Qur`ān is clear that the taking of the calf by the Children of Israel occurred after all the clarities had come to them: "Then they took the calf [in worship] after the clarities had come to them."[2642]

The Prophet (ص), as discussed earlier,[2643] warned that the Muslims would follow the Children of Israel and the Christians inch by inch and foot by foot and even said that if a lizard were to go into a hole among the rocks in the Children of Israel, the same lizard would go into the same rocks among the Muslims. So it is not hard to believe that the majority would go against the rules of Islām after the "clarities" had come to them. Indeed, one would conclude from the conduct of the Children of Israel and the words of the Qur`ān and the Prophet (ص) that the majority of companions would stray.

Third, there is no historical account in the Qur`ān as detailed and lengthy as that of Joseph (ع).[2644] The basic story was that he was the son of the prophet Jacob (ع), who had twelve sons, among whom Joseph (ع) was his favorite. The other eleven sons had consensus to kill or otherwise dispose of Joseph (ع), so they cast him into a well and came up with a false story for their father about how a wolf had eaten him, swearing that they were telling the truth. If it was possible for eleven sons of a prophet to have consensus over falsehood, to oppress the rightful one among themselves, to plot to kill him, to make up lies about their plots, and to cover up the story for years until Allāh revealed their plots and lies, then it would be absolutely possible for the majority of the companions of the Prophet (ص) to agree upon an illegitimate leader, to oppress the rightful one among them, to plot to kill him, and to lie about their plots, swearing that they were telling the truth.

[2634] Qur`ān 5:103, 6:37, 6:1111, 7:131, 7:187, 8:34, 10:55, 12:21, 12:40, 12:68, 16:38, 16:75, 16:101, 21:24, 27:61, 28:13, 28:57, 29:63, 30:6, 30:30, 31:25, 34:28, 34:36, 39:29, 39:49, 40:57, 44:39, 45:26, 49:4, 52:47.

[2635] Qur`ān 25:44.

[2636] Qur`ān 12:106.

[2637] Refer to chapter 36.

[2638] Refer to chapter 48.

[2639] Qur`ān 2:51, 2:54, 2:92, 4:153.

[2640] Qur`ān 7:142.

[2641] Qur`ān 7:150.

[2642] Qur`ān 4:153.

[2643] Refer to chapter 36.

[2644] Qur`ān 12:4-101.

Fourth, the vast majority of Christians have taken Jesus the son of Mary (ع) as their Lord and as a partner of Allāh, deifying him against common sense and in opposition to the words of Jesus (ع) and Allāh. That the Trinitarians form a majority of Christians does not prove that they are the correct sect. In fact, if one were to study the history of Allāh's religion, from Adam (ع) until today, one would clearly see that the majority of the prophets of Allāh were not followed except by a few people. Those who had many companions, such as Moses (ع) and Muḥammad (ص), were surrounded by numerous hypocrites, and in every religion only a small group remained truly loyal to the principles of the founders of the religion. In Islām, that group is the Shī´ah of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع), who have followed the clarities after they were given to them. They are the only ones who have hung onto the two weighty items—the Qur`ān and the Prophet's Ahl al-Bayt (ع)—both of which were abandoned by the masses on the day of the Saqīfah.

As one can see, the argument that Sunnīsm is correct because they have larger numbers and the argument that the Saqīfah made the correct Islāmic decision because the majority ended up accepting it by choice or force are weak from the perspective of the Qur`ān and the history of previous divine religions. In any case, Abū Bakr was not even selected by the majority of the people, but by a group of five men who, by their own admission, did not follow the guidance of the Qur`ān and Sunnah.[2645] The people in the Saqīfah had no right to make any decisions regarding the caliphate after the Prophet (ص) had clearly designated ´Alī (ع) as the imām many times during his lifetime. The Qur`ān says, "There is not for any believing man or woman a choice in their affairs when Allāh and His Messenger have made a decision [in that regards]. And whoever disobeys Allāh and His Messenger has indeed wandered off into manifest error."[2646]

The Need to Adhere to the Plurality (Jamā´ah)

Indeed, traditions asserting the need for adherence to the plurality (jamā´ah) are not referring to the plurality of those who stray, but rather to the plurality of those who remain steadfastly adherent to every principle of Islām, regardless of their numbers. As such, one was not to follow the plurality of the Children of Israel in worshipping the calf, but rather the plurality of those who remained loyal to Aaron (ع). Similarly, one ought to have followed the plurality of Muḥammad (ص), ´Alī (ع), and Khadījah at the onset of Islām instead of the majority who remained pagan. Furthermore, one ought not follow the plurality of those who have oppressed, opposed, and killed the Ahl al-Bayt (ع), but rather remain among the plurality of their devout followers, regardless of whether they are few or many in number. As such, the men who stood by Ḥusayn at Karbalā`, though small in number, were the followers of the plurality, while the thousands who opposed them were the followers of error. As such, the Qur`ān says, "Truth clearly stands out from error,"[2647] and "The filthy and the pure are not alike, even though you may be surprised by the abundance of the filthy."[2648] Just as one should not be surprised by the abundance of the filthy, one should not be surprised by the small numbers of those who have remained truly devout and loyal to every precept of Islām. Indeed, a single infallible imām is sufficient to be counted as an entire nation in the Qur`ān: "Surely Abraham was a nation, obedient to Allāh, true in faith."[2649] Adherence to such a nation, even if comprised of just a single individual, is mandatory and constitutes adherence to the jamā'ah.

[2645] Refer to chapter 40.
[2646] Qur`ān 33:36.

The Majority of the Prophets were Oppressed by Their People

The Qur`ān mentions at least eight prophets who were overpowered, outnumbered, rejected, and/or oppressed by their people:

1. "Then [Noah] called on his Lord, 'I have been overpowered, so help [me].'"[2650]
2. Abraham (ع) told Āzar, "I will move away from you and from anything you appeal to instead of Allāh."[2651]
3. Lot (ع) said, "If only I had some power over you or could take myself to strong support."[2652]
4. Joseph (ع) said, "My Lord, the prison is dearer to me than what they are inviting me to."[2653]
5. Moses (ع) told Pharaoh, "I fled from you because I feared you. Yet my Lord has granted me command and has set me up as one of the messengers."[2654]
6. Aaron (ع) said, "O son of my mother! Indeed, the people have oppressed me and have conspired to kill me."[2655]
7. The Children of Israel said, "How can [Ṭālūt] exercise authority over us when we are better fitted than him to exercise authority, and he is not even gifted with wealth in abundance?"[2656]
8. The Prophet (ص) was also opposed by the majority of the people of Arabia. The Qur`ān says, "If you do not support him, well Allāh did support him when those who disbelieved drove him out."[2657]

It is no surprise that 'Alī (ع), as the rightful imām, would also be oppressed and deprived of his right by most people. The fact that the nation denied him his rightful role as their leader in no way detracts from the fact that he had an absolute and undeniable right to the imāmate. Though Allāh had bestowed His command on ʿAlī (ع), he, like the other imāms before him, could not force people to follow him. Like Aaron (ع), he was forced to perform taqīyyah to save his own life and the lives of his ardent supporters, while the nation at large went along a path of its own choosing.

[2647] Qur`ān 2:256.
[2648] Qur`ān 5:100.
[2649] Qur`ān 16:120.
[2650] Qur`ān 54:10.
[2651] Qur`ān 19:48.
[2652] Qur`ān 11:80.
[2653] Qur`ān 12:33.
[2654] Qur`ān 26:21.
[2655] Qur`ān 7:150.
[2656] Qur`ān 2:247.
[2657] Qur`ān 9:40.

Chapter 42
The Qur`ān Orders Us to Obey the Foremost in Authority

Qur`ānic Verse: "Obey Allāh and Obey the Messenger and the Foremost in Authority Among You"

The Qur`ān says, "Nor did those who were given the Book disagree [about it] until after clear proof came to them."[2658] This verse shows that all people given divine revelation will develop disagreements after the truth has been presented to them. Islām is no exception to this, as the Muslims were promised to make the same mistakes as those of nations before them.[2659] After the Prophet's (ص) death, the Muslims differed on just about everything, starting with the issue of the caliphate. Accordingly, the Qur`ān offers the solution to every dispute:

> O you who believe, obey Allāh and obey the Messenger and the foremost in authority among you. If you quarrel over anything, refer it to Allāh and His Messenger if you believe in Allāh and the Last Day.[2660]

This verse commands the Muslims to obey Allāh, the Messenger, and the foremost in authority, and tells them that if they quarrel over anything, they must refer the matter to Allāh and His Messenger (ص). Therefore, the quarreling over the caliphate should have been referred to Allāh and His Messenger (ص), as ordered by the Qur`ān, not settled by ʹUmar's innovations, personal preferences, or unilateral decisions.[2661]

The verse of the Qur`ān does not indicate any exceptions to our duty of obeying the foremost in authority, and in the matter of obedience mentions them along with Allāh and the Prophet (ص). The Shīʹah believe that the foremost in authority whom we are ordered to obey have to be imāms who are pure from all sin and who possess an incorruptible knowledge of the Book of Allāh and the Sunnah of the Prophet (ص). Instead of making or spreading new rules regarding the religion of Allāh, they would address all questions that arise using the knowledge they inherited from the Messenger of Allāh (ص). The fact that the Qur`ān says that everything must be referred to Allāh and His Messenger (ص) shows that the foremost in authority have the ability to do just that.

In fact, the Prophet (ص) made it clear that ʹAlī (ع) was the one foremost in authority among his companions when he, according to a tradition certified as authentic by Ḥākim, told ʹAlī (ع), "Whoever obeys me has indeed obeyed Allāh and whoever disobeys me has indeed disobeyed Allāh. And whoever obeys you has indeed obeyed me and whoever disobeys you has indeed disobeyed me."[2662] According to Abū Dharr, the Prophet (ص) also told ʿAlī (ع), "Whoever obeys you has indeed obeyed me and whoever obeys me has indeed obeyed Allāh, and whoever disobeys you has disobeyed me."[2663] Thus, it is clear that obeying ʿAlī (ع), who was the one foremost in authority, was equivalent to obeying the Prophet (ص), which in turn was equivalent to obeying Allāh.

[2658] Qur`ān 98:4.
[2659] Refer to chapter 36.
[2660] Qur`ān 4:59.
[2661] Refer to chapter 40.

The Foremost in Authority are the Ones with Knowledge

In the same sūrah as the previously cited verse, the Qur`ān says,

> Had they referred it to the Messenger and to the foremost in authority among them, those among them who can derive [knowledge] would have known it.[2664]

This verse is very explicit that the foremost in authority are those who are able to derive knowledge. The Sunnī concept that the foremost in authority refers to anyone in power is clearly wrong, as many of their caliphs had no ability to derive religious knowledge whatsoever. Moreover, this verse is clear that what is derived is knowledge, not conjecture, and therefore is not referring to what the Sunnīs call ijtihād.[2665]

Traditions in Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim Ordering Obedience to the Imām

There are numerous traditions in which the Prophet (ص) ordered his companions to obey the ones imbued with authority and told them that any of them who failed to recognize the imām, who opposed the imām, or who failed to pledge allegiance to the imām would die the death of the Days of Ignorance. For example, according to Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim,

> The Messenger of Allāh said, "One who withdraws his band from obedience [to the imām] will find no argument [in his defense] when he stands before Allāh on the Day of Judgment, and one who dies without having bound himself by an oath of allegiance [to the imām] will die the death of one belonging to the Days of Ignorance."[2666]

Indeed, if one dares disagree with the imām, one will die the death of the Days of Ignorance:

> The Messenger of Allāh said, "One who finds in his ruler something which he dislikes should hold his patience, for one who separates from the main body of the Muslims[2667] even to the extent of a handspan and then he dies would die the death of one belonging to the Days of Ignorance."[2668]

This is referring to the fact that the companions would find things they did not like about the decisions of the Prophet (ص)[2669] and ʿAlī (ع)[2670], yet one ought not to oppose the rightful imām under any circumstance. According to Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim,

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[2662] Mustadrak Ḥākim #4641 (certifies the tradition as authentic). Similarly, Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:123.

[2663] Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:123.

[2664] Qur`ān 4:83.

[2665] Refer to chapter 54 for a discussion of ijtihād.

[2666] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #20.4562-4.

[2667] The topic of the need for adherence to the plurality (jamāʿah) was discussed in chapter 41.

[2668] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #20.4559-60.

[2669] For example, refer to chapter 26.

[2670] For example, refer to chapter 33.

> The Messenger of Allāh said, "It is obligatory for you to listen to the ruler and obey him in adversity and prosperity, in pleasure and displeasure, and even when another person is given preference over you."[2671]

The last phrase indicates that one ought not oppose the imām because one has been deprived of leadership roles or a share of the khums and fay`, as these were common reasons for people to oppose or to hold grudges against the Prophet (ص) and ʿAlī (ع). If one defects from obedience of the imām, one will die outside the realm of Islām. According to Abū Hurayrah,

> The Messenger of Allāh said, "Whoever defects from obedience [to the ruler] and separates from the main body of the Muslims and dies in that state would die the death of one belonging to the Days of Ignorance."[2672]

The Prophet (ص) even predicted the rise of illegitimate and unjust rulers. According to Ḥudhayfah ibn Yamān,

> The Prophet said, "There will be leaders who will not be led by my guidance and who will not adopt my ways. There will be among them men who will have the hearts of devils in the bodies of human beings." I said, "What should I do, O Messenger of Allāh, if I [happen] to live in that time?" He replied, "You will listen to the ruler and carry out his orders. Even if your back is flogged and your wealth is snatched, you should listen and obey."[2673]

Although this tradition is often used to indicate the need to obey the unjust ruler, it indeed refers to the need to obey the rightful imām of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) even if one's wealth is snatched and one is flogged by the unjust ruler. If one listens to and obeys the unjust ruler, one would not be flogged and one's wealth would not be snatched, so this tradition indicates that loyalty to the real imām is what would get one persecuted. Furthermore, the Prophet (ص) could not order one to follow those who neither are led by his guidance nor adopt his ways, otherwise he would be ordering us to follow the path of misguidance. If he required the Muslims to follow such leaders who are not guided by Islām, then he might as well have let his followers follow the leaders of the pagan Quraysh.

Distorted Traditions Claiming that Muslims Must Obey Unjust and Oppressive Rulers

The Shīʿah take these traditions to be referring to the rightful imāms of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) who must be obeyed and disobeying whom is equivalent to disobeying the Prophet (ص) and Allāh, which was the way of life during the Days of Ignorance. In contrast, others assert that the foremost in authority in the verse of the Qur`ān and those referred to in these traditions are any ruler. Those serving the caliphs distorted the Prophet's (ص) traditions to create an obligation for the Muslims to obey oppressive and sinful leaders, equating disobedience to these tyrants with disbelief. The following is a clear example of a distorted tradition in Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim requiring submission to a ruler under all circumstances, as long as he professes a belief in Allāh. Only if the ruler were to leave Islām outright may one disobey him:

2671. Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #20.4524.
2672. Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #20.4557-8.
2673. Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #20.4554.

> ´Ubādah ibn Ṣāmit said: Among the injunctions [the Prophet] made binding upon us was listening and obedience [to the ruler] in our pleasure and displeasure, in our adversity and prosperity, even when somebody is given [unjust] preference over us, and without disputing the delegation of powers to a man duly invested with them. [Obedience shall be accorded to him in all circumstances] except when you have clear signs of his disbelief in Allāh—signs that could be used as a conscientious justification [for non-compliance with his orders].[2674]

Ibn ´Umar similarly equated the requirement of following the imām with obedience to the caliph, but stated that one ought not follow them in sin:

> It has been narrated on the authority of Ibn ´Umar that the holy Prophet said, "It is obligatory upon a Muslim that he should listen [to the ruler] and obey him whether he likes it or not, except if he is ordered to do a sinful thing. If he is ordered to do a sinful act, a Muslim should neither listen to him nor should he obey his orders.[2675]

Such traditions are either outright distortions of what the Prophet (ص) had said, or they are referring specifically to leaders of military campaigns, who were given some limited authority over their troops but who were not to be followed in sin.

Two Traditions Showing that the Distorted Claims were Invented by the Companions and Not Attributable to the Prophet (ص)

According to Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim,

> Salamah ibn Yazīd al-Ju´fī asked the Messenger of Allāh, "Prophet of Allāh, what do you think if we have rulers who rule over us and demand that we discharge our obligations towards them, but they [themselves] do not discharge their own responsibilities towards us? What do you order us to do?" The Messenger of Allāh avoided giving any answer. Salamah asked him again. He [again] avoided giving any answer. Then he asked again—it was the second time or the third time—when Ash´ath ibn Qays pulled him aside and said, "Listen to them and obey them, for on them shall be their burden and on you shall be your burden."[2676]

This shows that obedience to these wicked rulers was not mandated by the Prophet (ص) but by the likes of Ash´ath ibn Qays.[2677] Indeed, if this tradition is true, the Prophet's (ص) quiescence was due to three facts: (1) the true imām would never demand anyone to sin; (2) although he was aware that illegitimate rulers would usurp the caliphate, he approved neither of their rise to power nor of their leading people in sin; and (3) the ruling as to what one should do would depend on the situation, as in some cases taqīyyah would be necessary, whereas in other cases an insurrection would be mandated.

The fact that the companions misused these traditions to please the rulers of the day is even more evident in the following tradition, in which ´Abd Allāh ibn ´Amr ibn ´Āṣ was caught off-guard and had to scramble to cover up his misuse of the Prophet's (ص) words. According to Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿAbd Rabb al-Kaʿbah said:

[2674] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #20.4541.
[2675] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #20.4533.
[2676] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #20.4551-2.
[2677] Refer to chapter 53 for a discussion of Ash´ath ibn Qays.

> [ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAmr ibn ʿĀṣ claimed that the Messenger of Allāh said], "He who swears allegiance to a caliph should give him the pledge of his hand and the sincerity of his heart. He should obey him to the best of his capacity. If another man comes forward [as a claimant to caliphate], disputing his authority, they (the Muslims) should behead the latter." I came close to him and said to him, "Can you say on oath that you heard it from the Messenger of Allāh?" He pointed with his hands to his ears and his heart and said, "My ears heard it and my mind retained it." I said to him, "This cousin of yours, Muʿāwīyah, orders us to unjustly consume our wealth among ourselves and to kill one another, while Allāh says, 'O you who believe, do not consume your wealth among yourselves unjustly, unless it be traded based on mutual agreement, and do not kill yourselves. Verily, Allāh is merciful to you.'[2678]" ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAmr ibn ʿĀṣ kept quiet for a while and then said, "Obey him insofar as he is obedient to Allāh; and disobey him in matters involving disobedience to Allāh."[2679]

This tradition shows that the traditions of the Prophet (ص) were quoted in improper contexts and used by the cronies of the Umayyad caliphate in opposition to their intended meaning. In fact, even Shīʿah traditions would agree that the Prophet (ص) said,

> He who swears allegiance to a [rightful] khalīf should give him the pledge of his hand and the sincerity of his heart. He should obey him to the best of his capacity. If another man comes forward [as a claimant to the caliphate], disputing his authority, they should behead the latter.

Of course, this means that the Muslims ought to be devoted to ʿAlī (ع) and the rightful imāms from his progeny and behead those who rise in opposition to the rightful imāms. Yet, this tradition was used to justify obedience to the sinful caliphs like Muʿāwīyah who ruled in opposition to the laws of Islām. Even ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAmr ibn ʿĀṣ, who the Sunnī scholars claim to have been the most pious of Muʿāwīyah's companions in the Battle of Ṣiffīn,[2680] was forced to retract his claim that the Prophet's (ص) tradition could be referring to Muʿāwīyah.

The Foremost in Authority Must be Pure from Sin

There are numerous other traditions similar to these just mentioned in Sunnī books of ḥadīth that order strict obedience to the ruler no matter who they are and what they call one to. These traditions are easily rejected because obedience to such rulers is absolutely prohibited in the Qurʾān, which says,

1. "Do not obey disbelievers and hypocrites."[2681]

2. "Do not obey [those] who reject [the truth]."[2682]

3. "Do not obey every despicable man, ready with oaths."[2683]

[2678] Qurʾān 4:29.
[2679] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #20.4546-8.
[2680] Tārikh Ṭabarī 17:69.
[2681] Qurʾān 33:48.
[2682] Qurʾān 68:8.

4. "Do not obey the disbelievers and fight against them."[2684]

5. "Do not obey the command of the extravagant."[2685]

6. "Do not obey any sinful or ungrateful person among them."[2686]

7. "Do not obey anyone whose heart We allow to neglect Our remembrance and who follows his [personal] whims."[2687]

8. "The devils inspire their adherents to argue with you; if you obey them, you would become pagans."[2688]

9. "We have instructed every man to treat his parents kindly. Yet if they should strive to make you associate anything with Me which you have no knowledge of, do not obey them."[2689]

10. "On a day when their faces will be twisted by the fire, they will say, 'If we had only obeyed Allāh and obeyed the Messenger!' They will say, 'Our Lord, we obeyed our superiors and our great men and they led us off from the [right] path. Our Lord, give them double torment and curse them with a great curse.'"[2690]

Therefore, when Allāh says, "Obey Allāh and obey the Messenger and the foremost in authority among you,"[2691] the "foremost in authority" must be free from all these contemptible vices, otherwise Allāh would be ordering us to obey them in one place while ordering us not to disobey them in another. If the foremost in authority are absolutely free from these vices, they must be pure from all sins, especially because the Qur`ān bans obeying the sinful.[2692] In fact, if they were not pure from all sin, Allāh could not order us to offer them our complete obedience. It is very clear that the Prophet (ص) could not have possibly ordered his people to obey lying, evil-doing, extravagant, and tyrannical rulers from among the hypocrites that would rule his nation for centuries to come when the entire basis of Islām is abandoning the ways of our forefathers and those in authority among us if they are not following the path of Allāh.

According to the Qur`ān, Imāms Must be Pure from Sin

The Qur`ān says,

> When Abraham's Lord tested him by means of [certain] words and he fulfilled them, [Allāh] said, "I am going to make you into an imām for mankind."

2683. Qur`ān 68:10.
2684. Qur`ān 25:52.
2685. Qur`ān 26:151.
2686. Qur`ān 76:24.
2687. Qur`ān 18:28.
2688. Qur`ān 6: 121.
2689. Qur`ān 29:8.
2690. Qur`ān 33:66-68.
2691. Qur`ān 4:59.
2692. Qur`ān 76:24.

> Abraham asked, "And my offspring [as well]?" [Allāh] replied, "My covenant does not apply to oppressors (ẓālimīn)."[2693]

This verse indicates that the imāms must be pure from sin because Allāh's pledge regarding the selection of imām does not apply to the oppressors. According to the Qur`ān, anyone who sins has oppressed his own self: "And whoever transgresses the limits of Allāh does truly oppress his [own] self (ẓalama nafsah)."[2694] This is because by sinning, one enjoins the fire of hell onto oneself: "Whoever oppresses (ẓalama), we shall punish him and then he will be brought back unto his Lord, Who will punish him with an awful punishment!"[2695] Since anyone who commits oppression cannot be an imām and since sinning is a form of oppression, it is obvious that anyone who sins cannot be an imām. As we have proved earlier, only the members of the Ahl al-Bayt of the Prophet (ص) were pure from all sin,[2696] and are therefore are the only ones among the Prophet's (ص) nation qualified for the imāmate. Indeed, no one has ever claimed that any companion, except those among the Ahl al-Bayt (ع), were pure from sin.

Furthermore, one who is not pure from sin is in need of guidance away from sin and towards righteousness. Yet, the Qur`ān indicates that it is the imāms who are the guides as opposed to those in need of guidance:

> "We made them imāms who guide [others] by Our command and We inspired them to perform good deeds, to keep up prayer, and to pay charity. They have been serving Us."[2697]
>
> "We set some of them up as imāms to guide [people] by Our command once they were patient and convinced about Our signs."[2698]

How could someone who is himself in need of guidance be selected to guide the rest of humanity? Allāh asks that exact question in the Qur`ān: "So, is someone who guides to the truth worthier of be followed than someone who does not guide unless he himself is guided?"[2699] Clearly, the Prophet (ص) and his Ahl al-Bayt (ع) are those who guide to the truth, while the other companions could not guide unless they were guided by the Prophet (ص) and his Ahl al-Bayt (ع).

The Imām Must be the Most Knowledgeable

The Qur`ān says, "O you who believe, obey Allāh and obey the Messenger and the foremost in authority among you. If you quarrel over anything, refer it to Allāh and His Messenger if you believe in Allāh and the Last Day."[2700] According to this verse, Muslims must refer matters of dispute to the Book of Allāh and the Prophet (ص) by obeying Allāh, the Prophet (ص), and the one foremost in authority among them. The one foremost in authority therefore has to be the one who is best able to refer matters to the Book of Allāh and the Sunnah of the Prophet (ص) and thereby resolve differences among Muslims. Thus, they must be foremost in religious knowledge. We have already established that the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) can access the Qur`ān due to their purity from sin,[2701] that they are inseparable from the Qur`ān until they enter upon the Fount of Kawthar,[2702] and that ʿAlī (ع) was the gate to the Prophet's (ص) city of knowledge.[2703] Therefore, due to their knowledge, the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) are the ones who can refer all matters to Allāh and the Prophet (ص) when disputes arise.

[2693] Qur`ān 2:124.
[2694] Qur`ān 65:1.
[2695] Qur`ān 18:87.
[2696] Refer to chapter 14.
[2697] Qur`ān 21:73-74.
[2698] Qur`ān 32:24.
[2699] Qur`ān 10:35.
[2700] Qur`ān 4:59.

If the people in authority are not the most knowledgeable, then human reason would dictate that we ought to seek out one who is more knowledgeable and obey that person. In that case, the person foremost in authority would end up being the one with the greater amount of knowledge. Even the Ashʿarī Sunnīs recognize these facts, and therefore claim that Abū Bakr was the most knowledgeable of the nation. Of course, all evidence points to the contrary. Yet such claims only help them so much, as they would have to contend that Muʿāwīyah and Yazīd and every despot after them were the most knowledgeable of the nation at their respective times. That is something no one has claimed.

It is noteworthy that the consensus of the Ashʿarī Sunnīs is that Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, ʿUthmān, and ʿAlī (ع) became caliphs according to the order of their superiority and that Abū Bakr was the most knowledgeable, pious, charitable, and agreeable of the nation, followed by ʿUmar, ʿUthmān, and then ʿAlī (ع). This is pure naiveté, because among them only ʿAlī (ع) was the gate of the Prophet's (ص) city of knowledge,[2704] only ʿAlī (ع) was purified from sin by Allāh,[2705] only ʿAlī (ع) was among the Prophet's Ahl al-Bayt (ع) who are inseparable from the Qur`ān,[2706] and only ʿAlī (ع) was the Prophet's (ص) inheritor.[2707] Indeed, Ḥākim, the preeminent Sunnī scholar, said in regards to the inheritance of ʿAlī (ع), "There is no dispute among the people of knowledge that an uncle's son does not inherit in the presence of an uncle. The only thing that appears contrary to this consensus is that ʿAlī inherited knowledge from the Prophet (ص) instead of them."[2708] Inheritance involves the transfer of a possession upon one's death, but in general one's knowledge dies with one's death and cannot be transferred upon one's demise. Therefore, the inheritance of knowledge upon the death of the Prophet (ص) is only consistent with the Shīʿah concept of the imāmate, as there is no other mechanism by which ʿAlī (ع) would inherit the knowledge of the Prophet (ص) upon his death. Moreover, if ʿAlī (ع) inherited knowledge from the Prophet (ص), he would have to be more knowledgeable than Abū Bakr and ʿUmar who did not inherit such knowledge.

The Qur`ān Warns Us About Abū Bakr and His Supporters

The Qur`ān says in verses 59 and 60 of Sūrah Nisā`,

> O you who believe, obey Allāh and obey the Messenger and the foremost in authority among you. If you quarrel over anything, refer it to Allāh and His Messenger if you believe in Allāh and the Last Day. That is better and more suitable in the end. Have you not seen the ones who think that they believe in what has been revealed to you and what has been revealed before you [even

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[2701] Refer to chapter 14.
[2702] Refer to chapter 15.
[2703] Refer to chapter 17.
[2704] Refer to chapter 17.
[2705] Refer to chapter 14.
[2706] Refer to chapter 15.
[2707] Refer to chapters 2, 10, and 14.
[2708] Mustadrak Ḥākim #4634.

> though] they intend to (yurīdūna) submit to the rule of (yataḥākamū) the rebel (al-ṭāghūt) even though they have been ordered to reject him. Satan wishes to lead them far astray.[2709]

The first verse, as we have discussed, clearly dictates that the Muslims must follow Allāh, the Prophet (ص), and the rightful imāms after him, starting with ʿAlī (ع). The second verse starts with, "Have you not seen," showing that the individuals being discussed were companions whom the Prophet (ص) had seen. The verse continues to say that the individuals being discussed thought that they believed in Islām, even though the obvious implication is that they were not truly believers. The reason they did not truly believe in Islām was that they were intending to submit to the rule of the rebel (al-ṭāghūt), even though they were banned from doing so. This verse shows that a group of companions existed whose intention was to submit to the rule (ḥukm) of the rebel (al-ṭāghūt). Yet, as with any intention, ability was necessary to make the intention come to fruition. During the lifetime of the Prophet (ص), they were unable to select al-ṭāghūt as their ruler due the presence of the Prophet (ص), so they merely harbored the intention of doing so. Upon the Prophet's (ص) death, the key impediment to their selection of al-ṭāghūt as their ruler was lifted and they thereby gained the ability to select Abū Bakr as their caliph, to lead them and to judge among them. The generality of the word ṭāghūt, in which the singular and plural form are identical,[2710] is key in this verse, as it applies to the illegitimacy of every single ruler who is not specifically designated by Allāh. Of note, the word ṭāghūt comes from ṭaghā, which means "to insubordinately transgress the bounds."[2711] The ṭāghūt referred to in the latter verse are therefore the rebellious ones who rebel against the authority (ḥukm) that is invested by Allāh in the one labeled as the foremost in authority in the previous verse. As such, anyone who follows al-ṭāghūt is clearly in violation of Allāh's order and is not a true believer, though he may think that he is.

According to the Qur`ān, every nation has had a ṭāghūt who has stood in opposition to the divinely-appointed imām:

> And We surely raised in every nation a messenger saying, "Serve Allāh and shun al-ṭāghūt."[2712]

Upon the Prophet's (ص) death, the ṭāghūt to whom many of the Prophet's (ص) companions turned, was Abū Bakr. Instead of shunning him and following ʿAlī (ع), they shunned ʿAlī (ع) and followed Abū Bakr. The Qur`ān says,

> Whoever rejects al-ṭāghūt and believes in Allāh has laid hold onto the firmest handle (al-ʿurwah al-wuthqā). Allāh is the master (walī) of those who believe, removing them from darkness towards light. As for those who disbelieve, their masters (walī) are ṭāghūt, who remove them from light towards darkness. They are the companions of the fire, and they shall reside therein eternally.[2713]

Note that al-ṭāghūt in this verse removes people from the light of guidance and enters them into darkness of misguidance. As such, the ṭāghūt referred to in this verse is one who misguides the Muslims, as the disbelievers are not in light in the first place. In the

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2709. Qur`ān 4:59-60.
2710. Mufardāt al-Qur`ān 304 (ṭ-gh-y, ṭāghūt).
2711. Mufardāt al-Qur`ān 304 (ṭ-gh-y, ṭaghā).
2712. Qur`ān 16:36.
2713. Qur`ān 2:256-7.

Muslim nation, the illegitimate caliphs are the ṭāghūt to be rejected, while the firmest handle to be held onto is the Ahl al-Bayt of the Prophet (ص), as they are inseparable from the Qur`ān, the Sunnah, and the truth.

Chapter 43
The Concept of Imāmate in Shī´ism and Sunnīsm

The Meaning of Imām

After discussing the events of the Saqīfah and the selection of Abū Bakr as the caliph, it important to briefly address what the Islāmic leadership, or imāmate, means and what the qualifications of the imām must be. According to Rāghib, an imām refers to a person "whose word or action is followed."[2714] As such, the imāmate refers to the position of leadership that creates the obligation of obedience for the Muslims. Furthermore, the Qur`ān expresses a connection between the imāms and guidance, when it says, "We made them imāms who guide by Our command,"[2715] and when it says, "We set some of them up as imāms to guide by Our command."[2716]

Differences Between the Sunnīs and Shī´ah in Their Concepts of the Imāmate

The Shī´ah believe that the imām is only selected by naṣṣ, which is the specific designation of an individual by the Prophet (ص) or the imām before him, in accordance with Allāh's command. There is no other method of selection that is valid for selecting an imām, as Allāh has selected them for mankind. As the Qur`ān says, "Your Lord creates and chooses anything He wishes, while they have no choice,"[2717] and "Allāh grants His kingdom to whomever He pleases."[2718]

According to the Shī´ah, the choice of ´Alī (ع) as the imām was only that of Allāh and the rest of the Muslims had no right to make any decision, as Allāh had clearly made a decision for them: "There is not for any believing man or woman a choice in their affairs when Allāh and His Messenger have made a decision [in that regards]. And whoever disobeys Allāh and His Messenger has indeed wandered off into manifest error."[2719]

The Sunnī View of the Imāmate

Sunnī scholars believe that immunity from sin is not a prerequisite for being an imām because the imāmate and caliphate simply relate to public affairs, such as the execution of Islāmic punishments (ḥudūd), the maintenance of peace and security, engaging in war, collecting taxes, running the treasury, and preventing social injustice. As such, the imām need not be a man of particular virtue or knowledge. Ibn Khaldūn, a prominent Sunnī scholar, in his discussion of the caliphate and imāmate defined khalīf and imām as the same. He said,

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[2714] Mufradāt al-Qur`ān 24 (a-m, al-Imām).
[2715] Qur`ān 21:73.
[2716] Qur`ān 32:24.
[2717] Qur`ān 28:68.
[2718] Qur`ān 2:247.
[2719] Qur`ān 33:36.

> What is called the caliphate and the imāmate is acting on behalf of the Prophet (ص) in protecting the religion and the politics of this world. The one who takes this position is called the khalīf and the imām. He is called the imām because of the similarity [of his position] to [that of] the leader (imām) of prayers with respect to those who follow him.[2720]

The Sunnī scholars believe that there are several ways for a caliph to be selected: By receiving a pledge of allegiance from a group of Muslims, however small, the way Abū Bakr was selected; by designation by a former caliph, the way ʿUmar was selected; by the decision of a group of select individuals, the way ʿUthmān was selected; by popular consent the way ʿAlī (ع) was selected; and by the pledge of allegiance of five, two, or even one worthy individuals. Māwardī said,

> The imāmate is consummated in two ways: one is by the decision of the Ahl al-Ḥall wa al-ʿAqd (those who loosen and bind, i.e. prominent Muslims), and the second is by the covenant of the previous imām. But in regards to its consummation by the decision of the Ahl al-Ḥall wa al-ʿAqd, the scholars differ as to the number of people whose pledge of allegiance is necessary for one to become caliph. Some say that [one's] caliphate is not consummated until all the knowledgeable experts of the land surrender to his imāmate so that his caliphate would be popularly [accepted] and so that everyone would surrender to his imāmate. However, this opinion is invalid because the pledge of allegiance to Abū Bakr was conducted by the pledge of those present and no one waited for those not present to come and [help] decide. Others say that five people are necessary in a pledge of allegiance, either for all five to agree, or for one to be appointed with the consent of the other four. These people argue that the pledge of allegiance to Abū Bakr was consummated when five people—ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, Abū ʿUbaydah ibn al-Jarrāḥ, Usayd ibn Ḥuḍayr, Bashīr ibn Saʿd, and Sālim mawlā Abī Ḥudhayfah—pledged allegiance and the people followed them, and also because ʿUmar set the decision among a group of six people in a consultative council (Shūrā) so that five would pledge allegiance to the one [selected]. This is the opinion of the majority of the scholars of jurisprudence and theologians among the Baṣrans. Others among the scholars of jurisprudence of Kūfah say that three people suffice so that one person is put in charge with the consent of the other two so that [the three] would include the ruler and two witnesses, as is the case in a marriage contract where there is a master (walī) and two witnesses. Another group says that the pledge of one person is enough because ʿAbbās told ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib, "Stretch your hand so that I may pledge allegiance to you. The people would say that the uncle of the Prophet pledged allegiance to the Prophet's cousin. Then not even two people would dispute you." This would be a ruling (ḥukm) [by ʿAbbās], and the ruling of one [individual] has authority.[2721]

Qurṭubī said in his commentary on the Qurʾān,

[2720] Tārīkh Ibn Khaldūn 1:191.

[2721] Aḥkām al-Sulṭānīyyah of Māwardī 7.

> If one individual among the Ahl al-Ḥall wa al-´Aqd does the binding (´aqd), this matter (i.e. the imāmate) is solidified and it is mandatory for others to act upon it. This is contrary to what some of the people say—that it is not binding unless a group of the Ahl al-Ḥall wa al-´Aqd [make the decision]. Our reason is that ´Umar made binding the allegiance to Abū Bakr and none of the companions disputed it.[2722]

Nawawī said,

> Setting out against [the caliphs] and fighting them is forbidden according to the consensus of the Muslims (i.e. Sunnīs), even if they are evil-doing (fāsiq) oppressors. The traditions make clear what I have said. The Ahl al-Sunnah have consensus that a sultan is not removed from power due to [his] evil-doing (fisq)... The leaders of the Ahl al-Sunnah among the scholars of jurisprudence, tradition, and theology say that one is not removed by evil-doing, oppression (ẓulm), or the dismissal of rights. He would not be removed from power and it would not permissible to rise against him because of this.[2723]

Amazingly, he rather conveniently overlooked the fact that this Sunnī consensus means that the uprisings of ´Ā`ishah, Ṭalḥah, Zubayr, and Mu´āwīyah against ´Alī (ع) was illegitimate, as their excuse was that ´Alī (ع) dismissed rights by not punishing the killers of ´Uthmān. If these individuals were right about ´Alī (ع), then ´Alī's (ع) conduct would fall into the realm of "evil-doing, oppression, and the dismissal of rights and obligations," which by consensus of the Sunnīs is not a reason to rise up against a caliph.

These are the words of just a few of the Sunnī scholars in regards to the imāmate, and their words are reflective of the beliefs of the Ahl al-Sunnah on the imāmate and caliphate.[2724] The Shī´ah, in contrast, believe that an imām must be pure from sin and can only be chosen by Allāh. Indeed, the right of the imām to lead and our duty to obey the imām both derive from their purity and knowledge. In the next chapter we will prove that the position of imām is a high position, indeed higher than that of a prophet, and that unlike what the Sunnīs say, such a position cannot be occupied by evil-doers.

Ash´arī and Mu´tazilī Views

The Sunnīs of today follow Ash´arī theology. With respect to the imāmate, this includes two key beliefs, as described by Shahrastānī in al-Milal wa al-Niḥal, a book dedicated to religious sects. First is the belief that "succession to the imāmate is by consensus and election, not by decree or appointment."[2725] According to Shahrastānī, "The companions agreed in the hall of the Banū Sā´idah on the choice of Abū Bakr. They also agreed on ´Umar after Abū Bakr had appointed him. They agreed, too, on ´Uthmān after consultation, and, lastly they agreed on ´Alī."[2726] Second, "The degrees of excellence of these [first four] imāms is according to their order in the imāmate,"[2727] which means that Abū Bakr, ´Umar, and ´Uthmān were superior to ´Alī (ع).

[2722] Tafsīr Qurṭubī, verse 2:30.

[2723] Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim of Nawawī 12:229.

[2724] For further discussion of this topic and additional similar quotes from Sunnī scholars, refer to Ma´ālim al-Madrasatayn 1:191-199 and al-Ghadīr 7:136-143.

[2725] Milal wa Niḥal 87.

[2726] Milal wa Nihal 87.

[2727] Milal wa Niḥal 87.

According to Shahrastānī, "The Mu'tazilīs disagree [with one another], however, on the question of the imāmate. Some of them hold that it is decided by appointment, while others say it is decided by election."[2728] Although most Mu'tazilīs were Bakrīyyah, meaning that they held Abū Bakr to be superior to all the other companions, including 'Alī (ع), in every respect, a notable minority held 'Alī (ع) to be the most superior of the companions in every respect. However, this minority, unlike the Shī'ah, believed it permissible for the less desirable (mafḍūl) to become the leader in the presence of the more desirable (afḍal). Indeed, all Sunnīs hold this belief, as they cannot reasonably claim that the Umayyad, 'Abbāsīd, and Ottoman caliphs were the most superior individuals of their times in every respect. The naiveté of the Bakrīyyah is evident in the fact that not a single person in the Saqīfah claimed that Abū Bakr was the most superior of the companions when deciding on a caliph. Neither Abū Bakr and his companions nor Sa'd ibn 'Ubādah and his companions had an interest in this topic. Therefore, the degree of virtue was not the criteria for selecting Abū Bakr as caliph, and Abū Bakr never claimed his own virtue over others as a reason for the legitimacy of his rule. Instead, he said, "Here I have been assigned the job of being ruler over you while I am not the best among you."[2729] As such, in contrast to the vast majority of the Sunnīs, Abū Bakr himself cannot be counted among the Bakrīyyah.

The View of the Naẓẓāmīyyah Among the Mu'tazilīs

The Mu'tazilīs have put forth a number of opinions regarding the imāmate. Although the majority have shared the Ash'arī view that the imām is selected by them as opposed to by divine appointment (naṣṣ) and that Abū Bakr was the leading companion with respect to every virtue, there have been a number of significant minority opinions in this regards. These opinions arose primarily because the Mu'tazilīs allowed greater freedom of thought and reasoning than did the Ash'arīs. One of the Mu'tazilī sects was the Naẓẓāmīyyah. According to Shahrastānī,

> Naẓẓām is inclined to adopt the Rāfiḍīte (i.e. Shī'ah) views and to be disparaging of the leading companions. He says in the first place that there is no imāmate without designation and appointment that are explicit and public. The Prophet designated 'Alī on a number of occasions, and did this so explicitly that there could be no longer any doubt about it in the community. 'Umar, however, concealed it, and it was he who was responsible for the election of Abū Bakr on the day of the Saqīfah. Naẓẓām also accuses 'Umar of doubt on the day of Ḥudaybīyyah when he questioned the Prophet saying, "Are we not in the right? And are they not in the wrong?" The Prophet replied, "Yes, that is so." 'Umar thereupon asked, "Why then do we show weakness in our religion?" According to Naẓẓām, this was doubt and uncertainty in the matter of religion on the part of 'Umar, who was disturbed in mind about what Muḥammad had decided and ordered. Furthermore, Naẓẓām lied in saying that 'Umar struck Fāṭimah in the stomach on the day Abū Bakr was installed as caliph, causing her a miscarriage; and that he cried out, "Burn her house and all its inmates!" when there were in the house only 'Alī, Fāṭimah, Ḥasan, and Ḥusayn. Naẓẓām says, too, that 'Umar exiled Naṣr ibn Ḥajjāj from Madīnah to Baṣrah. He also introduced the [performance of the] tarāwīḥ [prayers in congregation], forbade the mut'ah [of marriage and] during pilgrimage, and dealt harshly with governors. All these were unprecedented acts.

[2728] Milal wa Niḥal 43.

[2729] Refer to chapter 40.

> Naẓẓām also disparages ʿUthmān, the Commander of the Faithful, and gave an account of his misdeeds, such as: bringing Ḥakam ibn [Abī al-ʿĀṣ ibn] Umayyah back to Madīnah though he had been banished by the Prophet; exiling Abū Dharr, a friend of the Prophet, to Rabadhah; appointing Walīd ibn ʿUqbah as governor of Kūfah, though he was one of the most depraved of men; appointing Muʿāwīyah to the governorship of Syria, and ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿĀmir to that of Baṣrah; giving his daughter in marriage to Marwān ibn Ḥakam. All these men did harm to his caliphate. Naẓẓām also accuses ʿUthmān of striking ʿAbd Allāh ibn Masʿūd in connection with the preparation of the authoritative version of the Qurʾān, and because of ʿAbd Allāh's criticism of him. All of these things are the misdeeds of ʿUthmān according to Naẓẓām.[2730]

This shows that the truth of the imāmate was not apparent only to the Shīʿah, but that some fair-minded Muʿtazilī Sunnīs who were willing to break with beliefs that were popular among the ruling circles reached the same conclusions with respect to the imāmate.

Abū Ḥanīfah Died in Manṣūr's Prison Because of His Shīʿah Beliefs

While Sunnīs historically have been divided into Muʿtazilīs and Ashʿarīs in terms of theology, when it comes to Islāmic jurisprudence, they follow one of four "imāms" of fiqh—Abū Ḥanīfah, Mālik, Shāfiʿī, and Ḥanbal. Of interest, Abū Ḥanīfah, though considered by many to have been a Murjiʾah Sunnī early in life,[2731] meaning that he considered actions to be of secondary importance with respect to beliefs, by later in his life adopted the Shīʿah view of the imāmate and become a Shīʿah Jārūdīyyah according Shahrastānī. Shahrastānī listed Abū Ḥanīfah as a Jārūdī Zaydī Shīʿah among his list of "Shīʿah leaders and writers among the traditionalists."[2732] Indeed, the views of Abū Ḥanīfah on the imāmate caused him to lose his life. According to Shahrastānī,

> According to some of [the Jārūdīyyah] the imāmate continued in succession from ʿAlī to Ḥasan, from Ḥasan to Ḥusayn, from Ḥusayn to ʿAlī ibn Ḥusayn Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn, from ʿAlī ibn Ḥusayn to his son Zayd ibn ʿAlī, and, lastly, to the imām Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn Ḥasan ibn Ḥasan[2733] ibn ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib, in whose imāmate they believed. Abū Ḥanīfah gave allegiance to Muḥammad, and became one of his followers. When in due course the matter was brought to the notice of [the ʿAbbāsīd caliph] Manṣūr he imprisoned Abū Ḥanīfah and kept him in captivity till his death. It is said that it was during the reign of Manṣūr that Abū Ḥanīfah swore allegiance to the imām Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh. When Muḥammad was killed in Madīnah, Abū Ḥanīfah remained faithful to his oath of allegiance, in the conviction that allegiance should be given to the house of the Prophet. This matter was reported to Manṣūr, and there then took place what we have already described (i.e. killing of Abū Ḥanīfah for being Shīʿah)."[2734]

According to Shahrastānī, the Jārūdīyyah had the following view of the imāmate:

[2730] Milal wa Niḥal 51-2.

[2731] Milal wa Niḥal 121. Tārīkh Bukhārī vol 8 #2253 (Nuʿmān ibn Thābit) also cites him as having been among the Murjiʾah.

[2732] Milal wa Niḥal 163.

[2733] In the English translation, the name Ḥusayn appears here instead of Ḥasan, which appears to be a typographical error.

[2734] Milal wa Niḥal 135.

> They hold that the Prophet appointed ʹAlī, not by name, but by description; and it is he who is the imām after the Prophet. Men failed in their duty in not recognizing the description, and in not seeking for the one described. They set up, instead, Abū Bakr of their own accord, and thus became unbelievers.[2735]

It is interesting that the Sunnīs who follow Abū Ḥanīfah in Islāmic jurisprudence do not follow his apparent belief as a Jārūdī that "allegiance should be given to the house of the Prophet" instead of to Abū Bakr, ʹUmar, ʹUthmān, and the corrupt Umayyad and ʹAbbāsīd caliphs who succeeded them. Indeed, Mālik, another imām of Sunnī jurisprudence, joined Abū Ḥanīfah in his opposition to the ʹAbbāsīd caliph Manṣūr and support of Muḥammad ibn ʹAbd Allāh, known as Nafs al-Zakīyyah (the pure soul), giving a fatwā dissolving all pledges of allegiance made to Manṣūr and thereby legitimizing the mass insurrection of the people of Madīnah against the ʹAbbāsīds.[2736] Similarly, Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal was persecuted and exiled by the ʹAbbāsīd caliph Maʹmūn.[2737] Clearly, the Salafīs who glorify the early caliphate have something to learn from the Sunnī imāms of jurisprudence who would not accept the legitimacy of the ʹAbbāsīd caliphs.

Conclusions

Whereas the Shīʹah maintain a clear and absolute definition of what an imām is and how one is selected, the Sunnī scholars have had to create criteria by which historical events can be justified and excused retrospectively. Thus, sinful and corrupt individuals may rule over the Muslims not because they can do so Islāmically, but because they have done so in reality. The basic difference comes down to the interpretation of the following verse: "Allāh grants His kingdom to whomever He pleases."[2738] The Shīʹah believe that this refers to the fact that Allāh chooses whom He pleases to be the rightful imām. The Ashʹarīs believe that once one becomes the caliph, it becomes apparent that Allāh wished for him to do so, and that opposition to his rule amounts to opposition to the will of Allāh. In accordance with a such a view, when the Prophet's (ص) descendants were taken to Damascus after the massacre at Karbalāʹ, Yazīd recited this and another similar verse:[2739]

> Say, "O Allāh, you are the possessor of power; You grant the kingdom to whom you please and you deprive the kingdom from whom you please. You exalt whom You please and humiliates whom You please."[2740]

As such, Yazīd was implying that Allāh wished for him to be the king and not Imām Ḥusayn (ع).[2741] Yet, the context of the first verse makes the truth clear:

> Their prophet said to them (i.e. the Children of Israel), "Allāh has appointed Ṭālūt as king over you." They said, "How can he exercise authority over us when we are better fitted than him to exercise authority, and he is not even gifted with wealth in abundance?" He said, "Allāh has chosen him above you, and has

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[2735] Milal wa Niḥal 135.
[2736] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 28:156.
[2737] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 32:220-1.
[2738] Qurʹān 2:247.
[2739] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 8:213.
[2740] Qurʹān 3:26.
[2741] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 8:213.

> gifted him abundantly with knowledge and bodily prowess. Allāh grants His kingdom to whomever He pleases."[2742]

It is clear that the people did not want the king that Allāh had chosen for them, even though it was their religious obligation to accept whomever Allāh had appointed for them and to refrain from questioning the identity or the qualifications of their appointed king. If the people were to accept Ṭālūt as king, then he would become their rightful ruler. But if the people were to choose someone else, whomever they chose would be an illegitimate ruler, while Ṭālūt would retain the divinely-mandated right to rule. Amazingly, Ṭālūt bore much resemblance to ʿAlī (ع) because he was financially poor, yet imbued with much knowledge and physical strength. That a nation would choose a king other than ʿAlī (ع) should therefore be no surprise, as the Children of Israel rejected Ṭālūt as their designated king, and the Prophet (ص) promised us that the Muslim nation would follow every act of the Jews and Christians before us.

In the next chapter, the Qur`ānic view of the imām will be evaluated, and it will be shown to conflict with the Ashʿarī view. In fact, the position of imām is higher than that of prophet, and it is therefore impossible for any corrupt man to rightfully claim this lofty divinely-appointed position.

[2742] Qur`ān 2:247.

Chapter 44
The Position of an Imām is Higher than That of a Prophet

The Superiority of an Imām Over a Prophet According to the Qur`ān

The superiority of an imām over a prophet may sound surprising to some, yet the Qur`ān regards the imāmate as a higher position that prophecy. This discussion will establish the loftiness of the position of the imām in response to those who believe that the imām can be just about anyone who takes over political control of the nation. The Qur`ān says,

> When Abraham's Lord tested him by means of [certain] words and he fulfilled them, [Allāh] said, "I am going to make you into an imām for mankind." Abraham asked, "And my offspring [as well]?" [Allāh] replied, "My covenant does not apply to oppressors (ẓālimīn)."[2743]

It is obvious that Abraham (ع) became an imām long after he had been chosen as a prophet (nabī). This is because when he was selected as an imām, Abraham (ع) asked whether the imāmate would also be granted to his descendants or not. The Qur`ān is clear that Abraham (ع) did not have descendants until he was very old and long after he had been selected as a prophet, as Abraham said, "Praise be to Allāh Who has bestowed Ishmael and Isaac on me in my old age."[2744]

Another reason that clearly shows that Abraham (ع) was selected as an imām after he was selected as a prophet is that in order for the conversation between Abraham (ع) and Allāh regarding his imāmate to proceed, Abraham (ع) must have been a prophet to begin with. It is therefore clear that Abraham's (ع) status as an imām was granted after his prophecy. Thus, the status of imāmate is higher than that of prophecy.

This, however, should not be taken to mean that all imāms are prophets. Rather, it implies that the imāmate is a degree not bestowed upon all of Allāh's prophets, just as prophecy is not bestowed on all imāms. Indeed, none of the Shī`ah imāms were bestowed with prophecy, as Muḥammad (ص) was the final prophet. The fact that the position of imām is higher than that of prophet should also not be taken to mean that the Shī`ah imāms are superior to the Prophet (ص), as he was both a prophet and an imām and the most superior of all of Allāh's creation. Rather, the lofty position of imām shows the fact that such a position is not a simple matter to be held by any corrupt leader who ascends to the throne.

According to the Qur`ān, the Imāms from the Offspring of Abraham (ع) Must be Pure from Sin

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2743. Qur`ān 2:124.
2744. Qur`ān 14:39.

According to the Qur`ān,

> When Abraham's Lord tested him by means of [certain] words and he fulfilled them, [Allāh] said, "I am going to make you into an imām for mankind." Abraham asked, "And my offspring [as well]?" [Allāh] replied, "My covenant does not apply to oppressors (ẓālimīn)."[2745]

This verse is absolutely clear that imāms from the progeny of Abraham (ع) must be pure from sin because Allāh's covenant regarding the imāmate does not apply to the oppressors. According to the Qur`ān, any sin is a form of oppression: "And whoever transgresses the limits of Allāh does truly oppress his [own] self (ẓalama nafsah)."[2746] Therefore, those from among Abraham's (ص) offspring who commit sins cannot be legitimate imāms, as they will never have a binding covenant with Allāh with respect to holding the imāmate. The fact that Abū Bakr sinned is evident in the following verse of the Qur`ān: "It was Satan who caused those of you who turned back on the day the two groups met (i.e. Uḥud) to fail because of some of what they had done."[2747] As such, Abū Bakr's previous sins gave Satan power over him on the day of Uḥud, thereby inducing him to commit another sin by abandoning the battlefield.[2748] As such, the Qur`ān has clearly banned Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, and ʿUthmān from the imāmate. Indeed, since only the members of the Ahl al-Bayt of the Prophet (ص) are pure from all sin,[2749] they are the only ones in the Prophet's (ص) nation qualified for the imāmate and the only ones for whom Allāh's covenant regarding the imāmate can apply.

The Claim that Since Muḥammad (ص) was the Last Prophet (ص), There Could Not be Designated Imāms After Him

Some claim that the Shīʿah view of the imāmate is such that it becomes equivalent to belief in the existence of prophets after the Prophet Muḥammad (ص). If the imāms are pure from all sin and must be followed and obeyed, then, in practical terms, having the imāms is like having other prophets. This view is incorrect because a prophet is one who receives divine inspiration from Allāh containing a new message or laws. The imām, however, is the leader of the community whose purpose is to uphold and clarify the Book of Allāh and the laws of Islām. To do so, they must possess perfect knowledge of the Qur`ān and Islāmic law (sharīʿah) and be sinless so that they do not lead us astray. The imāms do not present new laws, but rather maintain and implement existing laws. They do not receive new revelation from Allāh, but rather receive their knowledge from the Prophet (ص), whose knowledge was passed down to ʿAlī (ع) and then successively to each imām after him.

The Sunnīs Believe in the Imāmate as the Shīʿah Do with Respect to Imām Mahdī (ع)

Perhaps the simplest proof that the Shīʿah view of the imāmate does not amount to a belief in another prophet after the Prophet Muḥammad (ص) is the fact that Sunnīs and Shīʿah alike believe in the coming of Imām Mahdī (ع). The following are a few of the numerous Sunnī traditions in this regards:

2745. Qur`ān 2:124.
2746. Qur`ān 65:1.
2747. Qur`ān 3:155.
2748. Refer to chapter 11.
2749. Refer to chapter 14.

1. According to Umm Salamah, the Prophet (ص) said, "The Mahdī will be of my family, of the descendants of Fāṭimah."[2750]

2. According to Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī, the Prophet (ص) said, "The Mahdī will be of me, and will have a broad forehead and a prominent nose. He will fill the earth will equity and justice, as it was filled with oppression and tyranny."[2751]

3. According to 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, the Prophet (ص) said, "If only one day of this time [on earth] remains, Allāh will raise up a man from my family who will fill this earth with justice as it has been filled with oppression."[2752]

4. According to 'Alī al-Hilālī, a companion of the Prophet (ص),[2753] the Prophet (ص) told Fāṭimah, "Ḥasan and Ḥusayn are the two chiefs of the young men of paradise, and by the One Who sent me with the truth, their father is better than them. O Fāṭimah, by the One Who sent me with the truth, the Mahdī of this nation will be from the [descendants] of the two of them. When the world is filled with turmoil, when mischief prevails while the path [of righteousness] is blocked, when some show aggression against others, and when the elderly show no mercy to the young and the young show no respect to the elderly, Allāh, the great and glorious, will bring him forth from along them..."[2754]

Sunnīs traditions make it clear that when Imām Mahdī (ع) rises, he will purify and restore Islām, undo any innovations in religion, and fight the hypocrites and disbelievers until the world is filled with righteousness and justice as it was filled with evil and injustice before. Imām Mahdī (ع) would be specifically designated by Allāh, and the Muslims would have to follow and obey him in all matters, both political and religious. This is exactly what the Shī'ah believe about their imāms. Indeed, whatever argument is used to say that the Shī'ah concept of imāmate contradicts Islām would nullify the concept of Imām Mahdī (ع) in Sunnīsm as well. And however the Sunnīs justify the concept of having a designated mahdī when Muḥammad (ص) was the last prophet, the Shī'ah can use the same justification for having designated imāms after Muḥammad's (ص) death. Indeed, we will soon examine the fact that the Prophet (ص) said that there will be exactly twelve imāms after him, the last of whom will be Imām Mahdī (ع).[2755]

The last tradition is also noteworthy because the Prophet (ص) foretold that Imām Mahdī (ع) will be a descendant of both Ḥasan and Ḥusayn (ع). This is indeed true, as he is the son of Ḥasan ibn 'Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn Mūsā ibn Ja'far ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib (ع). Furthermore, Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn Ḥusayn (ع), the fifth Shī'ah imām, was the son of Fāṭimah bint Ḥasan ibn 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib.[2756] As such, all the Shī'ah imāms, from the fifth imām onwards and including Imām Mahdī, are among the offspring of both Ḥasan and Ḥusayn (ع).

2750. Sunan Abū Dāwūd #4284; Kanz al-'Ummāl #39675; Jāmi' al-Ṣaghīr Suyūṭī #9241; Sunan Ibn Mājah #4085-6.
2751. Sunan Abū Dāwūd #4285.
2752. Sunan Abū Dāwūd #4283.
2753. According to Iṣābah 3:1299 #5698 ('Alī al-Hilālī), he was one of the Prophet's (ص) companions.
2754. Mu'jam al-Kabīr Ṭabarānī 3:58; Majma' al-Zawā'id #14967; Dhakhā'ir al-'Uqbā 136.
2755. Refer to chapter 45.
2756. The fact that Ḥasan (ع) was the maternal grandfather of the fifth Shī'ah imām is referred to in the Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb vol 9 #582 (Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib al-Hāshimī Abū Ja'far al-Bāqir), and Tadhkirah al-Ḥuffāẓ #109 (Abū Ja'far al-Bāqir Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn Ḥusayn).

Of note, a number of Sunnī traditions state that the name of Imām Mahdī (ع) will be the name of the Prophet (ص) and that the name of his father will be the name of the Prophet's (ص) father. In reality, the name of Imām Mahdī (ع) is the name of the Prophet (ص) and the name of his father is the name of his son, Ḥasan (ع). This change is easily accomplished by deliberate or indeliberate textual distortion, as the words "abī (my father, ابي)" and "ibnī (my son, ابني)" look nearly identical in Arabic and the simple addition of a dot would change "my father" to "my son". Furthermore, the routine placement of dots when writing letters did not occur till later centuries, allowing for this misinterpretation to arise.

It should also be noted that the majority of the traditions state that, "His name will be my name,"[2757] and that the additional phrase, "and the name of his father will be the name of my father," could easily be an erroneous addition by later narrators, particularly because traditions containing the latter phrase comprise only a minority of those related from ʻAbd Allāh ibn Masʻūd in this regards.[2758] Furthermore, the tradition related from Qurrah ibn Īyās containing this addition[2759] has been certified as weak (ḍaʻīf) by Haythamī.[2760]

Historically, the likely reason for this forgery was to support the claim of Muḥammad ibn ʻAbd Allāh ibn Ḥasan ibn Ḥasan ibn ʻAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib (ع), also known as Muḥammad Nafs al-Zakīyyah, that he was the mahdī. Virtually everyone in Madīnah pledged allegiance to him, including Abū Ḥanīfah as well as many other Sunnī scholars and narrators of tradition who were living in Madīnah at the time, and Mālik gave a fatwā allowing the Muslims to disregard their pledge of allegiance to the ʻAbbāsīd caliph Manṣūr so they could join this uprising.[2761] His uprising, however, did not get very far, as Nafs al-Zakīyyah was defeated and killed. Moreover, his illegitimate uprising started the intense persecution of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) and their Shīʻah by the ʻAbbāsīd caliphs, who had themselves initially risen in the name of restoring the caliphate to the Ahl al-Bayt (ع). The legacy Nafs al-Zakīyyah leaves us to this day is this distorted tradition, as well as a number of traditions defaming Imām Ḥasan (ع), as the ʻAbbāsīds had to prove that the descendants of Ḥasan (ع) had no legitimate claim to the caliphate.[2762]

The Sunnī Belief that Imāms are Higher than Prophets

Some may balk when hearing the Shīʻah concept that the imāmate is a position higher than prophecy. However, the Sunnīs share the same belief as well. In Sunnī accounts of the ends of time, Jesus (ع) will return and pray behind Imām Mahdī (ع), as he would refuse to lead prayers in the latter's presence. This is only because the position of an imām is higher than that of a prophet. According to Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim,

> The Messenger of Allāh said: A section of my people will not cease fighting for the truth and will prevail till the Day of Judgment. Jesus the son of Mary would then descend and their commander would invite him to come and lead them in

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[2757] Sunan Abū Dāwūd #4282 (note that #4282 relates both the version with the addition and without it); Sunan Tirmidhī #2230-31 (certifies both as good-authentic [ḥasan-ṣaḥīḥ]); Musnad Ḥanbal #3571-3, #4098, #4279; Muʻjam al-Ṣaghīr Ṭabarānī #1181; Muʻjam al-Kabīr Ṭabarānī 10:131, 10:133-7 (fifteen traditions); .

[2758] Sunan Abū Dāwūd #4282; Mustadrak Ḥākim #8364, #8434; Muʻjam al-Awsaṭ Ṭabarānī #1255; Muʻjam al-Kabīr Ṭabarānī 10:133, 10:135 (two traditions); Tārīkh Damishq 53:414.

[2759] Muʻjam al-Kabīr Ṭabarānī 19:32-33; Majmaʻ al-Zawāʼid #12396; Tārīkh Damishq 49:296.

[2760] Majmaʻ al-Zawāʼid #12396.

[2761] Refer to chapter 43.

[2762] Refer to chapter 94.

> prayer, but he would say, "No, some amongst you are commanders over some. This is the honor from Allāh for this ummah (nation)."[2763]

This tradition is most explicit in stating that: (1) there will be a sect who will not cease fighting for the truth, which refers to the Shī'ah of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع); (2) this sect would be the one who will comprise Imām Mahdī's (ع) army; (3) Jesus (ع) will be invited to lead prayers, but he will refuse because the Shī'ah imām has authority over Jesus (ع).

<u>The Attempt to Hide This in the English Translation of Sahīh Bukhārī</u>

In the English translation of Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, the following tradition appears:

> Allāh's Apostle said, "How will you be when [Jesus] the son of Mary descends amongst you and he will judge people by the law of the Qur`ān and not by the law of the Gospel?"[2764]

However, in this translation, the phrase, "wa imāmukum minkum (and your imām is one of you)," was left out after "amongst you," even though this phrase is present in the Arabic text.[2765] Therefore, the tradition reads, "How will you be when the son of Mary descends and your imām is one of you." This is a clear reference to Muslims having a legitimate imām from among themselves the day Jesus (ع) re-appears. The Prophet (ص) is obviously not referring to any leader of an Islāmic state, but rather a legitimate imām who would be higher in status than Jesus (ع) and who, at the time of the re-appearance of Jesus (ع), would be among the Muslims and no longer in occultation. It is no surprise that the English translators preferred to leave out this phrase from their translation.

The Imām Must be Designated by Allāh

Reason dictates that the person who is to lead the Islāmic nation must be fit for that position. Since the position of imām is even higher the position of prophet, how can human beings be entrusted to select the imām? The Qur`ān says,

> Their prophet said to them, "Allāh has appointed Ṭālūt as king over you." They said, "How can he exercise authority over us when we are better fitted than him to exercise authority, and he is not even gifted with wealth in abundance?" He said, "Allāh has chosen him above you, and has gifted him abundantly with knowledge and bodily prowess. Allāh grants His authority to whom He pleases. Allāh cares for all, and He knows all things."[2766]

No human, unless informed by Allāh, can know the truth of what is inside another man's soul. Some people appeared to be devout Muslims during the Prophet's (ص) life, but were called hypocrites by the Qur`ān. Whenever the proper situation would arise, their hypocrisy would become apparent. In some cases, their hypocrisy never became apparent. For example, Allāh states that in the Battle of Aḥzāb a good number of companions would have committed treason had the city's peripheral defenses been breached.[2767] Since the peripheral defenses were not breached, we do not know who those companions of weak faith were. Similarly, Allāh says that after the pledge of

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2763. Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #1.293.
2764. Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #4.55.658.
2765. Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī Arabic original #3265.
2766. Qur`ān 2:247.
2767. Refer to chapter 13.

allegiance of Riḍwān occurred during the Peace of Ḥudaybīyyah, had war broken out, the companions would have deserted the Prophet (ص) en masse.[2768] Yet, war did not break out, so we do not know the identities of the companions who would have deserted the Prophet (ص). The Qur`ān is, indeed, very explicit that, "You do not know [the hypocrites], but We know them."[2769] At the end, it is only Allāh who knows what is in our hearts and therefore who is best fit for a position as central and important as the leadership of the Islāmic nation. Indeed, the Qur`ān is clear that all decisions belong to Allāh and not to the people:

1. "There is no role for you [O Prophet] in the decisions."[2770]
2. "All decisions are for Allāh."[2771]
3. "Surely creation and decisions belong to Him."[2772]
4. "They ask, 'Is there any place for us in decision-making?' Say, 'Indeed the decisions are all entirely for Allāh.'"[2773]
5. "Your Lord creates and chooses anything He wishes, while they have no choice."[2774]
6. "There is not for any believing man or woman a choice in their affairs when Allāh and His Messenger have made a decision [in that regards]. And whoever disobeys Allāh and His Messenger has indeed wandered off into manifest error."[2775]
7. "You who believe, do not come forth [with your opinions] in the presence of Allāh and His Messenger."[2776]

Certainly, the decision of who the imām is has to be among the decisions when the Qur`ān says, "All decisions are for Allāh."[2777] The Muslims, like the nations before us, must submit themselves to the decisions of Allāh and to those whom we are ordered to obey by the Qur`ān:

1. "Obey Allāh and obey His Messenger."[2778]
2. "Whoever obeys the Prophet has indeed obeyed Allāh"[2779]
3. "Obey the Messenger so that you will receive mercy."[2780]

[2768] Refer to chapters 19 and 82.
[2769] Qur`ān 9:101.
[2770] Qur`ān 3:128.
[2771] Qur`ān 13:31.
[2772] Qur`ān 7:54.
[2773] Qur`ān 3:154.
[2774] Qur`ān 28:68.
[2775] Qur`ān 33:36.
[2776] Qur`ān 49:1.
[2777] Qur`ān 13:31.
[2778] Qur`ān 3:32, 3:132, 5:92, 8:1, 8:20, 8:46, 24:54, 47:33, 58:13, 64:12.
[2779] Qur`ān 4:80.
[2780] Qur`ān 24:56.

4. The prophets of Allāh said, "Fear Allāh and obey me (i.e. the prophets themselves)."[2781]

5. "O believers! Obey Allāh and His Prophet and the foremost in authority among you (i.e. the infallible imāms from the Ahl al-Bayt)."[2782]

6. "Indeed your master is Allāh and His Messenger and those who believe, those [believers] who stand for prayer and pay charity while performing rukū´ (i.e. ´Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib)."[2783]

Some people argue that Abū Bakr, ´Umar, ´Uthmān, and others were outstanding companions of the Prophet (ص) and therefore qualified to be caliph. Even if it were the case that they were good Muslims during the life of the Prophet (ص), it would not imply that they would remain so for the rest of their lives. There were Muslims who left Islām after the Prophet's (ص) death. Many others sold their religion for power. We have already reviewed Sunnī traditions according to which the Prophet (ص) warned his companions that they will stray, will make innovations in religion, will follow the path of this world, and will repeat every error the misguided nations before us committed.[2784]

Each person's status is defined by his or her belief (īmān) at a specific time. Even if Abū Bakr and ´Umar were Muslims at the time of the Prophet (ص), it is possible that if a particular situation were to arise, they would be tricked by Satan. There is no reason to believe that Abū Bakr, ´Umar, and ´Uthmān were any exceptions to these traditions in which the Prophet (ص) expressed concern that his companions would stray after him. In fact, according to a famous and widely narrated tradition, Abū Bakr publicly proclaimed that he followed Satan.[2785] Furthermore, the Qur`ān attributed the fact that Abū Bakr, ´Umar, and ´Uthmān fled during Uḥud to their following Satan:[2786]

> It was Satan who caused those of you who turned back on the day the two groups met (i.e. Uḥud) to fail because of some of what they had done.[2787]

It is only with respect to the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) that we know for sure that they are purified from all sin and can therefore be followed in all matters. The Qur`ān says:

> Allāh intends to remove filth (rijs) only from you, Ahl al-Bayt, and to purify you a thorough purification.[2788]

It was proved earlier that this verse has established the purity of Muḥammad (ص), ´Alī, Fāṭimah, Ḥasan, and Ḥusayn (ع) from all sin,[2789] and has therefore imparted the obligation of obedience to them onto the Muslims.

The Qur`ān States that Imāms are Selected by Allāh

[2781] Qur`ān 26:108, 26:110, 26:126, 26:131, 26:144, 26:150, 26:163, 26:179. Similarly, Qur`ān 71:3.

[2782] Qur`ān 4:59. Refer to chapter 42 for a discussion of this verse.

[2783] Qur`ān 5:55. Refer to chapter 31 for a discussion of the revelation of this verse in regards to ´Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib (ع).

[2784] Refer to chapter 36.

[2785] Refer to chapter 40.

[2786] Refer to chapter 11.

[2787] Qur`ān 3:155.

[2788] Qur`ān 33:33.

[2789] Refer to chapter 14.

The fact that the imāms must be selected by Allāh is clear in the following two verses of the Qur`ān:

> "*We made them imāms* who guide [others] by Our command and We inspired them to perform good deeds."[2790]

> "*We set some of them up as imāms* to guide [people] by Our command."[2791]

These two verses indicate that Allāh chooses who the imāms are to be. Allāh's conversation with Abraham also indicates that Allāh chooses the imāms:

> When Abraham's Lord tested him by means of [certain] words and he fulfilled them, [Allāh] said, "*I am going to make you into an imām for mankind.*" Abraham asked, "And my offspring [as well]?" [Allāh] replied, "*My covenant* does not apply to oppressors (ẓālimīn)."[2792]

First, Allāh indicated that He specifically selected and appointed Abraham (ع) as an imām. Then the verse indicates that Allāh does not choose the evil-doers as imāms. Even Abraham (ع) did not consider himself to be in a position to select an imām and therefore asked Allāh about the imāms after him. However, in the Saqīfah, ʿUmar felt that he had every right to select an imām when even the prophets gave themselves no such right.

Some may say that the word imām in these verses actually means prophet. However, this claim is untrue because using the word imām as a substitute for the word prophet is not permissible for two reasons. First, they do not convey the same message. Second, as we mentioned earlier, Abraham (ع) was a prophet long before he was granted the position of imām.

The Qur`ān is also clear that we cannot follow anyone other than those Allāh has selected for us:

> Follow that which has been sent to you from your Lord and do not follow other than Him any masters (walīs).[2793]

This verse is clear that the people cannot seek wilāyah outside the scope of what Allāh has chosen. This clearly nullifies the validity of the selection of Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, ʿUthmān, Muʿāwīyah, Yazīd, and all those who ruled as the so-called imāms of the nation without having been selected by Allāh for that position.

There is an argument that one hears regarding the validity of the Saqīfah, according to which Allāh chose Abū Bakr because the decision of the companions is the decision of Allāh. Presumably, this claim is based on the argument that had Allāh chosen for Abū Bakr not to be caliph, then he wouldn't have been able to become one. This argument is extremely weak, for then, one can say that the decision of the companions of Moses (ع) to worship the calf was also the decision of Allāh, and that the decision of the Christians to worship Jesus and his mother (ع) is also the decision of Allāh. Of course, this is precisely what the Ashʿarīs believe, and the falsity of their beliefs is rather self evident.[2794] Their error arises from not understanding the difference between ontological (takwīnī) commands, legislative (tashrī'ī) commands, and advisory (irshādī) commands. In an ontological command, Allāh's command is immediately carried out, as He says, "Be!" and it is. In a legislative command, it is up to an individual whether or not to follow the command, but he may be held accountable in this world and will be held accountable in the hereafter if he dies unrepentant. Examples include regulations regarding homicide, adultery, drinking, prayer, fasting, etc. In an advisory command, there is no legal accountability in this world or in the hereafter if one were not to follow the command, but one may suffer the ill consequences of not following the advice. An example is that working hard in the field may produce a better harvest, or that studying harder for an examination may lead to better grades. It is true that the appointment of an imām is an ontological command, and no one can change the fact that 'Alī (ع) was the rightful imām appointed by Allāh. Recognition of a prophet and imām, however, is a legislative command, and failure to recognize Allāh's selected prophet or imām amounts to disobeying a legislative command, which humans are fully capable of and will be held accountable for.

[2790] Qur`ān 21:73-74.
[2791] Qur`ān 32:24.
[2792] Qur`ān 2:124.
[2793] Qur`ān 7:3.

In reality, the companions and the Muslims after them have had a choice between the designated imāms whom Allāh had selected for them and the ones selected by people. The imām of Allāh would lead them on the straight path and the imām selected by the people would lead them, for better or for worse, in this world, just as the leaders of every nation lead them politically. The companions were free to keep the true imāms away from their political leadership of Islām, just as the Children of Israel were free to kill their prophets and to keep Aaron (ع) away from his position as the designated khalīf of Moses (ع). However, neither the decision of making Abū Bakr caliph, nor the decision of the Children of Israel to kill the prophets sent to them can be considered Islāmic acts. Indeed, these acts cannot be attributed to Allāh but rather to the decisions of individuals. Of note, the Prophet (ص) was an imām from the day he proclaimed his message, but had no political power until the people of Madīnah accepted him as their ruler. The fact that he was weak and confined to the Valley of Abū Ṭālib for a few years in no way implies that he was not the rightful imām. The Qur`ān is clear that the companions have the ability to disobey Allāh and His Messenger (ص), even though Allāh has recommended them not to:

> There is not for any believing man or woman a choice in their affairs when Allāh and His Messenger have made a decision [in that regards]. And whoever disobeys Allāh and His Messenger has indeed wandered off into manifest error.[2795]

It was Impossible for the Prophet (ص) Not to Specify a Successor

We have clearly shown that the Messenger of Allāh (ص) designated 'Alī (ع) as his successor for his followers. However, it is important to establish not only that he did do so, but also that it was impossible for him not to do so. Islām is not a religion that pertained solely to the companions of the Prophet (ص). Rather, it is a religion for all times until the Day of Judgment. If it is to be for the people of all times, there must be a guarantee that it will remain intact over time. Thus there must be someone to provide the correct knowledge of Islām and the Qur`ān. If there is no such person, Islām would be changed just as Christianity and Judaism were changed, and the truth would be lost, with possibility of guidance remaining for future generations.

[2794]. Refer to chapter 92.
[2795]. Qur`ān 33:36.

In addition, Allāh has sent us a prophet to bring us guidance because humans will stray without divine guidance. Any argument used to prove that the messengers must be chosen by Allāh would also prove that the imāms from whom the Muslims seek guidance and answers to their questions and whose path the nation follows must also be chosen by Allāh. In other words, if the people are capable of choosing their own leader or imām, they should then be capable of choosing their own prophet as well. The Qur`ān says,

> They say, "Why is this Qur`ān not revealed to some leading man in either of the two cities [of Mecca or Ṭā`if]?" Is it they would portion out the mercy of your Lord? It is We Who portion out between them their livelihood in the life of this world and We raise some of them above others in ranks so that that some may command others. But the mercy of your Lord is better than what they amass.[2796]

This verse is about the question of the pagans in regards to why Allāh did not make one of the leaders of the pagans His prophet. Allāh answered that it is He Who decides whom to raise above others in the matter of prophecy. Since the imāmate is like the prophecy, and indeed even higher in status, this verse proves that Allāh, not people, would be the one to choose the imām.

In addition, the Qur`ān says, "Nothing have we omitted from the Book,"[2797] and "There is neither a grain in the darkness of the earth nor anything fresh or dry except that it is [inscribed] in a clear Book,"[2798] and "We have explained all things in detail."[2799] How can it be that the Qur`ān explains all matters but does not explain the imāmate? Indeed, anything that one does find regarding the imāmate in the Qur`ān points only to the fact that legitimate imāms are chosen by Allāh.

It is Mandatory to Know the Imām

The Qur`ān says,

> O believers, obey Allāh and obey the Messenger and the foremost in authority among you.[2800]

In order to obey Allāh, the Messenger, and the foremost in authority, we must know who they are. This implies the necessity of knowing the identity of the one foremost in authority, who is, by definition, the imām. According to Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, the Messenger of Allāh (ص) said,

> One who dies without having bound himself by an oath of allegiance [to the imām] will die the death of the Days of Ignorance.[2801]

[2796] Qur`ān 43:31-32.
[2797] Qur`ān 6:38.
[2798] Qur`ān 6:59.
[2799] Qur`ān 17:12.
[2800] Qur`ān 4:59.
[2801] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #20.4562-4.

Sunnī traditions requiring knowing the identity of and obeying the imām are numerous.[2802] What the Shī´ah disagree with is that some of these traditions have been altered to imply that the imām who must be obeyed may be unjust, sinful, or evil. Such implications were either added to please the wicked caliphs of Islām, or specifically refer to how to perform taqīyyah when dealing with the illegitimate rulers that the Muslim nation would be oppressed by. These monarchs claiming to be imāms liked the fact that the Prophet (ص) required the believers to know the imām, to pledge allegiance to him, to obey him, and to be loyal to him, as they pretended to be the imāms referred to in these traditions. However, when the issue of the injustice, oppression, and evil acts of these rules came up, an apparent contradiction arose. Therefore, the traditions were altered to state that the caliphs should be obeyed regardless of how sinful they are. This topic was explored in greater detail in 42. Suffice it to say that there is no rational reason why failing to recognize Yazīd or the illegitimate Umayyad, ´Abbāsīd, and Ottoman caliphs would imply disbelief. If that were true, then Ḥusayn ibn ´Alī (ع), the chief of the young men of paradise,[2803] would have to have died the death of the Days of Ignorance because he did not recognize Yazīd's caliphate and refused to pledge allegiance to him, separating himself from the Muslim masses who, willingly or unwillingly, pledged allegiance to Yazīd.

According to the Qur`ān, There Must be an Imām at All Times

Qur`ānic Verse 1: "You are Only a Warner, and Each Folk Has a Guide"

According to the verse, "You are only a warner (mundhir), and each folk (qawm) has a guide (hād),"[2804] there can be no people at any time who do not have a guide. This is exactly what the Shī´ah believe in regards to the imāmate—the earth will never be devoid of a guide. There are several Sunnī traditions concerning the fact that the "guide" (hād) specifically referred to when this verse was revealed was ´Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib (ع):[2805]

1. When this verse was revealed, the Messenger of Allāh (ص) put his hand on his own shoulder and said, "I am the warner." He then put his hand on the shoulder of ´Alī and said, "O ´Alī! You are the guide. By you are the guided ones after me guided."[2806]

2. The Prophet (ص) said, "Verily I am the warner," and he then placed his hand on the chest of ´Alī and said, "And every people has a guide."[2807]

3. The Prophet (ص) said, "I am the warner and the guide is ´Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib."[2808]

4. According to a tradition Ḥākim certified as authentic, ´Alī said, "The Messenger of Allāh (ص) is the warner and I am the guide."[2809]

[2802] Refer to chapter 42.
[2803] Refer to chapter 76.
[2804] Qur`ān 13:7.
[2805] Refer to Shawāhid al-Tanzīl #398-416, verse 13:7 for nineteen traditions in this regards.
[2806] Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, Tafsīr Ṭabarī, Tafsīr Rāzī, Tafsīr Ibn Kathīr, and Tafsīr Tha´labī, verse 13:7; Fatḥ al-Bārī #4420; Tārīkh Damishq 42:359.
[2807] Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, verse 13:7.
[2808] Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, verse 13:7; Tārīkh Damishq 42:359.
[2809] Mustadrak Ḥākim #4646 (certifies the tradition as authentic); Kanz al-´Ummāl #4443; Tārīkh Damishq 42:359; Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, verse 13:7.

5. ʿAlī said, "The Messenger of Allāh (ص) is the warner and the guide is a man from the Banū Hāshim."[2810]

This last tradition, which has been cited by Ḥanbal and others, apparently refers to the fact that the guides of the nation must be from the Banū Hāshim, as maintained by the Shīʿah. Indeed, the fact that ʿAlī (ع) was the designated guide proves that he was the imām according to the verse in which the Qurʾān asks the question, "So is someone who guides to the truth worthier to be followed than someone who does not guide unless he himself is guided?"[2811] Since ʿAlī (ع) was the guide, he was worthy of being followed, whereas others were not worthy of having him follow them. This is the exact definition of a true imām and proves that Abū Bakr and ʿUmar ought to have followed ʿAlī (ع) and not vice versa, as ʿAlī (ع) was the nation's guide. In fact, Abū Bakr and ʿUmar required guidance to become Muslims, whereas ʿAlī (ع) did not disbelieve for even the blinking of an eye.[2812] This is a clear sign of ʿAlī's (ع) imāmate because Allāh has given ʿAlī (ع) the duty of guiding people. Those who sought guidance were therefore obligated to refer to ʿAlī (ع) in all matters, to obey him, and to follow him after the death of the Prophet (ص). This is clear proof of ʿAlī's (ع) imāmate.

The other interpretations of this verse are that the guide in the phrase, "each folk (qawm) has a guide," refers either to the Allāh or the Prophet (ص). These interpretations make little sense. Even a superficial reading of the verse states that each folk has a distinct guide, not that each folk has the same guide (i.e. Allāh and/or the Prophet [ص]). Therefore, "each folk (qawm) has a guide," clearly refers to their designated imām, as people of every time will have a guide. This is consistent with the traditions related in this regards.

Qurʾānic Verse 2: "The Day We Call Every People by Their Imām"

According to the verse, "The day We call every people by their imām,"[2813] not only does every group of people have an imām, but they will also be called by them on the Day of Judgment. This verse leaves only two possibilities that are not mutually exclusive. First is that each group of people will be called by its particular imām, whether it is one leading to paradise or to the fire. As such, the followers of Pharaoh would be called up alongside him, the followers of Abū Bakr and ʿUmar would be called up alongside them, and the followers of the Prophet (ص) and his Ahl al-Bayt (ع) would be called up alongside them. Each group would then follow the path of their imām in the hereafter as they followed them in this world.

The second possibility is that each period of time has one specific designated imām and that all people from that time will be called to account based on their acceptance or rejection of the imāmate of their particular imām. What will it be like if one does not know who his imām is? This interpretation clearly elicits the traditions stating that one who dies not recognizing one's imām dies the death of the Days of Ignorance.[2814]

One wonders what the majority of Sunnīs would answer if asked who their imām is. Are the rulers of the western-backed Arab monarchies of today their imāms? Are the companions who died long ago their imāms? Or why even speak about today—who was the imām at the time of Yazīd, and who will the people from that era be called by? Will it be Imām Ḥusayn (ع) or Yazīd? Those who believe in the imāmate of Yazīd will be called to follow Yazīd on the Day of Judgment, while the Shī'ah will be called up with Imām Ḥusayn (ع), the chief of the young men of paradise. It is therefore no surprise that the Prophet (ص) promised that the Shī'ah of 'Alī (ع) would enter paradise.[2815] As such, the imām of each people is the leader they follow and each imām is either an imām guiding people to the truth[2816] or an imām calling them to the fire.[2817]

[2810] Musnad Ḥanbal #1041; Majmaʿ al-Zawāʾid #11090 (certifies those in the chain of transmission as trustworthy); Tārīkh Damishq 42:359; Tafsīr Thaʿlabī, verse 13:7.

[2811] Qurʾān 10:35.

[2812] Refer to chapter 1.

[2813] Qurʾān 17:71.

[2814] Refer to chapter 42.

An Imām May be Apparent or Hidden

Some argue that having a designated imām at all times to guide us only makes sense if the imām is readily accessible and free to guide us. If the imām is in occultation, the entire purpose of the imāmate is lost, as we have no one to provide us with knowledge and guidance. This argument is weak for several reasons:

1. Not all imāms are accessible to the public. For example, the Prophet Jonah (ع) was in the belly of a fish, yet following him was mandatory. Similarly, Aaron (ع) hid his true beliefs out of taqīyyah, yet he was the designated khalīf of Moses among the Children of Israel during Moses' (ع) absence. It was the fault of the Children of Israel that they abandoned him and not his fault that he was forced into seclusion.

2. Even when accessible, imāms are often forced to perform taqīyyah, as Aaron (ع) was. Thus their ability to guide mankind may be limited. Indeed, the Prophet (ص) himself was only able to guide those within a small geographic area, given the limited geopolitical range of his worldly power.

3. According to the Imāms of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع), an occulted imām is like the sun behind clouds.[2818] No one claims that the benefits of the sun are gone the moment we do not see it. The sun still provides light and warmth and makes the earth habitable, even if the skies are cloudy for months on end.

4. The Prophet (ص) spent years in seclusion, suffering and starving in the Valley of Abū Ṭālib, unable to publicly proclaim his message and unable to guide those beyond its small bounds. Whatever purpose the Prophet (ص) served under those circumstances, a hidden imām can serve as well.

5. A hidden imām may be beneficial because when the imām is physically accessible to the enemies of Islām, they are more restricted than they may be in their occultation.

6. The rulers of the time are unable to force a hidden imām to pledge allegiance to them or to force him to enter non-aggression pacts. Therefore, remaining hidden until the time of his rising is necessary for Imām Mahdī (ع) so that he would not have to renege on his pledges.

[2815] Refer to chapter 21 for a number of traditions in this regards.

[2816] Qur'ān 32:24.

[2817] Qur'ān 28:41.

[2818] According to Yanābī' al-Mawaddah 1:75-6, Imām Ja'far al-Ṣādiq was asked, "How do people benefit from a hidden proof (ḥujjah)?" He replied, "The same way they benefit from the sun when it is hidden behind clouds."

7. The occultation allows Allāh to distinguish the true believers from those with weak faith.

8. The occultation may be a blessing for some, as they might find antipathy towards the decisions of the imām were he not in occultation.

9. The occurrence of the occultation serves as a miracle proving Shī´ism because the Shī´ah imāms repeatedly foretold of the occultation. Indeed, if the occultation did not occur, the prophecies of the Shī´ah imāms would have turned out to be false.

10. The presence of an imām is necessary to prevent Allāh's punishment from striking us and wiping away all the earth's inhabitants. As the Qur`ān says, "Allāh will not punish them while you are amongst them."[2819] This shows that the presence of the Prophet (ص) provided protection from the wrath of Allāh. The imām, whether apparent or in occultation, serves this purpose by his mere existence on earth. The fact that the Messenger of Allāh (ص) said that his Ahl al-Bayt (ع) provide security to those on earth makes this function of the imām apparent.

The Ahl al-Bayt (ع) Provide Security for the Inhabitants of the Earth

The following are a few of the many Sunnī traditions showing that the Ahl al-Bayt provide security for the inhabitants of the earth:

1. The Prophet (ص) said, "The stars provide safety to those in the skies, and my Ahl al-Bayt provides safety to my nation."[2820]

2. The Prophet (ص) said, "The stars provide security for those in the skies. When the stars perish, those living in the skies will perish. My Ahl al-Bayt provides security for the people of the earth. When my Ahl al-Bayt perishes, the inhabitants of earth will perish."[2821]

3. According to a tradition Ḥākim certified as authentic, the Prophet (ص) said, "The stars provide security to the inhabitants of the skies; when they perish, the [inhabitants of the skies] will be granted what they have been promised. I provide security for my companions; when I die, they will be given what they have been promised. And my Ahl al-Bayt provides security for my nation; when my Ahl al-Bayt perishes, [my nation] will receive what it has been promised."[2822]

4. According to a tradition Ḥākim certified as authentic, the Prophet (ص) said, "The stars provide safety to the people of the earth from drowning [by guiding their boats], and my Ahl al-Bayt provides safety to my nation from disagreements [by guiding them in matters in which disputes arise]. So when a tribe of the Arabs

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[2819] Qur`ān 8:33.

[2820] Jāmi´ al-Ṣaghīr Suyūṭī #9313; Kanz al-´Ummāl #34155, #34188.

[2821] Faḍā`il Ḥanbal #1145; Dhakhā`ir al-´Uqbā 17.

[2822] Mustadrak Ḥākim #3676 (certifies the tradition as authentic); Jāmi´ al-Kabīr Suyūṭī (al-nujūm amān li-ahl al-samā`...).

> becomes it caliphs, they will fall into disputes, and they (my nation) will turn into the party of Satan (ḥizb al-Iblīs).[2823]

The last tradition is explicit that illegitimate caliphs will rule instead of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) and that the bulk of the nation would follow the illegitimate caliphs, thus turning the nation into the Party of Satan. Furthermore, the third tradition makes it clear that the companions would stray upon the Prophet's (ص) death, as he was the one preventing them from doing so.

Amazingly, a forged tradition[2824] claims that the Prophet (ص) said, "My companions provide security for this nation and that when they perish, the nation will be given what it has been promised."[2825] Yet, his companions all died and nothing changed in any meaningful way. The nation was already divided during the lifetime of his companions, and the companions are long gone and the Day of Judgment has not yet arrived.

[2823] Mustadrak Ḥākim #4715 (certifies the tradition as authentic); Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #34189; Khaṣāʾiṣ al-Kubrā Suyūṭī 2:396.

[2824] Refer to chapter 76 for a discussion of this tradition's chain of transmission.

[2825] Musnad Ḥanbal #19584; Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #31.6147.

Chapter 45
The Prophet (ص) Promised Exactly Twelve Imāms

In the last chapter, it was proved that there is a guide and imām at all times and that it is mandatory to know the imām and to obey him. ʿAlī (ع) was the first but certainly not the only imām of the Muslim nation. In the verse of purification,[2826] the next two imāms after him, Ḥasan and Ḥusayn (ع), were also included, showing that the verse pertains to more than one generation of imāms from the Ahl al-Bayt (ع). Their inclusion in the tradition of thaqalayn[2827] also confirmed the two of them as comprising the second and third rightful imāms from the Ahl al-Bayt. In this chapter we will prove that there are exactly twelve imāms whose imāmate will span from the time from the Prophet's (ص) death to the Day of Judgment.

There are numerous Sunnī traditions that prove the existence of exactly twelve imāms. We will first discuss some of the traditions that are found in the most famous Sunnī sources about the existence of exactly twelve imāms, then we will mention some Sunnī traditions naming the twelve imāms. Traditions cited in Shīʿah works from the Prophet (ص) and the Shīʿah imāms naming the twelve imāms and designating each of them as imāms are innumerable and absolutely mutawātir, but are not cited here because Sunnīs typically do not follow the traditions that the Shīʿah cite from the Ahl al-Bayt (ع).

Sunnī Traditions Proving that There are Exactly Twelve Imāms

According to Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, Jābir ibn Samurah narrated the following traditions:

1. The Messenger of Allāh said, "The caliphate will not end until there have been twelve caliphs among them." Then [the Prophet] said something that I could not follow. I said to my father, "What did he say?" He said: He has said, "All of them will be from the Quraysh."[2828]

2. The Messenger of Allāh said, "The affairs of the people will continue to be conducted [well] as long as they are governed by twelve men." Then the Prophet said words which were obscure to me. I asked my father, "What did the Messenger of Allāh say?" He said, "All of the [twelve men] will be from the Quraysh."[2829]

3. The Messenger of Allāh said, "This order will continue to be dominant until there have been twelve khalīfs." Then he said something which I could not

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[2826] Qurʾān 33:33. Refer to chapter 14 for a discussion of this verse.

[2827] Refer to chapter 15.

[2828] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #20.4477.

[2829] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #20.4478-9.

understand, so I said to my father, "What did he say?" My father told me that he said that all of them would be from the Quraysh.[2830]

4. The Messenger of Allāh said, "Islām will continue to be triumphant until there have been twelve khalīfs." Then the holy Prophet said something which I could not understand. I asked my father, "What did he say?" He said, "He has said that all of them will be from the Quraysh."[2831]

5. The Messenger of Allāh said, "This religion would continue to remain powerful and dominant until there have been twelve khalīfs." Then he added something which I couldn't catch on account of the noise of the people. I asked my father, "What did he say?" My father said, "He has said that all of them will be from the Quraysh."[2832]

The traditions on this topic are indeed numerous. There is no doubt among the Sunnīs or Shī´ah in regards to the validity of the tradition that there will be exactly twelve imāms. According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī,

> Narrated Jābir ibn Samurah: I heard the Prophet saying, "There will be twelve Muslim rulers." He then said a sentence which I did not hear. My father said, "All of them will be from the Quraysh."[2833]

These traditions are interesting because the narrator makes it clear that he did not hear the phrase, "all of them will be from the Quraysh," but rather that the phrase was obscure to him. This is likely because of the fact that the Prophet (ص) said, "all of them will be from my Ahl al-Bayt," or "all of them will be from the Banū Hāshim." Yet, relating such traditions would be punishable by death,[2834] so it was wiser to narrate the tradition as such to allow the tradition to pass the censors of the caliphate, yet still make it clear that the second sentence in the tradition is only so accurate. If one wonders why the Sunnī scholars would transmit these traditions in the first place, it was because Muslim and Bukhārī compiled their works before the beginning of the lesser occultation and therefore before it was public knowledge that the Twelver Shī´ah would fulfill the prophecy that there would be exactly twelve imāms, no more and no less. Thus the Sunnī scholars inadvertently transmitted traditions that later proved the legitimacy of the Shī´ah faith. Had Bukhārī and Muslim compiled their works a century later, they would have undoubtedly omitted these traditions from their highly censored works.

Traditions proving that there are exactly twelve imāms or khalīfs are numerous in Sunnī sources. The following are some of the Sunnī sources that contain these traditions: Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī,[2835] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim,[2836] Sunan Tirmidhī,[2837] Sunan Abū Dāwūd,[2838] Musnad Ḥanbal,[2839] Mustadrak Ḥākim,[2840] Kanz al-´Ummāl,[2841] Majma´ al-Zawā`id,[2842] Tārīkh

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[2830] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #20.4481.

[2831] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #20.4480.

[2832] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #20.4482.

[2833] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #9.89.329.

[2834] Refer to chapter 76.

[2835] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #9.89.329.

[2836] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #20.4477-84.

[2837] Sunan Tirmidhī #2223 (certifies the tradition as good-authentic [ḥasan-ṣaḥīḥ]).

[2838] Sunan Abū Dāwūd #4279-81.

[2839] Musnad Ḥanbal #3781, #3859, #20824, #20833, #20836, #20841, #20850, #20862, #20868, #20870, #20873, #20890, #20892, #20902, #20909, #20921, #20934, #20960-2, #20964-5, #20976, #20978, #20988, #20999, #21003, #21051, #21058, #21071, #21077, #21088.

[2840] Mustadrak Ḥākim #6586, #6589.

Bukhārī,[2843] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr,[2844] Tārīkh al-Khulafā`,[2845] Fatḥ al-Bārī,[2846] Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim of Nawawī,[2847] and many others. Indeed, the Prophet (ص) was explicit that there will be exactly twelve khalīfs for the nation, no more and no less:

> Ibn Mas´ūd was asked, "O Abū ´Abd al-Raḥmān, did you ask the Messenger of Allāh (ص) how many khalīfs this nation will have?" He said, "Since I have come to Iraq, no one has asked me this but you. We asked the Messenger of Allāh this question, and he said, 'Twelve—the same number as the chiefs of the [twelve tribes of the] Children of Israel.'"[2848]

Sunnī Interpretation of the Traditions Promising Twelve Imāms

I am not aware of Sunnī scholars disputing the fact that the Prophet (ص) promised twelve imāms or khalīfs. Yet, they have been confused over the identity of these twelve imāms, amīrs, and khalīfs who have been promised. If they say that the "rightly-guided caliphs" are the ones mentioned in these traditions, they are stuck with the problem that there were only four of them. If they include Ḥasan ibn ´Alī (ع), as some do, they become five. They know that Imām Mahdī (ع) is the twelfth. That still leaves six imāms unaccounted for. If they say that the Umayyads are the ones prophesized, or perhaps the ´Abbāsīds, the numbers do not match. Some say that ´Umar ibn ´Abd al-´Azīz was one of them,[2849] as he was the only respectable caliph among the Umayyads. But there is still no rational way one can add up the Muslim monarchs and end up with the number twelve. ´Allāmah ´Askarī has compiled the words of many Sunnī scholars in this regards, and it is apparent that none of those scholars has offered much of a meaningful explanation, except for expressing utter confusion.[2850]

The Shī´ah have no such confusion, for they follow exactly twelve imāms, the number concisely matching the traditions of the Prophet (ص). It is interesting to note how desperate some Sunnī scholars have become to make sure that these traditions are not used to prove Shī´ism. Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr includes a section entitled, "The traditions regarding the twelve imāms, all of whom are from the Quraysh." Before even mentioning any of the traditions and without giving any arguments to prove his point, Ibn Kathīr begins the section by saying, "And these are not the twelve imāms whose imāmate the Rāfiḍītes (i.e. Shī´ah) claim."[2851] Having started the section in this way, he tried to create a shield against the ability of the readers to reasonably conclude that these are indeed the twelve imāms the Shī´ah follow. Ibn Kathīr then proceeded to mention many traditions proving the existence of exactly twelve imāms. How he knew that they are not the same as the Shī´ah imāms is not clear, as he offered no reasons for his claim. Indeed, one can prove that these are indeed the Shī´ah imāms based on the following tradition in Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim:

2841. Kanz al-´Ummāl #30929, #33848-61, #39657.
2842. Majma´ al-Zawā`id #8967, #8968 (certifies the tradition as authentic).
2843. Tārīkh Bukhārī vol 8 #3520 (Yūnus ibn Abī Ya´fūr).
2844. Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 6:215, 6:221, 6:278, 6:279.
2845. Tārīkh al-Khulafā` 16-18.
2846. Fatḥ al-Bārī #6796.
2847. Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim of Nawawī 12:201.
2848. Musnad Ḥanbal #3781, #3859; Majma´ al-Zawā`id #8967; Kanz al-´Ummāl #33857; Tārīkh al-Khulafā` 17 (certifies the tradition as good [ḥasan]).
2849. Tārīkh al-Khulafā` 201.
2850. Ma´ālim al-Madrasatayn 1:541-547.
2851. Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 6:278.

> The Messenger of Allāh said, "The affairs of the people will continue to be conducted [well] as long as they are governed by twelve men."[2852]

For the affairs of the people to continue to be conducted well as long as they are governed by twelve particular men means that the reign of these twelve men must span the time from the death of the Prophet (ص) until the Day of Judgment. This is explicitly stated by Ibn ʿAbbās, who quoted the Prophet (ص) as saying, "There will be twelve rulers (amīrs) and then the Hour will come."[2853] Twelver Shīʿism is the only sect of Islām that recognizes the exact identities of the twelve imāms who would continuously conduct our affairs from the day of the Prophet's (ص) death until the Day of Judgment.

Any Muslim who wants to be properly guided must be able to recognize the twelve khalīfs whom they must follow. Indeed, many Sunnī traditions, as we have discussed earlier, claim that one who does not know his imām, who does not pledge allegiance to him, and who does not remain loyal to him will die the death of the Days of Ignorance.[2854] If someone does not know who the twelve promised imāms are, they would not recognize them, would not pledge allegiance to them, and would not remain loyal to them.

Of interest, the Prophet (ص) said that Islām will "continue to be triumphant,"[2855] "will continue to remain powerful,"[2856] and "will continue to be dominant"[2857] as long as it is ruled by these twelve khalīfs. This proves that these khalīfs are present continuously so that Islām could continue to be triumphant, powerful, and dominant as long as they are obeyed. By implication, the reason for Islām having become weakened over time is that these twelve khalīfs have been abandoned as rulers.

It should be noted that according to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, the Prophet (ص) said, "There will be twelve Muslim rulers. All of them will be from the Quraysh."[2858] This proves that there are exactly twelve Muslim rulers, all from the Quraysh. However, the Sunnīs have had dozens of caliphs, many of them Ottoman Turks who are not from the Quraysh. Either the Prophet (ص) lied by saying that we will have only twelve rulers and that they will all be from the Quraysh, or the rulers from the Quraysh that he promised us did not rule politically and those who adopted the title of khalīf did so illegitimately. In fact, the Prophet (ص) made it clear that they would not necessarily be followed when he stated the condition, "as long as they are governed by twelve men,"[2859] implying that the Muslims may or may not be governed by these particular men. In the latter case, the benefits of being governed by them would be lost.

Only One Sect is Saved

The prophetic tradition that only one of the Muslim sects is saved is famous among all Muslim sects. According to Tirmidhī,

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[2852] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #20.4478-9.
[2853] Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #39657.
[2854] Refer to chapter 42.
[2855] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #20.4480.
[2856] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #20.4482.
[2857] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #20.4481.
[2858] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #9.89.329.
[2859] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #20.4478-9.

> The Prophet (ص) said, "Indeed the People of the Book before you split into seventy-two sects. And this nation will split into seventy-three sects, seventy-two [of which] are in the fire and one in paradise."[2860]

Traditions similar to this appear in Sunan Abū Dāwūd,[2861] Sunan Ibn Mājah,[2862] Musnad Ḥanbal,[2863] Mustadrak Ḥākim,[2864] and many other Sunnī sources. According to Ḥākim, similar traditions have been related from the Prophet (ص) through Abū Hurayrah, Sa´d ibn Abī Waqqāṣ, ´Abd Allāh ibn ´Amr, and ´Awf ibn Mālik.[2865] These traditions are clear that the nation will divide into seventy-two or seventy-three sects and that all of them will be in the fire except for one saved sect. The tradition is confirmed by the Qur`ān, which says, "And certainly Satan's conjecture regarding them proved true—that they would [all] follow him except for one sect (farīqan) among the believers."[2866] Therefore, all of mankind follows Satan except for one single sect from among the believers. Since Satan leads to the fire, every sect will belong in the fire except for the one sect that does not follow Satan. Therefore, it is critical for all of mankind to seek out this one sect.

The one saved sect has to be the one that knows who the twelve imāms the Prophet (ص) promised us are. Indeed, the Qur`ān makes it clear that those who do not know who these twelve imāms are and those who do know their identity are not equal: "Say: Are those who know equal to those who do not know?"[2867] Therefore, the sect that is based on knowledge would be the one sect saved from the fire. Accordingly, the Qur`ān asks, "So is someone who guides to the truth worthier to be followed than someone who does not guide unless he himself is guided?"[2868] Therefore, those who do not know the identity of the twelve imāms are in no position to provide guidance. Rather, they should follow the guidance of those who know the identity of these twelve imāms—that is, the Shī´ah of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع).

The Ahl al-Bayt (ع) are the Ark of Noah and the Savior of the One Sect that is Saved from the Fire

The Prophet (ص) said, "The likeness of my Ahl al-Bayt among you is like the Ark of Noah. Whoever rides it is saved and whoever avoids it perishes." This statement of the Prophet (ص) is widely narrated, and it shows that those who abandon the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) would perish the same way the abandoners of the Ark of Noah perished. This tradition appears in Mustadrak Ḥākim,[2869] Faḍā`il Ḥanbal,[2870] Jāmi´ al-Ṣaghīr Suyūṭī,[2871] Mu´jam al-Ṣaghīr Ṭabarānī,[2872] Kanz al-´Ummāl,[2873] Majma´ al-Zawā`id,[2874] Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr,[2875]

[2860] Sunan Tirmidhī #2640 (certifies the tradition as good and authentic [ḥasan ṣaḥīḥ]). Similarly, Sunan Tirmidhī #2641.
[2861] Sunan Abū Dāwūd #4597.
[2862] Sunan Ibn Mājah #3991-3.
[2863] Musnad Ḥanbal #8377, #16979.
[2864] Mustadrak Ḥākim #10, #441-4 (certifies #441 as authentic by the criteria of Muslim).
[2865] Mustadrak Ḥākim #10.
[2866] Qur`ān 34:20.
[2867] Qur`ān 39:9.
[2868] Qur`ān 10:35.
[2869] Mustadrak Ḥākim #3312 (certifies as authentic by the criteria of Muslim), #4720.
[2870] Faḍā`il Ḥanbal #1402.
[2871] Jāmi´ al-Ṣaghīr Suyūṭī #2442, #8162.
[2872] Mu´jam al-Ṣaghīr Ṭabarānī #391, #825.
[2873] Kanz al-´Ummāl #34144, 34151, 34169, 34170.
[2874] Majma´ al-Zawā`id #14978-81.
[2875] Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, verses 11:42-43.

Tafsīr Nīsābūrī,[2876] Dhakhā`ir al-´Uqbā,[2877] and Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd.[2878] Ḥākim certified this tradition as authentic by the criteria of Muslim.[2879]

These traditions prove that almost the entire nation of Muḥammad (ص) will perish as did the nation of Noah. However, there is an ark to save the select few who remain true to their religion. Noah built a physical ark that kept his loyal followers afloat through the rains and floods. The Prophet (ص) left us his the purified members of his Ahl al-Bayt (ع) who have kept his loyal followers afloat through the rising floods of falsehood that have swept the nation. Since everyone agrees that only one sect is the saved sect and all others will be in the fire, this tradition is proof that the only sect of Islām that is saved is the one sect that has embarked on the ark of salvation the Prophet (ص) left us—his Ahl al-Bayt (ع).

The Naming of the Twelve Imāms According to Sunnī Traditions

It is natural for one to ask whether the Prophet (ص) specified by name who the twelve imāms he promised would be. It is not clear how widely he publicized their names, as even later imāms often did not publicly proclaim the identity of their successors until the time was opportune, in order to avoid persecution of the upcoming imām by the caliphs. Rather, they would often inform their closest companions of the identity of the next imām when the time was right, so that word of the new imām's identity would spread after their death. There are, however, some prophetic traditions collected by Sunnī scholars in this regards, even though most Sunnī scholars have understandably avoided publicizing these traditions in their key texts. The following are a few examples of such traditions:

1. According to ´Abd Allāh ibn ´Abbās, the Messenger of Allāh (ص) said, "I am the chief of the prophets (sayyid al-nabīyyīn) and ´Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib is the chief of the executors (sayyid al-waṣīyyīn). The executors after me are twelve, the first of whom is ´Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib and the last of whom is al-Mahdī."[2880]

2. According to ´Abd Allāh ibn ´Abbās, the Messenger of Allāh (ص) said, "Verily my khalīfs and executors and the proofs (ḥujjah) of Allāh upon creation after me are twelve, the first of whom is my brother and the last [of whom is] my son." He was asked, "O Messenger of Allāh, who is your brother?" He said, "´Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib." He was asked, "So who is your son?" He said, "The Mahdī who will fill [the earth] with righteousness and justice just as it is was filled with injustice and oppression. By He who sent me with the truth as a bringer of glad-tidings and as a warner, if but one day of this world remains, Allāh will lengthen this day so that my son al-Mahdī will rise in it and Jesus, the son of Mary and the spirit of Allāh, will come down and pray behind him so that the earth will shine by the light of its Lord, and [so that] His sultanate will reach the east and the west.[2881]

[2876] Tafsīr Nīsābūrī, verse 42:23.

[2877] Dhakhā`ir al-´Uqbā 20.

[2878] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 1:218.

[2879] Mustadrak Ḥākim #3312.

[2880] Ma´ālim al-Madrasatayn (1:547) quotes this from a hand-written manuscript of Farā`id al-Simṭayn, page 160.

[2881] Ma´ālim al-Madrasatayn (1:547-548) quotes this from a hand-written manuscript of Farā`id al-Simṭayn, page 160.

3. ʹAbd Allāh ibn ʹAbbās said: I heard the Messenger of Allāh (ص) say, "I and ʹAlī and Ḥasan and Ḥusayn and nine of the offspring of Ḥusayn are pure and protected [from sin] (muṭahharūn maʹṣūmūn)."[2882]

These three traditions appear in Farāʹid al-Simṭayn of Juwaynī. Of note, Juwaynī was not only one of the leaders of the Ashʹarīs,[2883] but also one of the teachers of the famous Sunnī scholar Dhahabī. At the conclusion of Tadhkirah al-Ḥuffāẓ, Dhahabī has listed his masters and said in regards to Juwaynī, "The imām, preeminent and outstanding scholar of tradition, Fakhr al-Islām (the pride of Islām), Ṣadr al-Dīn (the heart of religion) Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad ibn Muʹayyad ibn Ḥamawīyyah al-Khurāsānī al-Juwaynī."[2884] The following are two examples of prophetic traditions specifically naming the twelve imāms:

4. According to Jābir ibn ʹAbd Allāh al-Anṣārī, the Messenger of Allāh (ص) said, "My executors are twelve... The first of them is the chief of the executors (sayyid al-awṣīyāʹ), the father of the imāms, ʹAlī, then his two sons, Ḥasan and Ḥusayn, so stick to them and do not allow the ignorance of the ignorant to deceive you... When the time of Ḥusayn passes, the imām will be his son ʹAlī, entitled Zayn al-ʹĀbidīn. After him will be his son Muḥammad, entitled al-Bāqir. After him will be his son Jaʹfar, called al-Ṣādiq. After him will be his son Mūsā, called al-Kāẓim. After him will be his son ʹAlī, called al-Riḍā. After him will be his son Muḥammad, called al-Taqī and al-Zakī. After him will be his son ʹAlī, called al-Naqī and al-Hādī. After him will be his son Ḥasan, called al-ʹAskarī. After him will be his son Muḥammad, called al-Mahdī, al-Qāʹim, and al-Ḥujjah. He will go into occultation and then come out. When he comes out [of occultation], he will fill the earth with righteousness and justice the same way it was filled with oppression and injustice. The patient ones during his occultation will be blessed with the blessings of the pious for their love [of these imāms]. Allāh has described them in His Book, [where] He says, 'a guide for the pious—those who believe in the unseen.'[2885]"[2886]

5. The Prophet (ص), while describing the events of the miʹrāj, said, "I looked at the right of the throne and saw ʹAlī, Fāṭimah, Ḥasan, Ḥusayn, ʹAlī ibn Ḥusayn, Muḥammad ibn ʹAlī, Jaʹfar ibn Muḥammad, Mūsā ibn Jaʹfar, ʹAlī ibn Mūsā, Muḥammad ibn ʹAlī, ʹAlī ibn Muḥammad, and Ḥasan ibn ʹAlī, with Muḥammad ibn Ḥasan shining like a star among them. Allāh said, 'O Muḥammad! These are My proofs (ḥujjah) upon my servants, and they are your executors (awṣīyāʹ). Al-Mahdī is among them and will rebel against the killers of your offspring. By My grandeur and majesty, he will take revenge from my enemies and reach out to my servants (walīs).'"[2887]

The Conversion of Naʹthal by the Prophet (ص) Naming of the Twelve Imāms

Sulaymān ibn Ibrāhīm al-Qundūzī al-Ḥanafī has related the following tradition from Mujāhid from Ibn ʹAbbās:

[2882] Maʹālim al-Madrasatayn (1:548) quotes this from a hand-written manuscript of Farāʹid al-Simṭayn, page 160.
[2883] Milal wa Niḥal 83-4.
[2884] Tadhkirah al-Ḥuffāẓ, "Shuyūkh-i Ṣāḥib-i Tadhkirah."
[2885] Qurʹān 2:2-3.
[2886] Yanābiʹ al-Mawaddah 3:284-5.
[2887] Yanābiʹ al-Mawaddah 3:380-1.

A Jew named Na'thal[2888] came and said, "O Muḥammad! I will ask you about matters that have created a disturbance in my heart for some time. If you answer my questions, I will convert to Islām."

The Prophet (ص) said, "Ask, O Abū 'Umārah!" He said, "O Muḥammad! Describe for me your Lord." The Prophet (ص) said, "He is not described except by that with which He has described His own self. And how would [we describe] the creator, [Who is] incomprehensible to intellects, unassailable by the figments of the [human] mind, not limitable by thoughts, and not perceivable by the eyes, [Who is] the glorious and high, Who is pure from how the describers describe Him? He is the How of the how and the Where of the where. So do not say regarding Him, 'Where is He?' as He is pure of quantity and location. He is unique and without need, as He has described Himself; the describers cannot describe His qualities. He has neither offspring nor has He been born, and there is none comparable to Him."

[Na'thal] said, "You have spoken the truth, O Muḥammad! So explain to me your word that He is One with no likeness. Isn't Allāh One and man one?" [The Messenger of Allāh] said, "Allāh, the glorious and high, is [the only] truly unitary one. This means that there are no parts or components to Him. Man is called a unity but is composed of spirit and body."

He said, "You have spoken the truth. Tell me about your executor (waṣī). Who is he? There is no prophet except that he has an executor. Our Prophet Moses, the son of 'Imrān, made Yūsha' (Joshua) ibn Nūn his executor [after Aaron died]." The Messenger of Allāh (ص) said, "My executor is 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib and after him are my two sons Ḥasan and Ḥusayn. After them will follow nine imāms from the loins of Ḥusayn." He said, "O Muḥammad, name them for me."

[The Prophet (ص)] said, "When Ḥusayn passes away, it will be his son, 'Alī. When 'Alī passes away, it will be his son, Muḥammad. When Muḥammad passes away, it will be his son, Ja'far. When Ja'far passes away, it will be his son, Mūsā. When Mūsā passes away, it will be his son, 'Alī. When 'Alī passes away, it will be his son, Muḥammad. When Muḥammad passes away, it will be his son, 'Alī. When 'Alī passes away, it will be his son, Ḥasan. When Ḥasan passes away, it will be his son, al-Ḥujjah (the proof), Muḥammad al-Mahdī. So these are the twelve."

[Na'thal] asked, "Tell me about the death of 'Alī and Ḥasan and Ḥusayn." The Prophet (ص) said, "'Alī will die by the strike [of a sword] on his head, Ḥasan will die by poison, and Ḥusayn by beheading." [Na'thal said], "Where will they be?" [The Prophet (ص)] replied, "In paradise, at my level."

[Na'thal] said, "I bear witness that there is no god but Allāh and that you are the Messenger of Allāh, and I bear witness that they are the executors after you. I have indeed found in the books of the earlier prophets—and in it Moses the son of 'Imrān has made a pledge with us—that towards the later times a prophet will rise who is referred to as Aḥmad and Muḥammad. He will be the last of the prophets, as there are no prophets after him. The executors (waṣīs) after him will be twelve, the first being his paternal uncles' son and his son-in-law, the second and third being two brothers among the children [of the first]. The nation will kill the first by the sword, the second by poison, and the third along with a group of his family by the sword while suffering thirst in a far-away land. He will be beheaded like a child taken freely as booty. He will show patience upon his [impending] murder so as to elevate his position and the position of his family and his offspring, and so as to save those who love him and his followers from the fire. The other nine executors will be from the offspring of the third executor. This twelve is the number of the leaders [of the tribes of the Children of Israel]."

[2888] This may be the same Na'thal that 'Ā'ishah would compare 'Uthmān to (refer to chapter 72) because they both had similar long beards (Tārīkh Damishq 39:327).

[The Prophet (ص)] asked, "You know the leaders?" [Na´thal] said, "Yes. They were twelve, the first being Lāwī ibn Barkhīyā, who was the one who was absent from the Children of Israel during his absence (ghaybah), and who later returned. By him Allāh clarified His divine law (sharī´ah) after its destruction. He fought Qarasṭīyā the king and killed him."

The Messenger of Allāh (ص) said, "In my nation there will be what there was among the Children of Israel. They will follow them inch by inch. The twelfth from my offspring will disappear until he cannot be seen and [until] a time comes for my nation when nothing remains of Islām but its name and nothing remains of the Qur`ān except its wording. At that time, Allāh, the holy and high, will order him to rise. Allāh will make Islām manifest by him and restore it [through him]. Blessings be upon those who love them and follow them, and woe be upon those who despise and oppose them, and blessed be those who stick to their guidance."[2889]

Comments

These are just a select few of the traditions related in Sunnī sources regarding the naming of the twelve imāms. Some may wonder why traditions naming the twelve imāms are not incorporated into the most prominent Sunnī texts. If the Prophet (ص) made it so clear who the twelve imāms were, there should have been hundreds of traditions listing their names in Sunnī sources. However, there are several reasons for the paucity of such traditions in Sunnī works:

1. These traditions were disliked by the caliphs to the point that, during much of the caliphate, relating any virtue for ´Alī and the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) was punishable by death. It therefore served the individuals knowing these traditions well not to proclaim them publicly and to transmit them only to a handful of close confidants.

2. Sunnī scholars had no incentive to include these traditions in their books given the fact that they negate their entire faith and the legitimacy of the scholars themselves.

3. It is possible that the Prophet (ص) only told a handful of close companions the names of the twelve imāms, as he did not trust hypocrites with that information, and instead told them that there would be twelve imāms, the first of whom would be ´Alī (ع) followed by his two sons and nine consecutive members from

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[2889] Yanābī´ al-Mawaddah 3:281-3.

the offspring of Ḥusayn, the last of whom would be al-Mahdī. In fact, the Prophet (ص) was busy establishing ´Alī (ع) as the imām after him even though he knew that his companions did not like for that to occur. For him to enumerate to the hypocrites the names of all the imāms from ´Alī's (ع) offspring for generations to come would have been even less pleasing to those who did not want ´Alī (ع) as their imām for even a single day and would only increase their animosity towards accepting ´Alī's (ع) authority. Furthermore, all that was necessary for the companions was for them to recognize ´Alī (ع) as the imām, as he would in turn inform them of the identity of the subsequent imām, and so on and so forth.

4. Due to the need for future taqīyyah, making the names of all the imāms public well in advance would only serve the enemies of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع). Indeed, in times of more severe persecution, the imāms would keep the name of the next imām as a secret among their close confidants in order to create confusion among the caliphs and their cronies. The new imāms were often unable to publicly proclaim their imāmate due to taqīyyah, and their identities would be sought out by the discerning Shī´ah. Such accounts are not rare in Shī´ah texts. Perhaps the most prominent example is when Imām Ja´far al-Ṣādiq (ع) appointed five people as his executors—the ´Abbāsīd caliph Manṣūr, Muḥammad ibn Sulaymān who was the governor of Madīnah, his elder son ´Abd Allāh al-Afṭaḥ, his younger son Mūsā al-Kāẓim (ع), and his wife Ḥamīdah.[2890] As such, when Manṣūr ordered the governor of Madīnah to behead Ja´far al-Ṣādiq's (ع) executor, he was unable to do so, as the caliph and the governor were both listed among the executors of his will. Of course, the caliph and governor were both deviants, the imām's wife could not serve as an imām, and his elder son died within seventy days without male issue,[2891] confirming his son Mūsā al-Kāẓim (ع) as the imām after him. In the meanwhile, Mūsā al-Kāẓim (ع) could not publicly proclaim his imāmate and many of those who had been directly informed of the identity of the subsequent imām were unable to speak out publicly, so confusion and divisions unfortunately arose as a result.

5. Since the transmission of prophetic traditions was banned from the time of Abū Bakr until the caliphate of ´Umar ibn ´Abd al-´Azīz, there was nearly a century's gap in which prophetic traditions were not systematically written down by the Sunnīs. This created a huge opportunity for the invention of traditions and for the loss of valid traditions due to reliance on the memory of multiple generations, who could easily forget the names of the twelve imāms. Even common sense dictates that news carried mouth to mouth for decades is prone to being distorted. By the time it was allowed for traditions to be recorded in writing, it was dangerous for the transmitters of tradition to record such traditions in their works. Instead, they kept the basic gist of the traditions—that there would be exactly twelve imāms who would guide us till the Day of Judgment, while not recording the names of those twelve imāms.

6. It would be rather surprising if a large number of such traditions were present in widely publicized Sunnī sources given the obvious implications of such traditions.

[2890] Uṣūl al-Kāfī #804.

[2891] Milal wa Niḥal 143 says, "´Abd Allāh lived only seventy days after his father, and died leaving no male issue."

7. Sunnī scholars would pick as their most reliable books only those that minimized the merits of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع), while maximizing the merits of the other companions, particularly Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, ʿUthmān, and their allies. As such, Sunnī sources containing such traditions were prone to being shunned and lost over the centuries.

8. The situation is identical to what happened in previous religions. We know that the Christians and Jews had knowledge of the prophecy of Muḥammad (ص),[2892] yet they have suppressed and denied that knowledge and have edited their texts to obscure the truth.

As for why the Qur`ān does not contain the names of the twelve imāms, the above reasons all apply. Furthermore, on its readily accessible surface, the Qur`ān is fundamentally not a biographical work, as it does not include the names of the Prophet's (ص) family members, wives, or companions.[2893] Even in verses clearly referring to specific individuals, such as the verse of the cave in which Abū Bakr is cited as the second person in the cave with the Prophet (ص),[2894] the verse of prohibition (taḥrīm) in which ʿĀ`ishah and Ḥafṣah are specifically addressed,[2895] or the verse of wilāyah in which ʿAlī (ع) is cited as the master (walī) of the believers,[2896] these individuals are not referred to by name. Indeed, only a small handful of the thousands of previous prophets are named in the Qur`ān, and even the name Muḥammad (ص) only appears four times in the entire Qur`ān.[2897]

[2892] Qur`ān 7:157, 61:6.

[2893] The only possible exception to this I am aware of is the verse, which says "It is in the Mother of the Book in Our presence, high (ʿalī), wise (ḥakim)" (Qur`ān 43:4). If the words ʿalī and ḥakīm are referring to the Qur`ān, then they are adjectives. However, some Shīʿah traditions suggest that the verse means, "It is in the Mother of the Book in Our presence, ʿAlī the wise," meaning that ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib (ع), who is wise, is referred to in Sūrah Fātiḥah (the Mother of the Book), specifically in the verse, "Guide us to the straight path" (Qur`ān 1:6). This interpretation can be found in Tafsīr al-Ṣāfī of Fayḍ al-Kāshānī and Tafsir Qumi, verse 43:4.

[2894] Qur`ān 9:40. Refer to chapter 6.

[2895] Qur`ān 66:1-5. Refer to chapter 27.

[2896] Qur`ān 5:55. Refer to chapter 31.

[2897] Qur`ān 3:144, 33:40, 47:2, 48:29.

Chapter 46
ʹUmar's Explanation why ʹAlī (ع) Should Not have been the Caliph

It has been clearly shown that leadership of the Muslim nation upon the Prophet's (ص) death was the right of ʹAlī (ع). However, ʹAlī (ع) and the rightful imāms after him were barred from the caliphate with the exception of a brief period of rule by ʹAlī and Ḥasan (ع), which was marred by uprisings from various factions. The question arises as to why ʹAlī (ع) was prevented from holding political power upon the Prophet's (ص) death. The answer to this is to be found in a number of traditions that have been narrated from ʹUmar:

1. ʹUmar told ʹAbd Allāh ibn ʹAbbās, "By Allāh, your cousin ʹAlī is the most deserving of people to the [caliphate]. However, the Quraysh would never tolerate him. If ʹAlī were to take power, he would force the people to act righteously without allowing any excuses. If he were to do so, the people would break their pledges of allegiance with him and they would then enter war [against] one another."[2898]

2. ʹUmar told Ibn ʹAbbās, "O Ibn ʹAbbās, by Allāh your companion (ʹAlī) is the most deserving of people to the caliphate after the death of the Messenger of Allāh except that we feared two things." Ibn ʹAbbās asked, "O Commander of the Faithful, what are they?" He replied, "We feared his young age and his love for the Banū ʹAbd al-Muṭṭalib."[2899]

3. ʹUmar told Ibn ʹAbbās, "The first to hold you (i.e. the Banū Hāshim) back from the caliphate was Abū Bakr. Your people (i.e. the Quraysh) disliked for both the caliphate and the prophecy to belong to you." Ibn ʹAbbās asked, "Why is that, O Commander of the Faithful? Wouldn't we do well with those positions?" He replied, "Yes, but if you were to hold both, you would have great pride over them."[2900]

ʹAlī's (ع) Age

It was not only ʹUmar who thought that ʹAlī's (ع) age should have prevented him from succession to the Prophet (ص). In the immediate aftermath of Abū Bakr's rise to power at the Saqīfah, Abū ʹUbaydah ibn al-Jarrāḥ told ʹAlī (ع),

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[2898] Tārīkh Yaʹqūbī 2:159.
[2899] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 2:57, 6:50-1.
[2900] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 2:58. Similarly, Tārīkh Ṭabarī 14:135-6 (the text of this tradition appears later in this chapter).

> Cousin, you are young, and these are the elders of your people. You do not have their experience and their knowledge in matters. And I see that Abū Bakr is a stronger candidate for this affair than you are. His ability to carry out this affair is greater than yours. So cede this affair to Abū Bakr! Well, if you live longer, then you will be fit for this position and will have every right to it because of your dignity, faith, knowledge and understanding, and because of your past service, lineage, and relation to the Prophet.[2901]

However, it is clear that age has no effect on one's ability to rule in Islām. In many instances, the Prophet (ص) let young people lead over men much older than themselves. In every battle in which ʿAlī (ع) participated, he held the banner,[2902] despite the fact that much older companions were present. In the last days of his life, the Prophet (ص) selected Usāmah ibn Zayd, a young man of eighteen or twenty years,[2903] to command his army and ordered the elderly companions, including Abū Bakr and ʿUmar, to follow him. The elder companions complained bitterly, demanding an older commander. According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, the Prophet (ص) gave a speech saying, "If you people are criticizing Usāmah's leadership, you have already criticized the leadership of his father before. But, by Allāh, [Zayd] deserved the leadership."[2904] Despite what the Prophet (ص) said, after he died, ʿUmar still wanted Usāmah to be removed from the leadership of the army because of his young age; Abū Bakr, however, refused to do so.[2905] It appears that ʿUmar could not understand that a younger person might be better fit for a certain position than an older one.

Indeed, in the first years of the prophetic mission, the Prophet (ص) told his closest kinsmen, "This (i.e. ʿAlī) is my brother, my agent, and my successor among you, so listen to him and obey him."[2906] ʿAlī (ع) was only thirteen years old or so at the time that the elders of the Prophet's (ص) family were ordered to obey him. The Prophet (ص) did not consider age an issue at that time. Neither did the Prophet (ص) consider age to be issue when he handed ʿAlī (ع) the verses of renunciation (barāʾah),[2907] when he designated him as his khalīf in Madīnah during the Battle of Tabūk,[2908] when he announced him to be to the Prophet (ص) as Aaron (ع) was to Moses (ع),[2909] or when he declared him to be the walī and mawlā of every believer.[2910] We previously discussed the fact that the Qurʾān, particularly in its discussion of Jesus (ع), does not indicate age to be a factor,[2911] and we have also shown that ʿAlī (ع) bore much similarity to Jesus (ع).[2912]

Even if we take age into account, ʿAlī (ع) was a man of thirty-three years. He had been raised in Islām and had lived in Islām longer than any other companion of the Prophet (ص) since he was the first to accept Islām.[2913] He was raised in the house of the Prophet (ص),[2914] was purified from all sin,[2915] and was designated by the Qurʾān as the master

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2901. Imāmah wa Sīyāsah 21.
2902. Refer to chapter 8.
2903. Iṣābah 1:33 #89 (Usāmah ibn Zayd).
2904. Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #8.78.623, #5.57.77. Refer to chapter 35.
2905. Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 1:362.
2906. Tārīkh Ṭabarī 6:91. Refer to chapter 2 for a discussion of this tradition and its numerous sources.
2907. Refer to chapter 32.
2908. Refer to chapter 30.
2909. Refer to chapter 10.
2910. Refer to chapters 31 and 34.
2911. Refer to chapter 2.
2912. Refer to chapter 3.
2913. Refer to chapter 1.
2914. Refer to chapter 1.
2915. Refer to chapter 14.

(walī) of the believers.[2916] The Prophet (ص) called himself the city of knowledge and proclaimed ʿAlī (ع) to be its gate,[2917] and he later proclaimed, "Whosever master I am, ʿAlī is his master."[2918]

How could it be claimed that Abū Bakr and ʿUmar should receive some advantage due to their age when their superiority in age had been spent entirely in the worship of idols made of stone and wood, and in the consumption of wine and swine? ʿAlī (ع), whose entire life was pure from even the most miniscule of sins, was cast aside merely because he had not spent thirty or forty years worshipping pagan idols! It is obvious that ʿUmar's claim that ʿAlī's (ع) age should play any role in the decision of political succession to the Prophet (ص) was not based on any Islāmic principle, but rather on his personal prejudices and the customs of the Dark Ages of Arabia—the Days of Ignorance.

Indeed, the Prophet (ص) was chosen as a messenger when he was forty years old, even though there were dozens of elder men in Arabia. The reason the Prophet (ص) was selected in lieu of tribal elders was that the Prophet (ص) was pure, had never worshipped idols, and had abstained from all sin. As the Qur`ān put it, prophets are selected from among the devotees (Shīʿah) of the previous prophets, not from among pagans.[2919] As such, the Prophet's (ص) faith is what gave him a far higher position than the others, not his age. Indeed, according to the Qur`ān, the pagans asked why the prophecy was not given to the elders of Mecca and Ṭā`if and instead to Muḥammad (ص).[2920] The answer given by the Qur`ān is that Allāh blesses whomever He wants with the right to rule,[2921] and that just because the people do not want the ones Allāh chooses for them does not disqualify them from being prophets or imāms. The Muslims did not like ʿAlī (ع) to be their ruler just as the Children of Israel did not like Ṭālūt to be their ruler. According to the Qur`ān,

> Their prophet said to them, "Allāh has appointed Ṭālūt as king over you." They said, "How can he exercise authority over us when we are better fitted than him to exercise authority, and he is not even gifted with wealth in abundance?" He said, "Allāh has chosen him above you, and has gifted him abundantly with knowledge and bodily prowess. Allāh grants His authority to whom He pleases."[2922]

The arguments of the Children of Israel— "we are better fitted than he"—was awfully similar to that which ʿUmar and his accomplices proposed for why ʿAlī (ع) should not have been the caliph—as is evident from the words of Abū ʿUbaydah cited earlier in this chapter. But the reality is that Allāh is best fit to make decisions, and Allāh makes is abundantly clear that "there is nothing for you in the decisions,"[2923] because "all decisions are for Allāh."[2924]

The Claim that the Prophecy and Caliphate Should Not Both be Held in the Same Household

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[2916] Refer to chapter 31.
[2917] Refer to chapter 17.
[2918] Refer to chapter 34.
[2919] Qur`ān 15:10.
[2920] Qur`ān 43:31.
[2921] Qur`ān 2:247, 3:26.
[2922] Qur`ān 2:247.
[2923] Qur`ān 3:128.
[2924] Qur`ān 13:31. Refer to chapter 44 for a list of similar verses.

Another reason that was cited to keep ʿAlī (ع) out of power was that it was not permissible for the prophecy (nubuwwah) and caliphate (khilāfah) to both be held by one family. ʿUmar even invented a tradition, according to which he claimed that the Prophet (ص) had said, "The prophecy and the imāmate do not come together in one house."[2925] This claim only revealed the fact that Abū Bakr and ʿUmar would put forth any lie to solidify their own rule. In the Saqīfah, as quoted earlier, ʿUmar claimed that the caliph must be from the Quraysh because of their close kinship to the Prophet (ص),[2926] glossing over the fact that those truly close to the Prophet (ص) were his Ahl al-Bayt (ع). If the members of the Quraysh deserved the caliphate because of their ties of kinship to the Prophet (ص), then the Banū Hāshim would be more deserving, and the members of the Prophet's (ص) household would be the most deserving. According to Ibn Qutaybah,

> [ʿAlī] told [Abū Bakr], "I will not pledge allegiance to you when it is only fitting for you to pledge allegiance to me. You took the caliphate away from the Anṣār and your reason was your closeness to the Prophet(ص), yet you usurped it away from us Ahl al-Bayt! ...I reason with you the same way you reasoned with the Anṣār—we are closer to the Messenger of Allāh (ص) in his life and in his death. So give us our right if you believe [in Islām]! Otherwise, you have brought forth injustice and you know it!"[2927]

Despite what ʿUmar said at the Saqīfah, once his plans to install Abū Bakr as the caliph and to assure himself a position as Abū Bakr's political heir were solidified, he claimed that the prophecy and caliphate could not both belong to the same family. Indeed, the Prophet (ص), as we discussed earlier, made it clear that the twelve khalīfs of his nation would all be from the Quraysh,[2928] and that Imām Mahdī (ع) would be from the descendants of his daughter Fāṭimah (ع).[2929] If the imāmate could not be kept in the family of the Prophet (ص), then Imām Mahdī (ع) should not come from his family either, even though it is clear based on Sunnī traditions that Imām Mahdī (ع) will be the last of the twelve rightful khalīfs of the Prophet (ص) and that he is of the offspring of Fāṭimah (ع). In fact, Abū Bakr and ʿUmar's claims are baseless, as the Qur`ān clearly states that the imāms will arise from the sinless ones among Abraham's (ع) descendants,[2930] proving that prophecy and imāmate indeed belong to the same house. It is clear that Abū Bakr and ʿUmar would change their words depending on the situation in order to maximize their perceived worldly gain. According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, the Prophet (ص) said, "[Among] the signs of a hypocrite... [is that] whenever he speaks, he tells a lie."[2931] The Qur`ān says, "These are the people who buy the life of this world at the price of the hereafter; their penalty shall not be lightened."[2932]

Years later, ʿUmar tried to shift the blame from himself, claiming that it was *the people* who did not like for the prophecy and caliphate to both be held in the same household. According to Ṭabarī,

> Ibn ʿAbbās [said]: [ʿUmar asked me], "What has kept your people from [putting] you [in authority]?" I replied that I did not know. He continued, "But I

[2925] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 1:189.
[2926] Refer to chapter 40.
[2927] Imāmah wa Sīyāsah 21.
[2928] Refer to chapter 45.
[2929] Refer to chapter 44.
[2930] Qur`ān 2:124. Refer to chapter 44 for a discussion of this verse and proof of the fact that only sinless individuals from the progeny of Abraham (ع) could be a divinely-appointed imām.
[2931] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #8.73.117.
[2932] Qur`ān 2:86.

> do know; they do not like your being put in charge of them." I said, "Why, when we are good to them?" [ʹUmar] replied, "O Allāh, [grant] forgiveness. They do not like you to combine the prophethood and the caliphate among yourselves, lest it bring about self-aggrandizement and pride."[2933]

As such, ʹUmar claimed that a main reason ʹAlī (ع) was not allowed to take the caliphate was because the Banū Hāshim had gained superiority over the rest of the Quraysh by having the Prophet (ص) rise from amongst them, and that the Quraysh feared that if the caliphate remained in the Banū Hāshim, they would become self-centered and complacent. In fact, what ʹUmar said in this regards is probably true. The Quraysh did not want the Banū Hāshim to be the dominant clan forever, and they specifically disliked ʹAlī (ع) because he had sent so many of their family members to hell in the Battle of Badr and subsequent battles. It was, rather naturally, hard for the majority of the Quraysh, who only reluctantly accepted Islām under the imminent threat of death and enslavement, to forget the blood of their loved ones. Even the sermons of ʹAlī (ع) support ʹUmar's theory that the Quraysh did not like him to be the caliph. According to the Nahj al-Balāghah, ʹAlī (ع) said,

> What [cause of conflict] is there between me and the Quraysh? By Allāh, I have fought them when they were disbelievers and I shall fight them when they have been misled. I shall be the same for them today as I was for them yesterday. By Allāh, the Quraysh only took revenge against us because Allāh has given us [Ahl al-Bayt] preference over them.[2934]

In a similar vein, Faḍl ibn ʹAbbās ibn ʹAbd al-Muṭṭalib said,

> O Quraysh, and particularly O Banū Taym! You took away the caliphate even though we are the deserving ones and not you. If we seek this affair that we deserve, the enmity of the people towards us will be greater than their enmity towards anyone other than us because of their envy of and hatred towards us. We know that with our companion (i.e. ʹAlī) is a covenant and that he will fulfill it to the end.[2935]

The Qur`ān Warns Us of Envy Towards the Ahl al-Bayt (ع)

The Qur`ān warns us that people are envious of the fact that the imāmate has been granted only to specific individuals from the family of Abraham (ع):

> Are the people envious of what Allāh has given them through His grace? Indeed We have given the family of Abraham the Book and knowledge, and We have given them a huge empire.[2936]

Sunnī scholars have transmitted the claim that the Ahl al-Bayt of Muḥammad (ص) is the family of Abraham (ع) to whom Allāh has given the Book, knowledge, and a huge empire and that, "The people [are] envious regarding what Allāh has given them through His grace."[2937] According to Ḥasakānī,

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2933. Tārīkh Ṭabarī 14:135-6.
2934. Nahj al-Balāghah, Sermon 33.
2935. Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 6:21.
2936. Qur`ān 4:54.
2937. Manāqib Ibn Mughāzilī #314; Yanābīʹ al-Mawaddah 2:369, 2:441-2; Shawāhid al-Tanzīl #195-8, verse 4:54.

> Abū al-Ṣabāḥ said: Ja'far ibn Muḥammad [al-Ṣādiq] told me, "O Abū al-Ṣabāḥ, have you not heard Allāh say in His Book, 'Are the people envious of what Allāh has given them through His grace'?" I replied, "Yes." He said, "We, by Allāh, are them. We, by Allāh, are the envied ones."[2938]

Yet, the Messenger of Allāh (ص) said, "Whoever is envious of 'Alī is envious of me, and whoever is envious of me is indeed a disbeliever (kāfir)."[2939] Therefore, if the Quraysh were envious of 'Alī (ع) for what Allāh had bestowed upon him, it was due to their disbelief and their disbelief should not have served as a basis for Abū Bakr and 'Umar to usurp the caliphate. The reason envy towards 'Alī (ع) is equivalent to disbelief is because it leads to the rejection of his imāmate or because it would create animosity towards him, which is equivalent to hypocrisy and disbelief.[2940]

'Umar Erred by Not Guiding the Quraysh

As 'Umar correctly stated, the Quraysh did not want the imāmate to belong to the Prophet's (ص) family. This was because of their envy towards the Ahl al-Bayt (ع), an envy that, as we just examined, the Qur`ān warned about. It is also because the members of the Quraysh were fed up with the strictness of the justice implemented during the Prophet's (ص) lifetime, and were looking for a way to free themselves from the shackles of Islām's laws. Had 'Alī (ع) succeeded the Prophet (ص) in political power, he would have continued in the path of Islām and the Sunnah of the Prophet (ص), regardless of the desires of the people. Indeed, one of 'Umar's complaints about 'Alī (ع) was that, "He would force the people to act in a righteous way, without allowing any excuses."[2941] This was because 'Alī (ع) was unwilling to bend Islām's rule to please the weak of faith and the hypocrites. However, it was a virtue of 'Alī (ع) that he would guide the people instead of being led astray by them, as opposed to a vice, as claimed by 'Umar.

The desire of the Quraysh for the imāmate not to belong to the Prophet's (ص) family was a serious sin that will ruin all their deeds, as the Qur`ān says, "Because they have disliked what Allāh sent them, their deeds were ruined!"[2942] Since the Quraysh disliked Allāh's decision regarding 'Alī's (ع) imāmate, they committed a sin, and 'Umar should have instructed them to accept what Allāh had ordained for them so that their deeds would not be ruined. Instead of guiding them, 'Umar followed their desires. As the Qur`ān says,

> And if you obey the majority of those on earth, they will lead you astray from the path of Allāh.[2943]

Thus, 'Umar and his accomplices who followed the wishes of the Quraysh were led astray from the path of Allāh. The Qur`ān also says,

> And indeed many are led astray by their personal wishes, out of lack of knowledge.[2944]

[2938] Shawāhid al-Tanzīl #197, verse 4:54.
[2939] Kanz al-'Ummāl #33050.
[2940] Refer to chapter 21.
[2941] Tārīkh Ya'qūbī 2:159.
[2942] Qur`ān 47:9.
[2943] Qur`ān 6:116. Numerous verses showing that following the majority would lead one astray were cited in chapter 41.
[2944] Qur`ān 6:119.

As such, the personal wishes of the Quraysh as well as the wishes of ʹUmar on the day of the Saqīfah were to be ignored, not followed. In the Qur`ān, the believers are considered to be those who enjoin what is right, and dissuade from what is evil:

> But among them shall be a group of people who call towards what is good, commanding [the people] towards righteous deeds and dissuading them from evil. These are the successful.[2945]

Clearly, ʹUmar was not among these, as he never tried to dissuade the Quraysh from acting based on envy, but rather used their envy to further his own political agenda. The Qur`ān says:

> The hypocrite men and women are from one other. They enjoin evil and forbid what is right... They have forsaken Allāh, so Allāh has forsaken them. Indeed the hypocrites are evil-doers.[2946]

A full discussion of the matter of commanding the right and forbidding the evil is a central theme in Islām, but is beyond the scope of our discussion. What is clear is that ʹUmar joined the Quraysh in enjoining what was evil and forbidding what was right, thereby empowering illegitimate rulers while oppressing the Prophet's Ahl al-Bayt (ع).

2945. Qur`ān 3:104.
2946. Qur`ān 9:67.

Chapter 47
The Burial of the Messenger of Allāh (ص)

Summary of Events Surrounding the Death of the Prophet (ص)

The following is a brief summary of the events that occurred around the last days of the Prophet's (ص) life:

The Prophet (ص) ordered Usāmah ibn Zayd to leave Madīnah with his army and to take Abū Bakr and ʹUmar and the rest of the companions, with the notable exception of ʹAlī (ع), along. ʹAlī's (ع) being kept in Madīnah was reminiscent of when the Prophet (ص) had left ʹAlī (ع) in Madīnah during the Battle of Tabūk, appointing him as his khalīf the way Moses (ع) had appointed Aaron (ع) as his khalīf in his absence, and saying that it would be impossible and impermissible for him to leave without appointing ʹAlī (ع) as his successor (khalīf).[2947]

When the Prophet (ص) noticed the hesitation on behalf of his companions, he ordered them to leave and cursed anyone who stayed behind. Yet, the companions remained in the outskirts of Madīnah, and Abū Bakr led their prayers for three days. As soon as news of the Prophet's (ص) impending death arrived, they abandoned the army and returned to Madīnah.[2948]

On his last day, the Prophet (ص) was physically unable to lead the prayers, but when he discovered that his companions had returned and that Abū Bakr was leading their prayers, he asked ʹAbbās and ʹAlī (ع) to carry him to the miḥrāb so he could depose Abū Bakr as the imām of the congregational prayer. At the completion of the prayer, he made it clear to all that Abū Bakr was not the leader of the prayer, and the Muslims ought to have followed him and not Abū Bakr in prayer.[2949]

After the prayers, Abū Bakr, who had been publicly humiliated, left for his house in Sunḥ in the outskirts of Madīnah. During that time, or according to one account before he dispatched the army of Usāmah, the Prophet (ص) asked for pen and paper to write a will that would prevent the Muslims from being misguided, but ʹUmar refused, calling him delirious, and creating an outburst that upset the Prophet (ص) and forced him to expel the disrespectful intruders from his house.[2950]

The Messenger of Allāh (ص) then passed away with his head resting on ʹAlī's (ع) chest.[2951] ʹUmar, taking note of Abū Bakr's absence, took his sword and proclaimed that the Prophet (ص) was not dead and that he would kill anyone who would claim otherwise. Given ʹUmar's rather loud insistence that the Prophet (ص) was still alive, that he was in a coma, or that he would soon return after a short period of absence, combined with the seriousness of his threat to kill anyone who claimed otherwise, the people withheld their pledge of allegiance to ʹAlī (ع) pending confirmation of the Prophet's (ص) death. This bought ʹUmar enough time for Abū Bakr to return from his house in the suburbs.[2952]

[2947] Refer to chapter 30.
[2948] Refer to chapter 35.
[2949] Refer to chapter 37.
[2950] Refer to chapter 38.
[2951] Refer to chapter 38.

Once Abū Bakr arrived, ʹUmar acknowledged that the Prophet (ص) had died, but was more concerned by what was happening in the Saqīfah where the Anṣār had gathered to crown Saʹd ibn ʹUbādah. The two immediately rushed to the site along with Abū ʹUbaydah ibn al-Jarrāḥ. They argued that one of the three of them should be the caliph because they were more closely related to the Prophet (ص) than the Anṣār. After some disagreement over whether the caliph should be from the Quraysh or from the Anṣār and whether there should be one or two caliphs, ʹUmar sensed the desperateness of his situation, and quickly pledged allegiance to Abū Bakr, forestalling any further debate, perhaps because of what some accounts indicate—that ʹAlī (ع) had been named as the consensus candidate for the caliphate. Abū Bakr gladly accepted ʹUmar's allegiance. Thereafter, two of the Anṣār who had personal envy towards Saʹd ibn ʹUbādah pledged allegiance as well, followed by Abū ʹUbaydah ibn al-Jarrāḥ and Sālim mawlā Abī Ḥudhayfah. Thus, Abū Bakr was selected as the caliph.[2953]

The next day, ʹUmar, admitting that his method of imposing Abū Bakr as caliph was an innovation on his part with no basis on the Qurʹān or Sunnah, publicly presented Abū Bakr as the new caliph. Most people pledged allegiance to him at that point,[2954] even though the members of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع), the Banū Hāshim, a group of the closest companions, and a number of the Anṣār refused to pledge allegiance.[2955] Thus began the process of tossing around the sacred position of leadership of the Muslim nation.

Washing the Prophet's (ص) Body

According to Ibn ʹAbd al-Barr, "[ʹAlī] was the one who washed and buried [the Prophet (ص)]."[2956] The Prophet (ص) told ʹAlī (ع) during his final illness, "Wash me, O ʹAlī, when I die."[2957] The only ones who stayed to make arrangements for the Prophet's (ص) burial were ʹAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib (ع), ʹAbbās ibn ʹAbd al-Muṭṭalib, Faḍl ibn ʹAbbās, Qutham ibn ʹAbbās, Usāmah ibn Zayd ibn Ḥārithah, and Ṣāliḥ and/or Shuqrān, the Prophet's (ص) freedmen, and they were joined by one member of the Anṣār, Aws ibn Khawlī al-Anṣārī.[2958] According to Ibn Isḥāq,

> ʹAlī, ʹAbbās and his sons Faḍl and Qutham, and Usāmah ibn Zayd and Shuqrān, two of the freedmen of the Apostle, were the ones who took charge of the washing of [the Prophet]. Aws ibn Khawlī, one of the Banū ʹAwf ibn Khazraj, said, "I adjure you by Allāh, ʹAlī, and by our share in the Apostle [to allow me to join you]." Aws was one of the Apostle's companions who had been at Badr. ʹAlī gave him permission to enter and he came in and sat down and was present at the washing of the Apostle. ʹAlī drew him onto his breast and ʹAbbās and

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[2952] Refer to chapter 39.
[2953] Refer to chapter 40.
[2954] Refer to chapter 40.
[2955] Refer to chapters 40 and 48.
[2956] Istīʹāb 3:197 #1875 (ʹAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib).
[2957] Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 2:280-281. Similarly, Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:139.
[2958] Musnad Ḥanbal #2357; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 5:281; Tārīkh Ṭabarī 9:202; Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 2:277.

> Faḍl and Qutham turned him over along with him. Usāmah and Shuqrān poured the water over him, while ʹAlī washed him, having drawn him towards his breast. He still wore his shirt with which he rubbed him from the outside without touching the Apostle's body with his hand the while he said, "Dearer than my father and my mother, how sweet you are alive and dead!" The Apostle's body did not present the appearance of an ordinary corpse.[2959]

ʹAlī (ع) said, "I did not turn any of his limbs without it turning [on its own]. I found no heaviness in him, as if there was someone helping me. This was due to nothing but the angels."[2960]

The Meaning of Traditions Stating that Only ʹAlī (ع) Could See the Prophet's (ص) Private Areas

When Faḍl poured water over the Messenger of Allāh (ص), ʹAlī (ع) made him close his eyes,[2961] as it was forbidden for anyone to see the Messenger of Allāh's private parts except for ʹAlī (ع), as indicated by the following traditions:

1. The Prophet (ص) said, "No Muslim [man] may see me naked or [see] my private parts except for ʹAlī."[2962]
2. The Prophet (ص) said, "It is not permissible (ḥalāl) for any man to see me naked except for ʹAlī."[2963]
3. ʹAlī (ع) said, "The Prophet stated in his will to me that no one should bathe him other than myself and that, 'No one would see my private parts except that his vision would become blurred.'"[2964]
4. The Prophet (ص) said regarding ʹAlī (ع), "He is the one who covers my private areas."[2965]
5. The Prophet (ص) told ʹAlī (ع), "No one can see my private areas (ʹawratī) except you and my uncle."[2966] The addition of ʹAbbās' name to this tradition is consistent with ʹAbbāsīd-era editing of traditions.

Although these traditions are interpreted by Sunnī scholars are referring specifically to the physical bathing of the Prophet (ص) after his death and the fact that only ʹAlī (ع) was instructed to do so, traditions referring to ʹAlī (ع) being the only one to see and cover the Prophet's (ص) private parts have a much more significant meaning, as they actually refer to ʹAlī (ع) being the one to know of and protect the Prophet's (ص) secret knowledge, not just his physical private areas.

The Nighttime Burial of the Prophet (ص)

[2959] Sīrah Ibn Isḥāq 687-688. Similarly, Tārīkh Ṭabarī 9:202-203; Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 2:277-281 (numerous accounts); Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:140.

[2960] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 10:185.

[2961] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 10:186.

[2962] Manāqib Ibn Mughāzilī #137.

[2963] Manāqib Ibn Mughāzilī #138.

[2964] Kanz al-ʹUmmāl #18784; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 5:282.

[2965] Faḍāʹil Ḥanbal #1127; Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:174. Similarly, Tārīkh Dimishq 42:331.

[2966] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 10:186.

The Prophet (ص) was buried by only four men—ʿAlī (ع), Faḏl ibn ʿAbbās, Qutham ibn ʿAbbās, and Shuqrān, the freedman of the Prophet (ص).[2967] He was buried by night either one or three days after his death.[2968] Abū Bakr and ʿUmar were not present and neither was ʿĀʾishah, the wife of the Prophet (ص), who admittedly did not keep track of her husband's funeral proceedings. ʿĀʾishah said, "We did not become aware of the burial of the Messenger of Allāh until we heard the sound of the pickaxes."[2969] This makes one wonder what kind of wife ʿĀʾishah was who not only abandoned her husband's funeral but was so aloof of it that she did not even bother to check up on his burial preparations after his death. Indeed, the fact that ʿAlī (ع) and a few of his companions buried the Prophet (ص) at night without informing any of the other companions is a sign not only of their dissatisfaction with the other companions, but of the Prophet's (ص) desire to be buried as such, as ʿAlī (ع) was the executor of the Prophet's (ص) will (waṣī) and would therefore only tend to such matters in accordance with the Prophet's (ص) wishes. The companions completely missed the prayer for the Prophet's (ص) burial. After his burial was completed, people would enter in groups, pray upon him, and leave, without anyone leading their prayers.[2970]

Muslims today who show up en masse for funeral processions should remember that their own Prophet (ص) was buried at night by only a handful and that he never had a large congregational prayer offered at his burial. Indeed, such realities stand in stark contrast to the Salafī view that the companions were a harmonious group who formed a utopian society. If that were the case, ʿAlī (ع) would have called for Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, and all the other companions to appear for the Prophet's (ص) burial. Indeed, the Prophet's (ص) nighttime burial is clear proof of ʿAlī's (ص) disgust with the other companions. If he buried him the first night after his death,[2971] it showed that his disgust with them was immediate, and if he waited three nights to bury him,[2972] it was because he wanted to show that the companions had completely abandoned the burial rites of the Prophet (ص), allowing his body to sit for days, while they exhibited every sign of greed for worldly power but absolutely no interest in their prophet's proper burial. Furthermore, since it is recommended for the faithful to appear for a funeral, ʿAlī's (ص) secret nighttime burial of the Prophet (ص) showed that he did not consider them worthy of being considered true believers.

[2967] Sīrah Ibn Isḥāq 688-9; Tārīkh Ṭabarī 9:205.

[2968] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 9:202 states that he was buried either on Tuesday, one day after his death, or three days after his death—i.e. on Thursday.

[2969] Musnad Ḥanbal #24378, #26091, #26392; Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 2:305; Sīrah Ibn Isḥāq 688; Tārīkh Ṭabarī 9:204, 9:209; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 5:291.

[2970] Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 2:288-292 (numerous accounts).

[2971] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 9:202.

[2972] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 9:202.

Chapter 48
Abū Bakr and ´Umar Attacked the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) to Solidify Their Caliphate

From the very beginning, ´Alī (ع) was opposed to Abū Bakr having been selected as caliph. He refused to pledge allegiance to him, and the companions who considered Abū Bakr's caliphate to be illegitimate gathered around ´Alī (ع). Even ´Umar, according to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, admitted that ´Alī (ع) actively opposed Abū Bakr's caliphate in his account of the Saqīfah, when he said, "´Alī and Zubayr and whoever was with them opposed us."[2973] Although ´Alī (ع) was eventually forced to pick political quiescence over forceful opposition, he actively opposed the caliphate of Abū Bakr. When he was informed of what had happened, he went and told Abū Bakr, "You ruined our affairs... and you did not give us our rights." Abū Bakr replied, "Yes, because I feared discord (fitnah)."[2974]

The reason ´Alī (ع) picked quiescence at the end is summarized in his message to the Banū Hāshim saying, "The health of the religion is more beloved to us than anything else."[2975] Had ´Alī (ع) picked confrontation with Abū Bakr, civil war would have started in Madīnah, and many tribes would have found the situation as an excuse to withdraw their allegiance from Madīnah, purportedly pending the outcome of the crisis, but in reality creating a situation where resurgence of paganism and the demise of Islām would be serious possibilities.

Abū Bakr Asked ´Alī (ع) to Pledge Allegiance

According to Ibn Qutaybah,

> ´Umar told Abū Bakr, "Will you not get a pledge of allegiance from this refrainer (´Alī)?" Abū Bakr told his freedman, Qunfudh, "Go and call ´Alī to come to me." Qunfudh went to ´Alī. ´Alī asked him, "What do you want?" Qunfudh said, "The khalīf of the Messenger of Allāh wants you." ´Alī said, "How quickly you have append lies to the Messenger of Allāh (ص)."[2976]

´Alī's (ع) statement was referring to the fact that Abū Bakr was not a khalīf of the Prophet (ص), as the word khalīf implies appointment by the Prophet (ص). Rather, he was the Prophet's (ص) khālif, or non-appointed successor, or as referred to in English rather generically, the caliph. Nonetheless, ´Alī (ع) met with Abū Bakr. According to Ibn Qutaybah,

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[2973] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #8.82.817.
[2974] Murūj al-Dhahab 2:307.
[2975] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 6:21.
[2976] Imāmah wa Sīyāsah 22.

> ʿAlī went to Abū Bakr and said, "I am the servant of Allāh and the brother of His Messenger (ص)." He was told, "Pledge allegiance to Abū Bakr!" He said, "I will not pledge allegiance to you when it is fitting only for you to pledge allegiance to me. You took the caliphate away from the Anṣār and your reason was your closeness to the Prophet, yet you usurped it away from us Ahl al-Bayt! Did you not claim to the Anṣār that you were more deserving of the caliphate than them because Muḥammad (ص) is from among your [tribe] and so they surrendered the caliphate to you? I reason with you the same way you reasoned with the Anṣār—we are closer to the Messenger of Allāh (ص) both in his life and in his death. So give us our right if you believe [in Islām]! Otherwise, you have knowingly brought forth injustice!"[2977]

ʿAlī (ع) Asked the Companions for Support

As such, ʿAlī (ع) refused to pledge allegiance, and provided them proof of the irrationality of Abū Bakr's claim to the caliphate. After ʿAlī (ع) saw that Abū Bakr was indeed solidifying his grip on power, he sought the help of the companions to openly challenge the illegitimate caliphate that was being imposed on the nation. According to Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd,

> ʿAlī carried Fāṭimah on a donkey and traveled with her by night to the houses of the Anṣār, asking them for help. Fāṭimah asked them to aid him. They would say, "O daughter of the Messenger of Allāh! Our pledge of allegiance to this man (i.e. Abū Bakr) has already taken place. Had the son of your uncle come to us before Abū Bakr, we would not have turned away from him." ʿAlī told them, "Should I have left the body of the Messenger of Allāh in his house without any burial preparations to go out to the people to argue with them over power?" Fāṭimah said, "Abū al-Ḥasan did nothing but what was right for him. They did that for which they will, by Allāh, be held accountable."[2978]

Ibn Qutaybah related a similar account as follows:

> ʿAlī seated Fāṭimah on a riding animal and took her to the gatherings of the Anṣār at night, asking them for help. They would say, "O daughter of the Messenger of Allāh, we have [already] pledged allegiance to this man (i.e. Abū Bakr). It is too late now. Had your husband and uncle's son acted earlier, we would have never turned away from him and would have never pledged allegiance to [Abū Bakr]." ʿAlī responded, "How could I desert the body of the Messenger of Allāh in his house before burying it and leave [his house] to argue with you over power?" Fāṭimah said, "Abū al-Ḥasan did that which was right and they have done things for which only Allāh will hold them to account."[2979]

Years later, Muʿāwīyah recounted these events in a letter he wrote to ʿAlī (ع):

> Remember yesterday when you placed the house-sitter of your home (i.e. Fāṭimah) on a donkey, and, while holding the hands of Ḥasan and Ḥusayn in your two hands on the day of the pledge of allegiance to Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq, left none from the people of Badr and the pioneers [in Islām] whom you did not

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[2977] Imāmah wa Sīyāsah 21.

[2978] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 6:13.

[2979] Imāmah wa Sīyāsah 22.

> invite [to pledge allegiance] to yourself. You went to them with your wife, taking along your children, asking for help against the companion of the Messenger of Allāh (i.e. Abū Bakr). None of them answered your [call] but four or five. By my own life, had you been rightful, they would have answered your [call]. But you had a false claim, your words to them (i.e. asking them to break their pledge of allegiance) were unprecedented, and you desired that which you would not attain. No matter how forgetful I am, I will not forget what you said to Abū Sufyān when you were moving about anxiously, "If I find forty resolute [men] among them, I will rise against the people."[2980]

The last sentence refers to the fact that ʻAlī (ع), in accordance with the Prophet's (ص) recommendation to him, was intent on fighting for his rights if he could find forty men who would pledge allegiance to him. Yet, only four or five individuals did so. According to Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, these were Zubayr, Miqdād, Abū Dharr, and Salmān; they answered his call and came in the morning with shaved heads, carrying their weapons.[2981] Sensing his isolation, ʻAlī (ع) said, "The Prophet has told me, 'The nation (ummah) will betray you after me.'"[2982] He also said, "The Messenger of Allāh (ص) told [me], 'After me will be disagreement. If you can remain peaceful, do so.'"[2983]

The Refusal of ʻAlī (ع) to Pledge Allegiance so that He Could Compile the Qur`ān

Since ʻAlī (ع) found too few followers to execute an effective campaign against Abū Bakr's illegitimate government, he decided to remain in his house and avoid virtually all public life. His purported reason for dong so was to compile the Qur`ān.[2984] ʻAlī (ع) then declared, "I intend not to leave my house until I compile the Qur`ān."[2985] He also told Abū Bakr, "I have sworn not to wear a cloak after the death of the Prophet (ص) until I compile the Qur`ān the way it was revealed."[2986] According to Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, Abū Bakr was initially content with this:

> Abū Bakr was told, "ʻAlī dislikes your rule." He sent [his men] to [ask] ʻAlī, "Do you dislike my rule?" He replied, "No, but I feared that something would be added to the Qur`ān, so I swore not to wear my outer cloak except for Friday prayers until I compile [the Qur`ān]." Abū Bakr said, "You have done a great thing." ʻAlī recorded the Qur`ān as it was revealed, with its abrogating (nāsikh) and abrogated (mansūkh) [verses].[2987]

There are those who claim that ʻAlī (ع) was most pleased with Abū Bakr's caliphate, but just did not get around to pledging allegiance to him because he was busy compiling the Qur`ān. This is completely absurd, as it is hard to imagine that he could not take the thirty seconds it would take to leave his room, which was in the mosque, meet with Abū

[2980] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 2:47.

[2981] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 11:14.

[2982] Mustadrak Ḥākim #4686 (classifies the tradition as authentic); Tārīkh Baghdād #5928 (ʻUmar ibn Walīd); Tārīkh Bukhārī vol 2 #2103 (Thaʻlabah ibn Yazīd); Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 6:244; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 4:107, 6:45, 20:327.

[2983] Musnad Ḥanbal #695; Kanz al-ʻUmmāl #30979; Majmaʻ al-Zawā`id #12023 (certifies the transmitters of the tradition as trustworthy).

[2984] Istīʻāb 3:210 #1875 (ʻAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib).

[2985] Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:252.

[2986] Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:253. Similarly, Kanz al-ʻUmmāl #4792; Tārīkh al-Khulafā` 164.

[2987] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 6:40-41. Very similar accounts appear in Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 2:338 and Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 1:242.

Bakr, pledge allegiance to him, and then return home to finish compiling the Qur`ān. Furthermore, ʹAlī (ع) had time to argue with Abū Bakr about the Prophet's (ص) inheritance and Fadak and to testify on behalf of Fāṭimah in those regards,[2988] so it is impossible that he did not have time to reach over and touch Abū Bakr's hand as a sign of allegiance.

The Refusal of a Number of Companions to Pledge Allegiance

Even though ʹAlī (ع) was unable to foster enough public support from the companions for an armed uprising, many of the closest companions of the Messenger of Allāh (ص), including the entire Banū Hāshim, refused to pledge allegiance to Abū Bakr and many of them gathered in the house of Fāṭimah (ع). As is widely related, ʹUmar described the incident as follows: "When the Messenger of Allāh passed away, ʹAlī, Zubayr, and those who were with them stayed away from us in the house of Fāṭimah."[2989] Among the adult men who renounced the caliphate of Abū Bakr were ʹAlī (ع), ʹAbbās ibn ʹAbd al-Muṭṭalib, Faḍl ibn ʹAbbās, Qutham ibn ʹAbbās, Zubayr ibn ʹAwwām, Ṭalḥah ibn ʹUbayd Allāh, Miqdād ibn Aswad, Salmān al-Fārsī, Abū Dharr, ʹAmmār ibn Yāsir, ʹUbādah ibn Ṣāmit, Abū al-Haytham ibn Tayyihān, Ḥudhayfah ibn Yamān, Abū Sufyān ibn Ḥārith ibn ʹAbd al-Muṭṭalib, Abū Sufyān ibn Ḥarb, Khālid ibn Saʹīd ibn ʹĀṣ ibn Umayyah, Saʹd ibn ʹUbādah and a group of his supporters from the Khazraj, the entire Banū Hāshim, and a group of the Muhājirīn and Anṣār who are mentioned but whose identities have not been enumerated in Sunnī sources.[2990]

Abū Bakr and ʹUmar Approached ʹAbbās ibn ʹAbd al-Muṭṭalib

In order to break up the gathering in Fāṭimah's (ع) house, Abū Bakr and ʹUmar thought of luring ʹAbbās, the Prophet's (ص) uncle, to their camp. If ʹAbbās, as the elder of the Banū Hāshim, were to pledge allegiance to Abū Bakr, it would break the consensus that the Banū Hāshim had that ʹAlī (ع) was the rightful caliph. And without the support of the Banū Hāshim, the remaining supporters of ʹAlī (ع) would be easier to intimidate. According to Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd and Ibn Qutaybah,

> Abū Bakr and ʹUmar heard the news [of what was unfolding]. They sent to Abū ʹUbaydah and Mughīrah ibn Shuʹbah and asked for their opinions. Mughīrah said, "My opinion is that you meet ʹAbbās and offer some incentive for him and his sons from this caliphate. [When ʹAbbās takes your side], you will cut off [all fear] from the area of ʹAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib." So Abū Bakr, ʹUmar, Abū ʹUbaydah, and Mughīrah left until they entered [the house of] ʹAbbās. This was on the second night following the death of the Messenger of Allāh (ص).
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> Abū Bakr praised Allāh and said, "Allāh raised Muḥammad as a prophet for you and as a master (walī) for the believers. Allāh favored [the believers] with his presence among them until Allāh chose for him [the eternal reward] that is with Him. He left to the people their affairs so that they may decide for themselves in consensus, not in disagreement. They selected me as their ruler and as the

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[2988] Refer to chapter 49.

[2989] Musnad Ḥanbal #391; Tārīkh Ṭabarī 9:192; Tārīkh al-Khulafā` 63; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 5:266; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 2:23; Sīrah Ibn Isḥāq 683, 685. Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #8.82.817 states the same, except that the phrase, "in the house of Fāṭimah," is omitted.

[2990] This list is a composite based on the accounts of Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 1:220, 2:21, and 2:56, as well as those of Sīrah Ibn Isḥāq 683, Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 1:241, and Tārīkh Ṭabarī 9:186-7. The refusal of Saʹd ibn ʹUbādah to pledge allegiance to Abū Bakr was addressed in chapter 40 and will be discussed in further detail in chapter 51.

> guardian of their interests. I took charge of this and, thanks to the help of Allāh, I have no fear of weakness, helplessness, or cowardice. My success is from none but Allāh, on Whom I rely and to Whom I will return. I have been informed of the presence of opponents who speak contrary to the Muslim public. They have taken you as their fortress in this new act. So either join that which the people have joined or [at least] turn them away from that which they seek. We have now come to you wishing to offer you and your descendants after you some benefit in this matter, as you are the uncle of the Messenger of Allāh. Even though the Muslims see your position and the position of your family with respect to the Messenger of Allāh, they have turned the caliphate away from you. Calm down and take it easy O Banū Hāshim, for the Messenger of Allāh is from us and from you."
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> ʿUmar, resorting to his typical coarseness and [tendency to] resort to threats and to dispose of matters in the harshest manner [possible], said, "By Allāh, we have not come to you out of need. Rather, we do not want you to disapprove of what the Muslims have agreed upon, for the loss will be yours and then [there will be consequences]. So take your own selves as well as [the Muslim] masses into consideration." ʿUmar then stopped speaking.
>
> ʿAbbās then spoke. He praised Allāh and said, "Allāh raised Muḥammad (ص) as a prophet as you described, and as a master for the believers. Allāh favored them with his presence among them until Allāh chose for him [the eternal reward] that is with Him. He left the people [in charge of] their own affairs to choose for themselves the truth and to turn away from the wickedness of their own whims and desires. If you seek [the caliphate] in accordance with [the orders of] the Messenger of Allāh (ص), then you have taken away our right; and if you [seek it] in accordance with the [whims of the] believers, then we are among them. We have not taken a step against your caliphate and we have moved neither to the center [of affairs] nor away [from it]. If the caliphate has become incumbent upon you because of the [consensus] of the believers, then it is incumbent no more because we disapprove of it. What is this contradiction between your word that they speak against you and your word that they have made you their leader?! But in regards to that which you want to give us—if it is your right that you want to give up, then keep it for yourself; if it is the right of the believers, then it is not for you to make a decision in its regards; and if it is our right, we are not satisfied with some parts of it instead of others. I have not said this to turn you away from that which you have embarked [upon], but rather as [compelling] proofs that must be stated. But in regards to your saying, 'The Messenger of Allāh is from us and from you,' the Messenger of Allāh (ص) is from a tree whose branches are us and whose shade-sitters are you. And in regards to what you said, ʿUmar, that you fear [what] the people [would do] to us—this is why you brought it up in the first place (i.e. to threaten us). And from Allāh all help is sought."[2991]

Thus ʿAbbās clarified to Abū Bakr and ʿUmar the position of the Shīʿah that Abū Bakr had usurped the caliphate illegitimately and that the Ahl al-Bayt of the Prophet (ص) disapproved of what the nation had done. The people were indeed free to choose a caliph, but they chose a caliph based on their whims instead of based on the commands of Allāh and His Messenger (ص). As this event occurred on the second night after the

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[2991] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 1:220-221; Imāmah wa Sīyāsah 24-25.

Prophet's (ص) death, it shows that while Abū Bakr and ʻUmar were avoiding the funeral of the Prophet (ص), they were busy doling out favors to solidify their grip on power. Abū Bakr was too preoccupied with securing his power to make sure that, as the new caliph, he would be the one to lead the funeral prayer for the Prophet (ص) or, at the very least, attend his funeral.

The fact that the entire Banū Hāshim opposed Abū Bakr is proof of the illegitimacy of his caliphate. According to the tradition of thaqalayn, the Muslims ought to stick to the Qur`ān and the Ahl al-Bayt in order to be guided after the Prophet (ص). Some Sunnī scholars bent on diminishing the implications of the tradition claim that the tradition requires one to follow only the consensus of the Ahl al-Bayt. As such, they pretend that dissent among the purified members of the Ahl al-Bayt is what prevents them from following this tradition, when no such dissent has ever existed. In this case, the consensus of not only the Ahl al-Bayt but the entire Banū Hāshim was that the caliphate was ʻAlī's (ع) right and that Abū Bakr had illegitimately usurped this right. Their consensus in this regards leaves no doubt that this was indeed the case.

Abū Sufyān Sought to Pledge Allegiance to ʻAlī (ع)

After the refusal of ʻAbbās to deal with Abū Bakr and ʻUmar, the fledgling caliphate was faced with yet another challenge. When Abū Sufyān entered Madīnah and discovered that Abū Bakr was the new caliph, he openly threatened an armed uprising. According to Ṭabarī,

> When the people gathered to give their oath of allegiance to Abū Bakr, Abū Sufyān came while at the same time saying, "By Allāh, I see a cloud of smoke which nothing but blood will clear. O family of ʻAbd Manāf, where is Abū Bakr that he should be the master of your affairs! Where are ʻAlī and ʻAbbās, the two oppressed and humiliated ones?" He [then] said [to ʻAlī], "O Abū al-Ḥasan, stretch out your hand so that I may give you the oath of allegiance," but ʻAlī declined... ʻAlī rebuked him, saying, "By Allāh, you do not intend anything but [to stir up] dissension (fitnah). For long you have desired evil for Islām. We do not need your advice."[2992]

According to Balādhurī,

> Abū Sufyān went to ʻAlī and said, "O ʻAlī! You [Muslims] pledged allegiance to a man from the lowliest clan of the Quraysh. By Allāh, if you please, I will bring horses and men from far and near against them."[2993]

A similar statement has also been related by Ibn ʻAbd al-Barr, who added that ʻAlī (ع) replied, "You and your family never stopped being an enemy to Islām and its followers."[2994] According to Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd,

> The Messenger of Allāh (ص) had sent Abū Sufyān on a trip to collect charity. Abū Sufyān was returning from his trip when the Messenger of Allāh (ص) had just died. A group met him and he asked them [about any news]. They said, "The Messenger of Allāh (ص) has died." He asked, "Who is in charge after him?"

[2992] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 9:199.

[2993] Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:254.

[2994] Istīʻāb 4:241 #3035 (Abū Sufyān Ṣakhr Ibn Ḥarb).

> He was told, "Abū Bakr." He said, "Abū al-Faṣīl[2995]?!" They replied, "Yes." He said, "What did the two oppressed persons, ʿAlī and ʿAbbās, do? By Him in Whose hand is my soul, I will raise them up with [my] support!"[2996]

According to Balādhurī,

> Abū Sufyān was absent when the Prophet's (ص) [life] was taken. When he found out about his death, he asked, "Who took power after him?" He was told, "Abū Bakr." He said, "Abū al-Faṣīl?! I see a rupture that will not be repaired except by blood."[2997]

According to Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd,

> ʿAlī told Abū Sufyān, "You plan something that we will not be company to. The Messenger of Allāh (ص) set a covenant with me and I am [firmly set] upon [upholding] it." Abū Sufyān left him and went to the house of ʿAbbās ibn ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib. He said, "O Abū al-Faḍl, you are more deserving to the inheritance of your nephew. Stretch out your hand so that I may pledge allegiance to you. In that case, no one would dispute you after my pledge of allegiance to you." ʿAbbās laughed and said, "O Abū Sufyān, ʿAlī refused it and [you want] ʿAbbās to accept it?!" Abū Sufyān returned disappointed.[2998]

Abū Sufyān's opposition to the caliphate was sensed as a great danger, as he was the leader of the Quraysh and had the potential to stir up major trouble for Abū Bakr, particularly if ʿAlī (ع) were to accept his support. According to Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd,

> When Abū Sufyān reached Madīnah, he said, "I see a cloud of smoke which nothing but blood will clear." ʿUmar spoke to Abū Bakr and said, "Abū Sufyān has returned and we are not immune from his evil. Let him have [all the charitable properties that are] in his hands." This was done. Abū Sufyān was satisfied [and pledged allegiance to Abū Bakr].[2999]

From the following account in Ṭabarī, it is apparent that Abū Sufyān was also promised that if he supported the caliphate of Abū Bakr, his son would be put in charge of the lands soon to be conquered in Syria:

> When Abū Bakr succeeded [the Prophet], Abū Sufyān said, "What has Abū al-Faṣīl to do with us? Indeed the authority belongs to the Banū ʿAbd Manāf." [When his son Yazīd ibn Abū Sufyān became the governor], it was said to him, "Your son has been entrusted with the authority," and he replied, "He (i.e. ʿUmar) made close his ties of kinship by behaving with kindness."[3000]

It must be noted that the Arabs, from the time of the Days of Ignorance, had a tribal system in which all clans and tribes tried to prove their superiority over the others. Abū Sufyān saw the caliphate as political power that had left the Banū ʿAbd Manāf upon the death of the Prophet (ص) and entered the hands of another clan, the Banū Taym, which he considered to be a rather lowly and insignificant tribe of the Quraysh. This is why he complained, "This authority has been vested in the lowliest (adhall) clan of the Quraysh!"[3001] He thus wanted to restore power to the hands of someone who was more closely related to him and who was a member of one of the higher ranked and more closely related clans of the Quraysh. He knew that ʿAlī (ع) deserved the position and that the people would accept him as their leader, so he sought to make him the caliph.

[2995] This was a pejorative reference for Abū Bakr.
[2996] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 2:44.
[2997] Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:254.
[2998] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 6:18.
[2999] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 2:44.
[3000] Tārikh Ṭabarī 9:198-199.

However, ʿAlī (ع) knew that Abū Sufyān, who had been a life-long enemy of Islām, sought nothing but his own clan's superiority. Siding with him would not have been possible without raising issues of clan superiorities, which had been outlawed by Islām. Moreover, if ʿAlī (ع) required military support from Abū Sufyān, he would become caliph at Abū Sufyān's behest and would risk becoming his puppet. Anytime ʿAlī (ع) would do something Abū Sufyān did not approve of, he would be faced with the threat of an army of Meccan rebels. Abū Sufyān then tried to convince ʿAbbās to become caliph, but he refused, as it was ʿAlī's (ع) right. The fact that Abū Sufyān went to ʿAlī (ع) first shows that it was widely known that ʿAlī (ع) had a right to the caliphate, otherwise he would have picked an elder member of the Banū ʿAbd Manāf for the position first.

Abū Sufyān became content with Abū Bakr's rule only after he was granted wealth from the Islāmic treasury and after his son was promised to be appointed governor of Syria if and when Syria was to be conquered. This wealth and power would guarantee his clan political and economic superiority, particularly because Syria was among the wealthiest of Arab lands. As promised, Abū Sufyān's son Yazīd was appointed by Abū Bakr as a commander of the forces conquering Syria, and he was later appointed the governor of Syria during ʿUmar's caliphate, but he died in the year 18 A.H. from the plague.[3002] When Yazīd died, Abū Sufyān's other son, Muʿāwīyah, was appointed as the governor of Syria,[3003] and he was given so much freedom and power that he eventually challenged the caliphate and subjugated the entirety of Muslim lands.[3004] Thus, Abū Bakr and ʿUmar laid the foundations of the Umayyad dynasty, which carried out many of the most gruesome atrocities of Islāmic history, such as the carnage of the Prophet's (ص) family at Karbalāʾ[3005] and the subsequent massacre and mass rape of the Muhājirīn and Anṣār and their offspring in Madīnah in the Battle of Ḥarrah.[3006] According to Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd,

> When Abū Sufyān and Abū Bakr quarreled over power, Abū Bakr treated him harshly. Abū Quḥāfah told him, "My son, do you say this to Abū Sufyān, the leader of Mecca (Shaykh al-Baṭḥāʾ)[3007]?" He said, "Verily Allāh, the oft-high, has raised [certain] houses by Islām and has lowered [certain] houses [by Islām]. Among those that He raised is your house, O father, and among those He lowered is the house of Abū Sufyān."[3008]

The irony must not be lost that while Allāh lowered the house of Abū Sufyān according to Abū Bakr, Abū Bakr and ʿUmar raised his house to the point that it would hold the caliphate for well over two decades.

[3001] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 2:45; Tārīkh Ṭabarī 9:198.
[3002] Istīʿāb 4:136 #2801 (Yazīd ibn Abī Sufyān).
[3003] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 13:100.
[3004] Refer to chapters 83, 88, and 94.
[3005] Refer to chapter 95.
[3006] Refer to chapter 97.
[3007] Baṭḥāʾ was a reference to Mecca (Muʿjam al-Buldān 1:74), so Shaykh al-Baṭḥāʾ was a reference to the leader of the Meccans.
[3008] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 1:222.

Abū Bakr's Father Rejected the Justification for His Son's Caliphate

Abū Bakr's father, Abū Quḥāfah, accepted Islām when Mecca was conquered and he outlived his son, dying in the year 14 A.H. at the age of ninety-seven.[3009] According to Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd,

> [Abū Bakr's father], Abū Quḥāfah, was told on the day his son took power, "Your son has just taken over the caliphate." He recited, "Say, 'O Allāh, possessor of power, You give power to whom You wish and you strip power from whom You wish.'"[3010] He then asked, "Why was he given power?" They replied, "Because of his age." He said, "But I am older than he is!"[3011]

This shows that there was no clear justification for making Abū Bakr caliph, and that his supporters had a different excuse for every situation. One day it was because he claimed to be a close relative of the Prophet (ص), even though he was not closely related to him at all. Another day it was because he was the oldest companion, even though he was not. Yet another day it was because the whole thing was an innovation but since Allāh had supposedly saved the nation from its evil, the innovation was to be followed. There have been so many attempts to invent reasons why Abū Bakr should have become caliph, even though he obviously didn't have any good ones himself.

The Use of Force to Make ʿAlī (ع) Pledge Allegiance

Abū Bakr knew that his grip on power was tenuous as long as the family of the Prophet (ص) and a number of leading companions would not recognize his legitimacy. He feared that ʿAlī's (ع) cause could spread and could destabilize his government. As such, he consulted with ʿUmar and they decided to use force to break up the assembly of the faithful companions who had gathered in Fāṭimah's (ع) house.[3012] According to Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd,

> The traditions differ in regards to the story of the Saqīfah. What the Shīʿah say, most of which is [also] related by the [Sunnī] experts of tradition, and [with which concur] a group of the [Sunnī scholars], is that ʿAlī withheld his pledge of allegiance until he was taken out by force, and that Zubayr ibn ʿAwwām also refused to pledge allegiance and said, "I will not pledge allegiance except to ʿAlī." And the same is true in regards to Abū Sufyān ibn Ḥarb, Khālid ibn Saʿīd ibn ʿĀṣ ibn Umayyah ibn ʿAbd Shams, ʿAbbās ibn ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib and his sons, Abū Sufyān ibn Ḥārith ibn ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, and the entirety of the Banū Hāshim. It is said that Zubayr pulled out his sword and that when ʿUmar came along with a group of the Anṣār and others, [ʿUmar] said, "Take his sword and smash it to a rock." It is said that the sword was taken from the hands of Zubayr and was smashed into a rock and broken. They took them all to Abū Bakr and forced them to pledge allegiance. No one [was able to] avoid [having to pledge allegiance] except for ʿAlī. He took to the house of Fāṭimah. They then decided to bring him out by force, but Fāṭimah stood at the door and spoke strongly to those who sought him. They dispersed and left him alone, knowing that he

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[3009] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 1:155-156.

[3010] Qurʾān 3:26.

[3011] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 1:222.

[3012] For accounts of the assault on Fāṭimah's (ع) house, refer to Imāmah wa Sīyāsah 20-23; Tārīkh Ṭabarī 9:186-7, 9:188-9; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 2:21-2, 2:45, 2:50, 2:56, 2:60, 6:47-48; Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:252-3; Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #14113, #14138; Majmaʿ al-Zawāʾid #9030; Tārīkh al-Khamīs 2:169.

> alone could bring no harm. It is also said that he was taken along with those taken [by force] to Abū Bakr and that he pledged allegiance to him then.
>
> Abū Ja'far Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī has related much of this... And Abū Ja'far said that when the Anṣār gave up their hopes to the caliphate, all or some of them said, "We will not pledge allegiance except to 'Alī." Similar to this has also been related from 'Alī ibn 'Abd al-Karīm, commonly known has Ibn Athīr al-Mawṣilī in his History (Tārīkh)...
>
> After the death of the Prophet (ص), 'Alī said, "If I find forty resolute men, [I will rise against Abū Bakr]." Naṣr ibn Muzāḥim has mentioned this in the[his] book [entitled] Ṣiffīn, and many of the great masters of prophetic biography (sīrah) have related this. But what the prominent [Sunnī] relaters of tradition and the most valid of their [accounts] say is that he refused to pledge allegiance for six months, remained in his house, and did not pledge allegiance until Fāṭimah died. When she died, he pledged allegiance in obedience. And Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim and Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī [say], "The people supported him when Fāṭimah was alive, but when Fāṭimah died, the people turned away from him, so he left his house and pledged allegiance to Abū Bakr. The period of [Fāṭimah's] life after her father was six months."[3013]

From the traditions of Bukhārī and Muslim it is apparent that 'Alī (ع) refused to pledge allegiance until he was put in an uneasy position after the death of his wife and had little choice but to pledge allegiance under those circumstances. Both Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī and Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim have related from 'Ā'ishah that,

> When Fāṭimah was alive, the people used to respect 'Alī much, but after her death, 'Alī noticed a change in the people's attitude towards him. So 'Alī sought reconciliation with Abū Bakr and gave him an oath of allegiance. 'Alī had not given the oath of allegiance during those months.[3014]

Even though the entire tradition is full of fantasy, as is typical of 'Ā'ishah's traditions, this part shows that even in the best case scenario, 'Alī (ع) did not pledge allegiance to Abū Bakr until when he was completely isolated, and then only out of taqīyyah or because that would best allow him to minimize the harm done to Islām by the illegitimate rulers. In fact, it is possible that he never pledged allegiance to Abū Bakr but that 'Ā'ishah was trying to make it appear that he did do so in order to help solidify the legitimacy her father's claim to the caliphate. Her claim, however, does not support Abū Bakr in any way, as it states that 'Alī (ع) pledged allegiance only under duress. Consensus is not obtained if anyone party to the consensus is under duress. Thus, the entire argument for Abū Bakr's caliphate being based on consensus is baseless, regardless of whether 'Alī (ع) pledged allegiance to him or not. This is because if 'Alī (ع) did not pledge allegiance to Abū Bakr, there never was consensus, and if he did, it was under duress, and therefore the consensus was invalid.

'Umar Threatened to Burn Down the House of Fāṭimah (ع) with Those Inside

Abū Bakr and 'Umar were so threatened by the assembly of the companions in the house of Fāṭimah (ع) that they decided to break up the gathering by force. 'Umar threatened to burn down their house and those inside and actually brought fire to do so. According to Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd and Kanz al-ʻUmmāl,

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[3013] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 2:21-22.

[3014] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.59.546; Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #19.4352.

> When Abū Bakr was given the pledge of allegiance, Zubayr and Miqdād and a group of people dissented and went to ʻAlī in the house of Fāṭimah. They brought up matters and consulted with one another. ʻUmar set out until he entered upon Fāṭimah and said, "There is none among creation more beloved to us than your father; and there is none after your father more beloved to us than you. But, by Allāh, this would not prevent me from ordering them to burn down the door if these people [continue] to gather around you." When ʻUmar left and the others came, she said, "Know that ʻUmar just came to me and swore by Allāh that if you gather here, he will burn down the door."[3015]

According to Ibn ʻAbd Rabbih,

> ʻAlī, ʻAbbās, and Zubayr sat in the house of Fāṭimah until Abū Bakr sent ʻUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb to them to force them out of Fāṭimah's house, telling him, "If they refuse [to pledge allegiance], kill them." [ʻUmar] arrived with fire to burn down their house. When he reached Fāṭimah, she told him, "O son of al-Khaṭṭāb, have you come to burn down our house?" He replied, "Yes, or you must enter that into which the nation has entered (i.e. submission to Abū Bakr)." So ʻAlī left [the house], went to Abū Bakr, and pledged allegiance to him.[3016]

According to Balādhurī,

> Abū Bakr sent for ʻAlī, demanding his pledge of allegiance, but he refused. ʻUmar came and with him was some fire. Fāṭimah accosted him at the door and said, "O son of al-Khaṭṭāb! Do I see you setting my door on fire?!" He said, "Yes!" So ʻAlī came and pledged allegiance.[3017]

According to Ibn Qutaybah,

> Abū Bakr discovered that a group had refused to pledge allegiance to him and had gathered around ʻAlī. He sent ʻUmar to them, and he went to them and called for them while they were in the house of ʻAlī. They refused to come out. He called for firewood and said, "By the One in Whose hands rests my soul, come out, or I will burn it down with everyone inside!" ʻUmar was told, "O Abū Ḥafṣ, Fāṭimah is inside it!" He said, "So be it!" So they left [the house] and everyone pledged allegiance except for ʻAlī.[3018]

According to Balādhurī,

> Abū Bakr sent ʻUmar to ʻAlī when he would not come forth to pledge allegiance to him, telling him, "Bring him to me with the fiercest force." When he was brought him, words flowed between the two. ʻAlī told [ʻUmar], "...By Allāh, the only reason you show such zeal for his rule today is so that he will put you in charge tomorrow."[3019]

3015. Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 2:45; Kanz al-ʻUmmāl #14138.
3016. ʻIqd al-Farid 4:248.
3017. Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:252.
3018. Imāmah wa Sīyāsah 22.
3019. Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:253.

Those in the House of Fāṭimah (ε) were Taken by Force

The translator and annotator of the ninth volume of the English translation of The History of al-Ṭabarī said,

> Although the timing of the events is not clear, it seems that ʿAlī and his group came to know about the Saqīfah after what had happened there. At this point, his supporters gathered in Fāṭimah's house. Abū Bakr and ʿUmar, fully aware of ʿAlī's claims and fearing a serious threat from his supporters, summoned him to the mosque to swear the oath of allegiance. ʿAlī refused, and so the house was surrounded by an armed band led by Abū Bakr and ʿUmar, who threatened to set it on fire if ʿAlī and his supporters refused to come out and swear allegiance to Abū Bakr. The scene grew violent and Fāṭimah was furious.[3020]

According to Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd,

> Abū Bakr said, "O ʿUmar, where is Khālid ibn Walīd?" He replied, "He is here." [Abū Bakr told the two of them], "Go to ʿAlī and Zubayr and bring them to me." They left. ʿUmar entered while Khālid remained at the door. ʿUmar asked Zubayr, "What is this sword?!" He said, "I have prepared it for my pledge of allegiance to ʿAlī." There were many people in the house, among them Miqdād ibn Aswad and the bulk of the Banū Hāshim. ʿUmar pulled away the sword [of Zubayr] and struck it against a rock in the house and broke it. He then took Zubayr's hand, pulled him up, pushed him out, and said, "O Khālid, take him." Khālid grabbed him. [Standing] outside the house with Khālid were a lot of people who had been sent by Abū Bakr to support the [assault on Fāṭimah's house]. ʿUmar then entered and said to ʿAlī, "Get up and pledge allegiance!" He [then] struck [ʿAlī], cornered him, grabbed his hand, and said, "Get up!"
>
> ʿAlī refused to rise. ʿUmar pulled and pushed him the way he had pulled and pushed Zubayr. Khālid took hold of the two of them and ʿUmar and those with him pulled the two [away] by force. The people gathered to watch and the alleys of Madīnah were filled with men. Fāṭimah saw what ʿUmar had done. She screamed and yelled and a large group of Hāshimīte and non-Hāshimīte women gathered around her. She went towards the door of her room and called out, "O Abū Bakr, how quickly you have attacked the Ahl al-Bayt of the Messenger of Allāh! By Allāh, I will not speak to ʿUmar until I meet Allāh [my death]!"[3021]

Given ʿAlī's (ε) bravery in battle and their cowardice, ʿUmar and Khālid were lucky that ʿAlī's (ε) pledge was not to fight for his rights unless forty resolute believers would join his cause. Ṭabarī's account of this event is as follows:

> ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb came to the house of ʿAlī. Ṭalḥah, Zubayr, and some of the Muhājirūn were [also] in the house [with ʿAlī]. ʿUmar cried out, "By Allāh, either you come out to render the oath of allegiance [to Abū Bakr], or I will set the house on fire." Zubayr came out with his sword drawn. As he stumbled

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[3020] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 9:187, footnote #1291 (comments of Ismail K. Poonawala).

[3021] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 6:48-49.

> [upon something], the sword fell from his hand, so they jumped over him and seized him.[3022]

According to Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd,

> ʹUmar came to the house of Fāṭimah along with men from the Anṣār and a few from the Muhājirīn. He said, "By Him in Whose hand is my soul, come out to pledge allegiance, or else I will burn the house down on you!" Zubayr went out against him with his sword drawn. Zīyād ibn Labīd al-Anṣārī and another man attacked his neck and the sword fell from his hand. ʹUmar struck the sword against a rock and broke it. He then brought them out by their collars and pulled them by force until they pledged allegiance to Abū Bakr."[3023]

This event has also been related in Tārīkh al-Khamīs.[3024] Muḥibb Ṭabarī has related a similar account of the breaking of Zubayr's sword, except for claiming that it was Muḥammad ibn Maslamah who broke it.[3025] According to Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, after the sword fell from the hands of Zubayr, Abū Bakr, who was on the pulpit giving a sermon, said, "Smash it into the rocks!" Abū ʹAmr ibn Ḥimās said, "I have seen the rock and in it is [a mark of] this impact. The people say, 'This is the trace of the smashing of the sword of Zubayr.'"[3026] According to Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd,

> Some of the Muhājirīn were angry because the pledge of allegiance to Abū Bakr had been conducted without any consultation. ʹAlī and Zubayr were [also] angry, so they entered the house of Fāṭimah, [bringing] with them their weapons. ʹUmar came with a group, among whom was Usayd ibn Ḥuḍayr and Salamah ibn Salāmah ibn Quraysh, both of whom were from the Banū ʹAbd al-Ashhal. They stormed the house. Fāṭimah yelled at them and invoked them by [the name of] Allāh [to leave]. They took the two swords [of ʹAlī and Zubayr] and smashed them against rocks till they broke. ʹUmar then pulled them out [of the house] and herded them [away as prisoners] until they pledged allegiance.
>
> Abū Bakr then stood and gave a sermon to the people, apologizing to them, saying, "My pledge of allegiance was a hasty mistake (faltah) and Allāh protected us from its evil (sharr). I feared dissension (fitnah). By Allāh, I did not aspire for [the caliphate] for even one day, and I did not ask Allāh for it even once, in private or in public. I have been given a great matter which is beyond my ability to tolerate and which I cannot handle; I hoped that the most powerful of people would have been in my place."[3027]

It appears that ʹAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib (ع) was the only man among those in Fāṭimah's (ع) house who was able to avoid pledging allegiance to Abū Bakr after they were forcibly taken out to him. Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd said,

> All of them were taken to Abū Bakr and were forced to pledge allegiance except for ʹAlī alone who sought protection in the house of Fāṭimah. They tried to take

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[3022] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 9:186-7.
[3023] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 6:48.
[3024] Tārīkh al-Khamīs 2:169.
[3025] Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 1:241.
[3026] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 2:56.
[3027] Ibn Abi al-Ḥadīd 6:47.

him out by force, but Fāṭimah stood by the door of the house and gave an earful to anyone who came seeking him. They dispersed thinking that ʹAlī alone can do no harm, so they left him.[3028]

The Arguments of ʹAlī (ع) and His Shīʹah and the Regret of the Companions

ʹAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib (ع)

According to Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd and Ibn Qutaybah,

> [After ʹAlī was taken to Abū Bakr to pledge allegiance], ʹAlī was told, "Pledge allegiance!" He replied, "I am more deserving of this affair than you are. I will not pledge allegiance to you when it is more befitting for you to pledge allegiance to me. You took this caliphate from the Anṣār, arguing that you are closer in relationship to the Messenger of Allāh (ص), and they surrendered power to you. I reason with you just like you reasoned to the Anṣār. Be fair, if you fear Allāh, and admit our right to govern the same way the Anṣār acknowledged yours. Otherwise, you have knowingly brought forth injustice."
>
> ʹUmar said, "You will not be released until you pledge allegiance." ʹAlī told him, "Milk your half, O ʹUmar! Today you help him in his affair so that he will pass it on to you tomorrow! No, by Allāh, I will not accept your word and I will not pledge allegiance to him!"
>
> ...ʹAlī said, "O Muhājirīn! Allāh! Allāh! Do not move the command of Muḥammad (ص) from his house to your houses, and do not push aside his family from its position and its right [to rule] among the people. By Allāh, O Muhājirīn, we Ahl al-Bayt are more deserving of this affair than you are as long as there is one among us who is a reciter of the Book of Allāh, who is knowledgeable in regards to the religion of Allāh, who knows the Sunnah [of the Prophet (ص)], and who is capable of [leading] the masses. By Allāh, this person exists among us, so do not follow your whims, thereby increasing your distance from the truth."
>
> Bashīr ibn Saʹd said, "O ʹAlī, had the Anṣār heard these words from you before pledging allegiance to Abū Bakr, not even two would have disputed you. But they have already pledged allegiance." ʹAlī then returned to his house and did not pledge allegiance. He remained in his house until Fāṭimah died and then pledged allegiance.[3029]

According to Ibn Qutaybah,

> When ʹAlī was taken out to the mosque [to pledge allegiance to Abū Bakr], he was told, "Pledge allegiance!" ʹAlī asked, "And what if I don't?" They said, "Then, by Allāh, other than whom there is no god, we will cut off your head!" ʹAlī said, "Then you would have killed the servant of Allāh and the brother of His Prophet (ص)." ʹUmar said, "Your being the servant of Allāh we accept, but we do not accept your being the brother of the Messenger of Allāh." Abū Bakr was

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3028. Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 2:21.
3029. Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 6:11-12; Imāmah wa Sīyāsah 21-22.

> quiet and did not speak, so ʿUmar asked him, "Won't you make up your mind about him?" Abū Bakr said, "I will not force him to do anything as long as Fāṭimah is beside him." ʿAlī turned to the grave of the Messenger of Allāh (ص), crying and calling out, "O son of my mother! Indeed, the people have oppressed me and have conspired to kill me."[3030,3031]

Salmān al-Fārsī

Salmān then gave a speech in ʿAlī's (ع) support. He said in Fārsī, "Kardīd wa nakardīd,"[3032] which means, "You did [what was wrong] and you didn't do [what was right]," and then added, "Had you pledged allegiance to ʿAlī, [the nation] would have been provided [with blessings] from above them and from below their feet."[3033] He told the companions, "You were right [for choosing an imām from the Quraysh] but you missed the [true] source (maʿdan) [of those fit for the imāmate]."[3034] He also said, "You ended up with the old one among you but you passed up the Ahl al-Bayt of your Prophet (ص). If you set [power] among them, no two would differ and you would benefit from its fruits."[3035]

Abū Dharr

According to Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd,

> When the Messenger of Allāh (ص) died, Abū Dharr was absent [from Madīnah]. He returned when Abū Bakr had [already] been made the ruler. He said, "You attained [personal] satisfaction but abandoned the close ones [to the Prophet]. Had you put this affair in [the hands of] the Ahl al-Bayt of your Prophet, not two would have disputed you."[3036]

Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī's (ع) Words to Abū Bakr

Ḥasan (ع), who was a young boy at the time, was distraught by the sight of Abū Bakr on his father's pulpit. According to Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd,

> While Abū Bakr was giving a sermon on the pulpit [of the Prophet's Mosque], Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī stood and said, "Come down from the pulpit of my father!" Abū Bakr said, "You are right! By Allāh, it is the pulpit of your father, not the pulpit of my father." ʿAlī then sent to Abū Bakr [saying], "He is a young boy who did this, and we did not order him to [say what he said]." Abū Bakr replied, "You are right; we do not accuse you [of sending him to say what he said]."[3037]

Suyūṭī has related a very similar tradition, except that he attributed the event to Ḥusayn (ع) instead of Ḥasan (ع).[3038] A number of other companions also gave speeches in

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3030. Qurʾān 7:150.
3031. Imāmah wa Siyāsah 23.
3032. Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 6:43; Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:255.
3033. Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:255.
3034. Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 6:43.
3035. Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 6:43.
3036. Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 6:13.
3037. Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 6:42-43.
3038. Tārīkh al-Khulafāʾ 129.

support of ʹAlī (ع) in the Prophet's Mosque. These speeches are very telling but due to their length will not be recounted here.[3039]

Bilāl Refused to Recite the Adhān and Moved to Syria

Bilāl, who was the Prophet's (ص) mu`adhdhin, reciting the call to prayer during the Prophet's (ص) lifetime, was so disgusted by the takeover of the caliphate by Abū Bakr that he refused to announce the call to prayer. He was asked to pledge allegiance to Abū Bakr, but he similarly refused. ʹUmar tried to coax him into pledging allegiance by suggesting that Bilāl was being ungrateful, as Abū Bakr was the one who had bought and freed him when Bilāl was a slave in Mecca being tortured by the pagans for his belief in Islām. According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, ʹUmar said, "Abū Bakr is our chief, and he freed our chief (i.e. Bilāl),"[3040] but Bilāl said to Abū Bakr, "If you have bought me for yourself, then keep me [as your personal slave], but if you have bought [and freed] me for Allāh's sake, then leave me for Allāh's work."[3041] He left to Syria when the first opportunity arose, and he remained there until he died in the year 20 A.H.[3042]

Bilāl promised never to recite the call to prayer (adhān) again. Sayf, a well-known liar,[3043] recognizing this obvious snub to be a problem for the legitimacy of the caliphs, invented a tradition according to which ʹUmar asked Bilāl to say the adhān when he visited Syria, and Bilāl complied.[3044] Sayf's accounts, however, are always closer to fantasy than reality, and he is universally recognized as a liar, even by the Sunnī scholars who continue to relate his forgeries. This fairytale has survived in numerous Sunnī works that claim that Bilāl announced the call to prayer only once after the death of the Prophet (ص), in honor of ʹUmar.

The fact that Bilāl asked to be freed of his obligations to Abū Bakr who had previously freed him is proof of Abū Bakr's apostasy in Bilāl's view. In Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, there is a chapter entitled, "It is forbidden for a slave to take anyone as his ally except one who emancipates him."[3045] According to the Prophet (ص), "He who takes anyone as his ally without the consent of his previous master, there will be the curse of Allāh and that of His angels upon him, and neither any obligatory act of his nor the supererogatory one will be accepted."[3046] Such traditions affirmed the system whereby a freedman (mawlā) would retain ties to his previous master and his master's tribe, both offering support to them and being supported by them at times of need. For Bilāl to disassociate himself from Abū Bakr and to ask for such ties to be dissolved would entail a great sin and the annulment of all his future deeds were it not for the fact that Bilāl believed that Abū Bakr had left Islām, thereby annulling all obligations vis-à-vis other Muslims. According to the Qur`ān, "Those who believe..., some of them are the guardians of others... and those who disbelieve, some of them are the guardians of others."[3047] As such, disbelievers have no guardianship of any sort over the believers, and Bilāl thereby felt absolved of any obligations towards Abū Bakr.

ʹAlī's (ع) Purported Reconciliation with Abū Bakr

[3039] Refer to Ḥaqq al-Yaqīn 164-176.
[3040] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.57.98.
[3041] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.57.99.
[3042] Iṣābah 1:187 #735 (Bilāl ibn Rabāḥ al-Ḥabashī).
[3043] Refer to chapter 74 for a discussion of Sayf ibn ʹUmar.
[3044] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 13:104-5.
[3045] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, book 9, chapter 14.
[3046] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #9.3599.
[3047] Qur`ān 8:72-3.

Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, and Tārīkh Ṭabarī have related from ʿĀʾishah,

> When ʿAlī saw that the people's attention had turned away from him, he begged for reconciliation with Abū Bakr. He sent to the latter, [asking him] to visit him, and [requesting] that nobody should accompany him. ʿAlī disliked that ʿUmar should come with Abū Bakr, for he knew ʿUmar's rudeness. ʿUmar said to Abū Bakr, "Don't go alone." Abū Bakr replied, "By Allāh, I will go alone. It is not possible that [the Banū Hāshim] might do anything to me," and he went. [ʿAlī told Abū Bakr], "It is neither the denial of your good qualities nor the rivalry of the good which Allāh has given you that prevented us from giving you the oath of allegiance, but [rather] the fact that we considered that we have a right in this authority which you have monopolized."
>
> ʿAlī then mentioned his relationship with the Messenger of Allāh and the rights of the Banū Hāshim. He continued speaking until Abū Bakr wept. After ʿAlī stopped, Abū Bakr pronounced the shahādah, praised Allāh, extolled him with what is due to Him, and then said, "By Allāh, the relationship of the Messenger of Allāh is dearer to me [too]. I reach [him] through my relationship [to him]. By Allāh, I did not fall short of doing what was requisite with regard to this property (i.e. the Prophet's inheritance), which became [a dispute] between you and me, except for good."[3048]

This tradition, if true, shows the following: (1) there was continued fear that ʿAlī (ع) would kill Abū Bakr even months after his usurpation of power, which is why ʿUmar was afraid to let Abū Bakr meet with ʿAlī (ع) alone without the protection of armed guards; (2) ʿAlī (ع) hated ʿUmar even more than he hated Abū Bakr; (3) ʿAlī (ع) was not upset because of envy or a personal greed for power, but rather because of the right that Allāh had bestowed upon him that had been illegitimately seized by Abū Bakr. Of course, ʿĀʾishah added the claim that ʿAlī (ع) acknowledged Abū Bakr's qualities, something that is highly doubtful, but consistent with her style of narration where her father's glory just happened to shine through at every moment.

The Miscarriage of Fāṭimah (ع)

The most brutal assault on the Ahl al-Bayt in the aftermath of the Prophet's (ص) death was the attack on Fāṭimah (ع), causing her to have a miscarriage, from which she passed away. According to Shahrastānī, the Muʿtazilī scholar Naẓẓām said, "ʿUmar struck Fāṭimah in the stomach on the day Abū Bakr was installed as caliph, causing her a miscarriage."[3049]

It is important to recall that when the Prophet's (ص) adoptive daughter Zaynab was assaulted and frightened, causing her miscarriage, he ordered the Muslims to kill those who frightened her anywhere they would find them, as they had caused a Muslim woman to have a miscarriage.[3050] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd said,

> I recited this account [of the miscarriage of Zaynab due to the attack of the pagans] to [my teacher] al-Naqīb Abū Jaʿfar [al-Iskāfī], may Allāh have mercy

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[3048] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 9:197; Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.59.546; Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #19.4352.

[3049] Milal wa Niḥal 51.

[3050] Refer to chapter 8.

> upon him. He said, "Since the Messenger of Allāh (ص) made permissible the blood of Habbār ibn Aswad because he scared her and she miscarried what was in her womb, it appears that if [the Messenger of Allāh (ص)] were alive, he would have permitted [spilling] the blood of whoever scared Fāṭimah such that what was in her womb was aborted." I asked, "May I relate from you what the people say that Fāṭimah was frightened and Muḥsin was aborted?" He said, "Relate neither that claim nor the falsehood of that claim from me."[3051]

Indeed, any reasonable person would conclude that the proximate cause of Fāṭimah's (ع) death shortly after that of the Prophet (ص) was her miscarriage, as she was otherwise healthy and in her teens or twenties.

[3051] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 14:193.

Chapter 49
The Confiscation of Fāṭimah's (ع) Property and Inheritance Rights

One of the greatest injustices Abū Bakr and ʿUmar committed against the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) was taking away several of their properties and rights. These included: (1) the lands the Prophet (ص) had taken by treaty instead of by force (fayʾ), in particular the lands of Fadak as well as the properties that had been taken from the Banū Naḍīr and Banū Qurayẓah in Madīnah; (2) the khums of the spoils of war, in particular the khums of Khaybar; (3) the rights of the close ones (i.e. the Ahl al-Bayt [ع]) to future proceeds from the khums and fayʾ; and (4) the right of Fāṭimah (ع) to inherit from her father. Since the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) voiced their opposition to the usurpation of their rights to these properties publicly, we are left with a wealth of Sunnī traditions in this regards, a summary of which will be presented here.

These topics were addressed in some detail earlier.[3052] The most valuable property in question, indeed, was Fadak, due to its immense wealth of palm trees. The other reason why Fadak became the focal point of the conflict between Fāṭimah (ع) and the caliphate was the fact that the lands of Fadak were given to Fāṭimah (ع) during the lifetime of the Prophet (ص). According to Abut Saʿīd al-Khudrī, when the verse, "And give the close one his right," was revealed, the Messenger of Allāh (ص) gave Fadak to Fāṭimah.[3053] This is unlike the other properties and rights in question, which were not in her personal possession on the day of the Saqīfah, but which were held by the Prophet (ص) and whose property rights would be transferred to the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) either in accordance with the laws of khums and fayʾ or through inheritance.

Fāṭimah (ع) Requested Fadak Back from Abū Bakr

Our discussion will begin with a selection of traditions related by Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd and others in regards to Fadak, as they provide more historical detail regarding the events. Subsequently, references to the usurpation of Fadak and the Prophet's (ص) inheritance in Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī and Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim will be presented and discussed. Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd introduced his discussion of the topic as follows:

> The first section: Regarding what has come from the traditions and history [texts] that has been related from the mouths of the [Sunnī] experts of tradition and their books, not from the books of the Shīʿah and their men. Everything I include in this section is from the book of Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Jawharī in regards to the Saqīfah and Fadak and the disputes and chaos that

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[3052] Refer to chapter 23 for a discussion of the khums and fayʾ, particularly those of Khaybar and Fadak, respectively.

[3053] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 16:268.

occurred after the death of the Prophet (ص). Abū Bakr al-Jawharī is a knowledgeable expert of tradition with many works. As he is trustworthy and pious, and as he has been praised by the relaters of traditions (muḥaddithīn), they have transmitted [many traditions] from his compilations.[3054]

Tradition 1

> Fāṭimah asked Abū Bakr, "Who will inherit from you when you die?" He replied, "My children and my family." She said, "So why do you inherit from the Messenger of Allāh (ص) instead of us?" He said, "O daughter of the Messenger of Allāh, your father did not leave as inheritance houses, properties, gold, or silver." Fāṭimah said, "It is the share of Allāh[3055] that [Allāh] has apportioned for us and that He has turned over to us that you have [now] taken in your hands." He told her, "I heard the Messenger of Allāh say, 'Verily it is our sustenance by which Allāh provides for us. When I die, it is [to be held] among the Muslims.'"[3056]

Tradition 2

> Fāṭimah sent to Abū Bakr and asked him, "Do you inherit from the Messenger of Allāh (ص) or does his family?" He replied, "Of course his family." She said, "Then what is the situation with [my] share of the [inheritance of the] Messenger of Allāh (ص)?" He said, "I heard the Messenger of Allāh say, 'Verily Allāh sustains His Prophet with some sustenance.' He took away [the Prophet's] life and gave it to the one who would come [to power] after him. I am in power after him, so I will give it to the Muslims [as I please]." Fāṭimah said, "You and what you heard from the Messenger of Allāh (ص) know better!"[3057]

Note that Abū Bakr contradicted himself in this tradition because when he was asked whether he inherited from the Messenger of Allāh (ص) or the Prophet's (ص) family, he eplied, "Of course his family." This was acknowledgement that the tradition claiming that prophets do not have material heirs was a lie. As such, when Abū Bakr realized the implications of what Fāṭimah (ع) was asking for, he changed his words.

Tradition 3

> Fāṭimah asked [Abū Bakr], "Do your daughters inherit from you while the daughters of the Messenger of Allāh (ص) do not inherit from him?" He said, "It is so."[3058]

Tradition 4

> Fāṭimah went to Abū Bakr demanding her inheritance... Abū Bakr said, "The Messenger of Allāh said, 'We do not leave inheritance. What we leave is charity.'" ʿAlī, [quoting the Qurʾān], said, "And Solomon inherited from

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3054. Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 16:210.
3055. According to the Qurʾān, the share of Allāh, the Prophet (ص), and the Ahl al-Bayt is one and the same share (refer to chapter 23).
3056. Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 16:218.
3057. Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 16:218-219.
3058. Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 4:219.

David,"[3059] and he also said, "Zachariah said, 'To inherit from me and from the family of Jacob.'[3060]" Abū Bakr said, "It is so, but you know, by Allāh, what I know." ʹAlī said, "This is the Book of Allāh speaking." They stopped speaking and turned away.[3061]

Reasons for Fāṭimah (ع) to Seek Fadak

Some may wonder why Fāṭimah (ع), who had no interest in worldly life, would so adamantly claim Fadak and other properties. The following is a summary of several reasons that the Shīʹah scholar Sayyid Muḥammad Kāẓim Qazwīnī has listed in response to this question:

1. The purpose of taking away Fadak was to make the government more powerful and to weaken ʹAlī (ع). It was necessary to counter such policies.

2. Fadak was not insignificant. Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd said that the palm orchards of Fadak were like those of Kūfah several centuries later.[3062] Majlisī said that Fadak earned 24,000 dīnārs each year, and it is related in another tradition that it earned 70,000 dīnārs. These differences may be due to differences in yield each year.

3. After seeking Fadak, Fāṭimah (ع) was going to seek the caliphate of her husband which had also been illegitimately usurped.

4. One has to claim what belongs to oneself because it is one's right. Claiming one's right is by no means contradictory to piety.

5. Each person needs money for various matters, whether for personal sustenance or for expenditure in the path of Allāh. The Messenger of Allāh (ص) spent the immense wealth of Khadījah in the path of Allāh, and Fāṭimah (ع) had the right to claim and spend the income of Fadak in the path of Allāh as well.

6. Wisdom dictates that each person must claim what is stolen from him, as there are only two possibilities. First is that he would receive what he deserves. Second is that he would not succeed in recouping his right but, in the process, would make the act of oppression apparent to all, and make it publicly known that his property had been taken unjustly. In the latter case, if the person who stole the property claims righteousness and pretends to be religious to the point that people trust him, people will now know that he is a liar and that he is not trustworthy.

7. Proving one's oppression attracts the hearts and the love of people.[3063]

Abū Bakr Initially Accepted Fāṭimah's (ع) Claim to Fadak

[3059] Qurʹān 27:16.
[3060] Qurʹān 19:6.
[3061] Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 2:315.
[3062] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 16:236.
[3063] Fāṭimah al-Zahrāʹ of Sayyid Muḥammad Kāẓim Qazwīnī 329-332.

As related by Ḥalabī, Abū Bakr initially accepted Fāṭimah's (ع) claim and handed her a letter granting her Fadak, but ʿUmar took it from her and tore it.[3064] According to Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd,

> Fāṭimah went to Abū Bakr and said, "My father has granted me Fadak [during his lifetime] and ʿAlī and Umm Ayman are my witnesses." He said, "You would not relate to me anything but the truth from your father so I will give it to you." Abū Bakr called for a sheet of leather and wrote on it [a deed granting] it to her. Fāṭimah left and ran into ʿUmar. ʿUmar said, "Where are you coming from, Fāṭimah?" She replied, "I am coming from [my meeting with] Abū Bakr. I informed him that the Messenger of Allāh (ص) had given me Fadak [during his lifetime], and ʿAlī and Umm Ayman provided testimony in favor of my [claim], so he gave it to me and wrote it up for me." ʿUmar took the writing from her and went to Abū Bakr. ʿUmar said, "Did you give Fāṭimah Fadak and write it up for her?" He replied, "Yes." ʿUmar said, "ʿAlī is pulling it towards himself and Umm Ayman is a woman (i.e. you should have not accepted them as witnesses)." ʿUmar took the writing, rubbed off [its words], and tore [the sheet of leather].[3065]

Abū Bakr and ʿUmar Rejected the Testimony of Fāṭimah's (ع) Witnesses

According to Sīrah Ḥalabīyyah,

> [Fāṭimah] claimed that the Prophet (ص) had granted her Fadak [during his lifetime]. [Abū Bakr] asked, "Do you have any evidence?" ʿAlī and Umm Ayman gave testimony [confirming Fāṭimah's claim]. [Abū Bakr] told [Fāṭimah], "Do you consider yourself rightful by the testimony of one man and one woman?"[3066]

Similarly, Ibn Saʿd has reported that Fāṭimah (ع) brought Umm Ayman as a witness, stating that she had seen the Prophet (ص) giving Fadak to her during his lifetime.[3067] Of note, Umm Ayman was a mother figure for the Prophet (ص) as she helped raise him from infancy,[3068] and the Prophet (ص) referred to her as, "My mother after my mother."[3069] According to Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd,

> Fāṭimah went to Abū Bakr and said, "The Messenger of Allāh (ص) granted me Fadak." He told her, "Do you have any evidence for this?" She brought ʿAlī and he testified for her. Then Umm Ayman came and said, "Do you two testify that I am among the people of paradise?" The two said, "Yes." Umm Ayman said, "I testify that the Messenger of Allāh (ص) granted her Fadak [during his lifetime]." Abū Bakr said, "Another man or another woman is needed to finish the matter."[3070]

Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd has related the following from Abū Bakr al-Jawharī:

[3064] Sīrah Ḥalabīyyah 3:488.
[3065] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 16:274.
[3066] Sīrah Ḥalabīyyah 3:487.
[3067] Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 2:316.
[3068] Sīrah Ḥalabīyyah 1:103, 1:171; Iṣābah 4:2666 #11894 (Umm Ayman).
[3069] Sīrah Ḥalabīyyah 1:172.
[3070] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 16:219-220.

> Fāṭimah told Abū Bakr, "Umm Ayman testifies for me that the Messenger of Allāh (ص) gave me Fadak." Abū Bakr told her, "O daughter of the Messenger of Allāh, by Allāh, Allāh has not created anything more beloved to me than your father, the Messenger of Allāh. I wish that the sky would have fallen upon the earth the day you father died. By Allāh, I would prefer ʿĀʾishah to disassociate [from me] than for you to do so. Do you see that I give the red and the white his rights? How then would I deny your rights when you are the daughter of the Messenger of Allāh? This property did not belong to the Prophet and was surely a property among the properties of the Muslims by which the Prophet supported men and from which he gave away in the path of Allāh. When the Messenger of Allāh died, I took control over it the same way it was under his control." She said, "By Allāh, I will not talk to you ever again!" Abū Bakr said, "By Allāh I will never break up [my friendship with] you." She said, "By Allāh, I will invoke Allāh against you." He said, "By Allāh, I will pray to Allāh for you." When death approached her, she stated in her will that he must not pray upon her, so she was buried at night.[3071]

According to another tradition, which is summarized here,

> Abū Bakr said, "O daughter of the Messenger of Allāh, by Allāh, your father does not leave behind as inheritance any dīnārs or dirhams. He surely said, 'The prophets do not leave inheritance.'" She said, "The Messenger of Allāh (ص) granted me Fadak [during his lifetime]." He said, "Who is a witness to this?" ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib came and testified, and Umm Ayman came and testified as well. Then ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿAwf came and testified that the Messenger of Allāh (ص) had divided it [among the Muslims]. Abū Bakr said, "You are truthful, O daughter of the Messenger of Allāh, and ʿAlī is truthful, and Umm Ayman is truthful, and ʿUmar is truthful, and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿAwf is truthful. And this is because your property is your father's. The Messenger of Allāh took your sustenance from Fadak and divided the rest. He gave away from it in the path of Allāh. What would you do with it?" She said, "I will do with it what my father did with it." He said, "Allāh has assigned to me [the obligation of doing] with it what your father did with it." She said, "You will do so, by Allāh?" He said, "By Allāh, I will do it!" She said, "O Allāh, bear witness!"[3072]

Fāṭimah's (ع) Speech in the Mosque and Abū Bakr's Response

According to Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd,

> When the news reached Fāṭimah that Abū Bakr had decided to forbid her [rights to] Fadak, she put on her veil and proceeded among a group of her children and the women of her clan. She walked in a way no different from the gait of the Messenger of Allāh (ص) until she entered upon Abū Bakr. A group of the Muhājirīn and Anṣār were gathered there. She placed a white curtain between herself and them. She then wailed in such [a way] that it made all the people cry. She then paused for a long time until the sounds quieted. She then said, "I start with the praise of Him Who is most deserving of praise, glory, and majesty. Praise be to Allāh for His favors. And praise be to Him for what He provides." She gave a long, eloquent, and beautiful

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[3071] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 16:214.
[3072] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 16:216.

> speech, at the end of which she said, "Fear Allāh the way He deserves to be feared. And obey Him in [fulfilling] what He has ordered you to do... We [Ahl al-Bayt] are His means (wasīlah) for His creations to use [for getting closer to Allāh]. We are His chosen ones. We are the location of His glory. We are His proofs (ḥujjah) for His unseen. We are the inheritors of His prophets. I am Fāṭimah the daughter of Muḥammad (ص)... I say this neither out of lack of knowledge nor out of [a desire for] injustice. So listen with accepting ears and protecting hearts. 'Now has come unto you a messenger from amongst yourselves. It grieves him that you should perish. Ardently anxious is he over you. To the believers he is most kind and merciful.'[3073] If you revere him, you will find that he is my father rather than yours and that he made my uncle's son his brother instead of [one of] your men... Do you think that there is no inheritance for me? 'Is it the decision of the Days of Ignorance that they adopt? And who is better-deciding than Allāh for a people who have certitude.'[3074] O Muslims! They are stealing the inheritance of my father! Allāh hates that you inherit from your father, O [Abū Bakr] son of Abū Quḥāfah, while I don't. 'You have just brought forth a strange thing.'[3075] [After you], [the caliphate] will be held by and passed on to those other than you. You will surely meet the day when you are raised [from the dead]. Excellent will be Allāh's decision, Muḥammad's (ص) leadership, and the appointment of the Day of Judgment. At that time, the wrong-doers will lose. 'For every event is a limit of time and soon shall you know.'[3076] Whoever is given the torment [in the hereafter] will be disgraced by it, and an enduring torment is enjoined unto him." ...People were not seen more frightened than on that day.[3077]

She then went to the Anṣār and gave a speech, which is summarized as follows:

> What is this avoidance of aiding me, hesitance in assisting me, lowering your eyes to [ignore] my rights, and neglecting my oppression? Didn't the Messenger of Allāh (ص) say, "A man['s respect] is to be preserved in his children"? How quickly came to pass what you have done! Now the Messenger of Allāh (ص) has died, but should you make his religion die too? ...The inheritance of my father is taken unjustly, while you just [sit by] and see and hear [what is happening before you]! Do you receive my call and hear my voice yet [avoid coming to my aid] when you have ample preparations and large numbers, houses and orchards, and while you are the ones chosen by Allāh [for aiding His Messenger (ص)]? ...Do you hold back [from battle today] after you commenced [fighting in the path of Islām]? And, after [having shown] bravery, do you withdraw from difficulties and lose hope [in the face of] people who have broken their promises after pledging them and who [are actively] destroying your religion? "So kill the leaders (imāms) of disbelief (kufr), for they have no [binding] oaths, so that they may desist."[3078] I see that you have inclined towards worldly goods, have run towards earthly comforts, have disowned what was given to you [in religious teachings], and have taken [comfort in] what you have been given [of worldly life]. "If you and all those on earth disbelieve, Allāh is free of all needs, worthy of all praise!"[3079] I told you what I

3073. Qur`ān 9:128.
3074. Qur`ān 5:50.
3075. Qur`ān 19:27.
3076. Qur`ān 6:67.
3077. Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 16:211-212. Similarly, Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 16:249-251 offers a more detailed account.
3078. Qur`ān 9:12.
3079. Qur`ān 14:8.

> told you [even though I] know that you will forsake me, and [even though] I know the weakness of your certitude [in faith]...[3080]

Aḥmad ibn Abī Ṭāhir said,

> I mentioned the speech of Fāṭimah in regards to Abū Bakr's blocking her possession of Fadak to Abū al-Ḥasan Zayd ibn ʿAlī ibn Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib. I told him, "These [people] think that it might be invented and that it is of the words of Abū al-ʿAynāʾ because the speech is so organized and eloquent." He told me, "I have seen the prominent men of the offspring of Abū Ṭālib relating it from their fathers and teaching it to their children. My father (ʿAlī ibn Ḥusayn) has related it to me from my grandfather (Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī), who was [personally] informed of this incident by Fāṭimah."[3081]

In response to Fāṭimah's (ع) speech, Abū Bakr said,

> O best of women and daughter of the best of fathers! By Allāh, I do not hate the opinion of the Messenger of Allāh and I do not act except by his command. One who seeks something should not append lies to one's family. You just spoke and I got the message. You became harsher [in tone] and distanced yourself [from me]. May Allāh forgive us and you. To proceed: I have given the sword of the Messenger of Allāh, his livestock, and his shoes to ʿAlī. But in regards to other than this, I heard the Messenger of Allāh say, "We prophets do not leave behind as inheritance gold, silver, land, real estate, or houses, but we rather leave as inheritance belief, wisdom, knowledge, and traditions (sunnah)." I just follow what I am told and advise [according to] it.[3082]

Abū Bakr contradicted himself here. If the Prophet (ص) left no inheritance and all his property was charity, Abū Bakr's giving the Prophet's (ص) sword, mule, and shoes to ʿAlī (ع) would constitute usurpation of the property of the Muslims. If the Prophet (ص) left inheritance, then Abū Bakr was usurping the property of the Prophet's (ص) heirs by withholding it from them. In either case, Abū Bakr erred, usurped property, and incurred injustice. In fact, Ibn Saʿd related that, "The Messenger of Allāh (ص) did not leave any dirhams or dīnārs, male or female slaves, or other property [for inheritance] except for a white mule and a weapon, and land that he left as charity."[3083] The phrasing claims that his land was left as charity, while his mule and weapon were not. Of course, this was because his mule and weapon were not of any particular fiscal value. However, this tradition makes no sense—either the Prophet (ص) left inheritance or he did not. Some have gone even further in their forgeries, saying, "The Prophet (ص) did not leave a will except for the houses of his wives."[3084] Again, if prophets do not leave inheritance, as Abū Bakr claimed, he could not have left a will regarding any of his property. And if he did leave inheritance, then it was impossible for his daughter not to receive any of it. This tradition obviously was invented to try to explain why the Prophet's (ص) wives were allowed to keep the Prophet's (ص) homes, yet Fāṭimah (ع) could not inherit anything.

When Abū Bakr realized that commotion was building among the companions, he gave another speech:

[3080] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 16:212-213.

[3081] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 16:252.

[3082] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 16:213-214. Similarly, Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 16:252.

[3083] Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 2:316 (two similar accounts).

[3084] Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 2:316.

> He rose upon the pulpit and said, "O people! What is this commotion after every word? Where were these wishes at the time of the Messenger of Allāh? ...This is like a fox whose witness is its tail, and who is the cause of every trouble (fitnah). He is the one who says, 'Renew [the discord] after it has faded away.' He seeks the weak and asks for help from women like Umm Ṭiḥāl, the most friendly of people to whom was an adulterous person. If I choose to do so, I will say it, and if I say it, I will make the issue clear. As long as they leave me alone, I will remain quiet." He then turned towards the Anṣār and said, "O Anṣār, the words of your foolish ones have reached me. The most deserving to obey the covenant of the Messenger of Allāh are you, for he came to you and you housed him and helped him. I do not open my hands or my tongue against anyone who does not deserve this [sort of treatment] from us." He then descended [from the pulpit]. Fāṭimah then returned to her home.[3085]

Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd said,

> I read this to al-Naqīb Abū Yaḥyā Ja'far ibn Yaḥyā ibn Abī Zayd al-Baṣrī and said, "Who was he implying [as the cause of the discord]?" He said, "Rather—who was he explicitly referring to?" I said, "If it was explicit, I would not have asked you." He smiled and said, "[He was referring] to 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib." I said, "He said all this about 'Alī?" He replied, "Yes, he was the king, my son, [so he could say whatever he wanted to about whomever he wanted]." I said, "What was it the Anṣār had said?" He said, "Since they were mentioning the name of 'Alī, he feared discord and therefore stopped them." I then asked him to explain the obscure [phrases] in the speech. He said, "...Umm Ṭiḥāl was an adulterous woman in the time of the Days of Ignorance. They would use her as an example in saying that someone is 'more adulterous than Umm Ṭiḥāl.'"[3086]

The Taking Away of Fadak from Fāṭimah (ع) According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī and Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim

The Messenger of Allāh (ص) had taken the land of Fadak without any battle, as was discussed previously, and it therefore belonged solely to Allāh, the Prophet (ص), and the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) to spend on themselves and in the path of Allāh.[3087] He explicitly gave control of the property to Fāṭimah (ع) during his lifetime. However, when Abū Bakr came to power, he decided to take away the property from her in order to guarantee the economic weakness of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع). This incident has been related by Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim and Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī as follows:

> It is narrated on the authority of 'Urwah ibn Zubayr who narrated from 'Ā'ishah that she informed him that Fāṭimah, the daughter of the Messenger of Allāh, sent someone to Abū Bakr to demand from him her share of the legacy left by the Messenger of Allāh from what Allāh had bestowed upon him at Madīnah and Fadak and what was left from the one-fifth of the income [annually received] from Khaybar.

[3085] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 16:214-215.
[3086] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 16:215.
[3087] Refer to chapter 23.

> Abū Bakr said, "The Messenger of Allāh said, 'We [prophets] do not have any heirs; what we leave behind is charity.' The household of the Messenger of Allāh will live off the income from these properties, but, by Allāh, I will not change the charity of the Messenger of Allāh from the condition in which it was during his own time. I will do the same with it as the Messenger of Allāh himself used to do."
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> So Abū Bakr refused to hand over anything from it to Fāṭimah who got angry with Abū Bakr for this reason. She forsook him and did not talk to him until the end of her life. She lived for six months after the death of the Messenger of Allāh. When she died, her husband ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib buried her at night. He did not inform Abū Bakr about her death, and offered the funeral prayer over her himself.[3088]

Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim and Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī have also related,

> Fāṭimah the daughter of the Messenger of Allāh requested that Abū Bakr, after the death of the Messenger of Allāh, set apart her share from what the Messenger of Allāh had left from the properties that Allāh had bestowed upon him (i.e. fayʾ). Abū Bakr said to her, "The Messenger of Allāh said, 'We do not have any heirs; what we leave behind is ṣadaqah (charity).'" [Fāṭimah] lived six months after the death of the Messenger of Allāh and she used to demand from Abū Bakr her share of the legacy of the Messenger of Allāh from Khaybar, Fadak, and his charitable endowments at Madīnah. Abū Bakr refused to give her these and said, "I am not going to give up doing anything which the Messenger of Allāh used to do. I am afraid that if I go against his instructions in any matter I shall deviate from the right course." As far as the charitable endowments at Madīnah were concerned, ʿUmar handed them over to ʿAlī and ʿAbbās, but ʿAlī got the better of him. And as far as Khaybar and Fadak were concerned, ʿUmar kept them with him and said, "These are the endowments of the Messenger of Allāh. Their income was spent on the discharge of the responsibilities that devolved upon him or the emergencies he had to meet. And their management was to be in the hands of one who managed the affairs [of the state]." The narrator said, "They have been managed as such up to this day."[3089]

Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī has also related the following three traditions on this subject:

1. Narrated ʿĀʾishah: Fāṭimah sent somebody to Abū Bakr asking him to give her inheritance from the Prophet from what Allāh had given to His Apostle through fayʾ (i.e. booty gained without fighting). She asked for the ṣadaqah (i.e. wealth assigned for charitable purposes) of the Prophet in Madīnah, Fadak, and what remained of the khums of the Khaybar booty. Abū Bakr said, "Allāh's Apostle said, 'We [prophets], our property is not inherited, and whatever we leave is charity (ṣadaqah), but Muḥammad's family can eat from this property, i.e. Allāh's property, but they have no right to take more than the food they need.' By Allāh! I will not bring any change in dealing with the ṣadaqah of the Prophet [and will keep it] as it used to be observed in his lifetime, and I will dispose of it as Allāh's Apostle used to do."[3090]

[3088] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #19.4352; Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.59.546.

[3089] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #19.4354; Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #4.53.325.

[3090] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.57.60.

2. Narrated ʿĀʾishah: Fāṭimah and ʿAbbās came to Abū Bakr, claiming their inheritance of the Prophet's land at Fadak and his share from Khaybar. Abū Bakr said, "I heard the Prophet saying, 'Our property is not inherited and whatever we leave is to be given in charity, but the family of Muḥammad can take their sustenance from this property.'"[3091]

3. Narrated ʿĀʾishah: Fāṭimah and ʿAbbās came to Abū Bakr seeking their share from the property of Allāh's Apostle and at that time they were asking for their land at Fadak and their share from Khaybar. Abū Bakr said to them, "I have heard Allāh's Apostle saying, 'Our property cannot be inherited, and whatever we leave is to be spent in charity, but the family of Muḥammad may take their provisions from this property.' By Allāh, I will not leave the procedure I saw Allāh's Apostle following during his lifetime concerning this property." Therefore Fāṭimah left Abū Bakr and did not speak to him until she died.[3092]

One must note that all the traditions that appear in Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī and Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim on the topic of Fāṭimah claiming her property and inheritance rights from Abū Bakr have been related through ʿUrwah ibn Zubayr from ʿĀʾishah. This shows the desperateness of those who feel forced to relate only these accounts, as no one could sugar-coat the most appalling of Abū Bakr's injustices better than his own daughter and grandson[3093].

Nevertheless, the falsehood of the actions of Abū Bakr and ʿUmar actions are apparent even in these white-washed traditions. If the property belonged to Fāṭimah (ع) and she was justified in claiming it, Abū Bakr erred. And if the property did not belong to her, ʿUmar erred because he had no right to give ʿAlī (ع) and ʿAbbās the charitable property that they had no rights to and that were charity belonging to the Muslims. Moreover, Fāṭimah (ع) would have erred for remaining angry at Abū Bakr for the rest of her life if all he did was to act upon the Sunnah of the Prophet (ص). Moreover, Abū Bakr erred by calling the property ṣadaqah (charity), yet saying that, "Muḥammad's family can eat from this property," because ṣadaqah is absolutely forbidden to the family of the Prophet (ص). For Abū Bakr to call something ṣadaqah yet give from it as sustenance to the family of the Prophet (ص) shows his absolute ignorance of the laws of Islām. According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī,

> Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī took a date from the dates given in charity [not knowing that it was charitable property] and put it in his mouth. The Prophet said, "Expel it from your mouth. Don't you know that we do not eat a thing that is given in charity?"[3094]

Similarly, Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim said that when ʿAlī (ع), not knowing that a date was from charity (ṣadaqah), put it into his mouth, the Prophet (ص) said," Leave it, leave it, throw it... we do not eat ṣadaqah!"[3095] According to another tradition in Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, the Prophet (ص) said, "I go back to my family and I find a date lying on my bed. I then take it up to eat it, but then I put it away fearing that it may be ṣadaqah (charity)."[3096]

[3091] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.59.368.
[3092] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #8.80.718.
[3093] ʿĀʾishah was the daughter of Abū Bakr, and ʿUrwah ibn Zubayr was the son of Asmāʾ bint Abī Bakr, and Abū Bakr was therefore his grandfather.
[3094] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #2.24.568.
[3095] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #5.2339.
[3096] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #5.2342.

In fact, no Sunnī scholar disputes the fact that Ṣadaqah is absolutely forbidden to the Banū Hāshim. The fact that Abū Bakr declared the property to be ṣadaqah was a ploy to forbid the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) from using it. If the property was ṣadaqah during the lifetime of the Prophet (ص), he could and would not have used it for the sustenance of his Ahl al-Bayt (ع). If it was not ṣadaqah, then Abū Bakr lied by saying that he would dispose of the property in accordance with the way it was disposed of during the lifetime of the Prophet (ص) because Abū Bakr had changed its status from fay`, which would be used for the sustenance of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع), to ṣadaqah, which could not be used for that purpose. This all shows either the ignorance of Abū Bakr to Islāmic laws or his deceitfulness and his willingness to innovate, to append lies to the Prophet (ص), and to twist words to his own benefit. The fact that the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) would receive some paltry provisions from Fadak during the caliphate of Abū Bakr also proves that they disregarded Abū Bakr's claim that such properties were ṣadaqah, otherwise they would not have consumed any of it themselves.

The fact that ʿAbbās accompanied Fāṭimah (ع), even though an uncle would not get any inheritance in the presence of a daughter, can be explained in a number of ways: (1) he was present to support Fāṭimah's (ع) claim; (2) he accompanied Fāṭimah because ʿAlī (ع) did not want to see Abū Bakr and she wanted a related man to be present with her; (3) he was present in case Abū Bakr and ʿUmar, in accordance with the customs of the Days of Ignorance, would try to deprive Fāṭimah (ع) from inheritance because she was a woman, as he could then claim to be the heir in accordance with those abrogated customs; or (4) his presence was added to the traditions during the ʿAbbāsīd era when the new caliphs claimed a right of inheritance for the Prophet's (ص) uncle.

The taking away of Fadak was a politico-economic means used by Abū Bakr and ʿUmar to weaken the Ahl al-Bayt (ع). Ismail Poonawala, the annotator of the English translator of ninth volume of the History of Ṭabarī has summarized the matter as follows:

> It was the first and most important step taken by both Abū Bakr and ʿUmar in their attempts to displace the Banū Hāshim, and especially ʿAlī, from their prerogatives in the leadership of the Muslim polity. Acceptance of this claim of inheritance based on family ties would have opened the door widely to ʿAlī's right to the succession. Moreover, the income from both these sources was considerable, and it would have given some leverage to ʿAlī.[3097]

The Shīʿah scholar ʿAllāmah Majlisī said,

> The summary of this horrific event is that after Abū Bakr usurped the caliphate from ʿAlī (ع) and got the pledge of allegiance of the Muhājirīn and Anṣār by force and strengthened his position, he became greedy for Fadak, fearing that some people might go to [the Ahl al-Bayt (ع)] in search of wealth. Whereas closeness [to the Prophet (ص)], superiority [in religion], and the specific designation (naṣṣ) of Allāh and the Messenger all belonged to the Ahl al-Bayt (ع), in reality what would make the hypocrites incline towards those oppressors (i.e. Abū Bakr and ʿUmar) would be that the hands of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) were empty of worldly goods. This way, those who worship of this world would turn away from them. Even if [the Ahl al-Bayt (ع)] possessed a small amount of

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[3097] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 9:196, footnote #1356.

worldly possessions, it would be possible for some people to become inclined towards them and for their null and void caliphate to be dissolved."[3098]

Proof of the Falsehood of Abū Bakr's Invented Tradition Regarding Prophets Not Leaving Inheritance

Since Fadak was the most substantial of the properties in question, Abū Bakr first denied that it belonged to Fāṭimah (ع) during the lifetime of the Prophet (ص), demanding that she brings forth witnesses. He then rejected those witnesses after having initially accepted their testimony. Fāṭimah (ع) then claimed that she still had a right to the property, as it would belong to her through inheritance. As such, Abū Bakr resorted to inventing a tradition claiming that prophets do not leave inheritance. This tradition is false for several reasons, including:

1. The only person who claimed to have heard that the Prophet (ص) did not leave inheritance was Abū Bakr, and none of the other companions heard this from the Prophet (ص). ʿĀʾishah said, "And they disagreed in regards to [the Prophet's] inheritance. We did not find knowledge of this [matter] with anyone except when Abū Bakr [claimed that the Prophet] said, 'We prophets do not leave inheritance. What we leave behind is charity.'"[3099] Even ʿUmar, who confirmed Abū Bakr's invented tradition, later admitted that he had not heard it from the Prophet (ص) but rather from Abū Bakr. According to Ḥanbal, he said, "Abū Bakr told me, and he swore that he was truthful, that he heard the prophet say, 'A prophet does not leave inheritance. His inheritance is only for the poor Muslims and the indigent.'"[3100] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd said, "No one has related this tradition except for Abū Bakr alone. The greatest of the experts of tradition (muḥaddithīn) have mentioned this [fact]. Even the jurists (fuqahāʾ) use this in their [deliberations on] the principles of jurisprudence as an example of a tradition [related] from only one companion. Our master Abū ʿAlī said, 'A tradition is not accepted unless it is related by two, as is the case with testimonies.'"[3101]

2. If the Prophet (ص) was to leave no inheritance, it would have been necessary for him to tell his expectant heirs that they would not inherit anything. However, the Prophet (ص) did not say any such thing to Fāṭimah (ع) or any of his wives. It is completely purposeless for the Prophet (ص) to share this information with no one but Abū Bakr when the Prophet's (ص) inheritance was not related to Abū Bakr in any way.

3. The Prophet (ص) had designated ʿAlī (ع) as his waṣī, which at the very least means the executor of his will. Therefore, Abū Bakr should have gone to ʿAlī (ع) to find out how to execute the Prophet's (ص) will, and not the other way around. Indeed, for the Prophet (ص) not to inform his waṣī that he would not be leaving inheritance would be either foolish or forgetful. Therefore, either the Prophet (ص) was foolish and forgetful or Abū Bakr's tradition was a forgery. Some, amazingly enough, opt for the former, saying that the Prophet (ص) was too busy to get around to telling his family this! They apparently believe that the Prophet (ص) was too busy to proclaim the laws of Islām.

[3098] Ḥaqq al-Yaqīn 191.
[3099] Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #35600.
[3100] Musnad Ḥanbal #78.
[3101] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 16:227.

4. The wives of the Prophet (ص) knew that they deserved inheritance. This is clear from the tradition in Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī and Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim in which ʿĀʾishah said, "[The Prophet's] wives intended to send ʿUthmān to Abū Bakr asking him for their share of the inheritance," but ʿĀʾishah stopped them from doing so, citing Abū Bakr's tradition.[3102] It is therefore clear that the wives of the Prophet (ص) were expecting an inheritance as well, and the only exception was ʿĀʾishah whose father had usurped the caliphate.

5. ʿAlī (ع), who was the gate to the city of knowledge, who was taught all matters by the Messenger of Allāh (ص), and who was the most knowledgeable of the nation to the laws of Islām[3103] was not aware of any such ruling. Had he been aware of it, he would have never supported the claims of his wife seeking the Prophet's (ص) inheritance from Abū Bakr. He also would not have sought the inheritance after her death during the caliphate of ʿUmar.

6. If Abū Bakr was right, Fāṭimah (ع) would and should not have been angry at him and should not have shunned him for the rest of her life. Rather, she should have thanked him for the guidance he had provided her regarding the Sunnah of the Prophet (ص). Her anger at him can only be explained by the fact that he appended a lie to the Prophet (ص), innovated in Islām, and usurped her property and rights, and that she knew for sure that these facts were all true.

7. Fāṭimah and ʿAlī (ع) were both pure from sin, as was proved earlier.[3104] In addition, ʿAlī (ع) was granted the title of the more truthful one, or more literally, the greater truth-teller (al-Ṣiddīq al-Akbar),[3105] and Fāṭimah (ع) was referred to as the truthful woman (al-Ṣiddīqah).[3106] Their claims therefore could not be false, for that would be against their purity which Allāh has guaranteed in the Qurʾān and against their titles as truth-tellers. It would be necessary for Abū Bakr to accept Fāṭimah and ʿAlī (ع) as witnesses in order not to step over the verse of purification. Had Abū Bakr required a witness from them, he should have also required a witness from the Messenger of Allāh (ص) for his claims and for the veracity of every word revealed to him. In refusing to accept Fāṭimah and ʿAlī (ع) as witnesses, Abū Bakr and ʿUmar refuted the testimony of Allāh to their purity. Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd said,

    > I asked ʿAlī ibn al-Fāriqī, the instructor of the western school (madrasah) in Baghdād, "Was Fāṭimah telling the truth?" He said, "Yes." I said, "Then why didn't Abū Bakr giver her Fadak if she was telling the truth?" He smiled... and said, "Had he given [her] Fadak today merely by hearing her claim [that Fadak belonged to her], she would go to him the next day and claim that the caliphate belonged to her husband and that Abū Bakr had taken away his right. Abū Bakr would have had no excuse against her and Abū Bakr would have had to go along with Fāṭimah in every matter because it was clear to Abū Bakr that Fāṭimah was truthful in everything she said without there being any need for reasons or witnesses."[3107]

[3102] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #8.80.722; Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #19.4351.

[3103] Refer to chapters 14-17.

[3104] Refer to chapter 14.

[3105] Refer to chapters 1, 10, and 18.

[3106] Refer to chapter 7.

[3107] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 16:284.

8. Even after Abū Bakr stated his forged tradition, ʹAlī (ع) did not believe him, and he even sought the Ahl al-Bayt's (ع) share of the Prophet's (ص) inheritance during ʹUmar's caliphate. When he went to ʹUmar during his caliphate, ʹUmar said, "This man, ʹAlī, came to me asking for his wife's share from her father's property."[3108] The persistence of ʹAlī (ع) in seeking the Prophet's (ص) inheritance was either due to his persistence in receiving what did not belong to the Prophet's (ص) heirs, or due to his persistence in making it known that he was not content with their rightful property being taken away illegitimately. Either scenario poses a problem for the Sunnīs, as either Abū Bakr and ʹUmar or ʹAlī (ع) usurped or were trying to usurp properties that they had no rights to.

9. ʹAlī (ع) and ʹAbbās knew that Abū Bakr and ʹUmar were lying, and even ʹUmar was well-aware that the two of them knew that he and Abū Bakr were liars. According to Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, ʹAlī (ع) and ʹAbbās considered Abū Bakr to be a sinful, treacherous, and dishonest liar. In response to their claims, ʹUmar said, "So both of you thought him (i.e. Abū Bakr) to be a liar, sinful, treacherous, and dishonest," and "You thought me to be a liar, sinful, treacherous, and dishonest."[3109] This is great proof of the Shīʹah belief that the knowledge that Abū Bakr and ʹUmar were sinful, treacherous, dishonest liars existed from the day of the Saqīfah and that ʹAlī (ع) believed that. If ʹAlī (ع) could believe that, then every Muslim must or at the very least can believe that as well. Moreover, it proves that there could never have been consensus on Abū Bakr's caliphate, for ʹAlī (ع) and his followers would have never consented to having a "sinful, treacherous, dishonest liar" lead the nation.

10. Above all, Abū Bakr's tradition contradicts the Qurʹān, as the Qurʹān says, "Allāh directs you in regards to your children's [inheritance]—to the male a portion equal to that of two females."[3110] This verse is completely general and there is no indication that prophets are exempt from this divine order. If some people seek to disregard this verse and persist to claim that prophets don't leave inheritance, the following verse provides clear proof: "And Solomon inherited from David."[3111] In regards to this verse, some Sunnī scholars have claimed that what was inherited was prophecy, not property. However, this is false because Solomon (ع) was a prophet during the life of David (ع). The verse before it is clear proof that they were both prophets at the same time: "We gave knowledge to David and Solomon. And they both said, 'Praise be to Allāh Who has favored us above many of His servants who believe.' And Solomon inherited from David."[3112] Had Solomon and David (ع) not been prophets at the same time, they would not have made this invocation together, with its particular wording explicitly thanking Allāh for making them prophets. Moreover, according to the Qurʹān, the Prophet Zachariah (ع) said, "So grant me an heir from Yourself to inherit from me and from the family of Jacob. And make him one with whom You, O Lord, are pleased."[3113] In regards to this verse, Sunnī interpreters have related from Ḥasan (ع), Ibn ʹAbbās, and Abū Ṣāliḥ that Zachariah's words when he prayed to Allāh either were or meant, "To inherit my property (māl) and to inherit prophecy (nubuwwah) from the family of Jacob (āl-i Yaʹqūb)."[3114] In addition, if he

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3108. Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #4.53.326. Similarly, Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.59.367, #7.64.271, #8.80.720, #9.92.408; Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #19.4349.
3109. Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #19.4349.
3110. Qurʹān 4:11.
3111. Qurʹān 27:16.
3112. Qurʹān 27:15-16.
3113. Qurʹān 19:5-6.
3114. Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, Tafsīr Thaʹlabī, Tafsīr Baghawī, and Tafsīr Māwardī, verse 19:6.

> prayed to have a son just to be a prophet, there was no point in him asking for one with whom Allāh would be pleased, as it would inconceivable for Allāh not to be pleased with His own prophet. Rather, he was asking for an heir who may or may not be a prophet but who he hoped would be righteous. It is therefore clear that the Zachariah (ع) asked Allāh for an heir to inherit from him. How could Abū Bakr's tradition then be correct when it claims that prophets do not have heirs and that they do not leave inheritance? Were the prophets asking for something illegal and illegitimate? How could anyone believe in an invented tradition related by one companion who had a worldly incentive for spreading a lie, when the lie was denied by the entirety of the Prophet's Ahl al-Bayt (ع) and all of his wives (except, of course, the caliph's daughter ʿĀʾishah), particularly when this lie clearly and explicitly contradicts the Qurʾān? Abū Bakr claimed that Fāṭimah's (ع) bringing ʿAlī (ع) as a witness was like the fox bringing its tail as a witness. Yet, the irony is that he would bring ʿUmar and Abū ʿUbaydah ibn al-Jarrāḥ as his own witnesses for his lies. Moreover, he abused and insulted the Prophet's (ص) family, which as we have discussed, is equivalent to abusing and insulting the Prophet (ص) himself.[3115]

It is interesting to note that this invented tradition of Abū Bakr is proof for the imāmate for anyone who believes in the tradition itself. According to this tradition, the Prophet (ص) did not leave behind for his heirs any worldly property, not even one dirham. However, it was proved that ʿAlī (ع) was his inheritor (wārith) according to many traditions.[3116] Therefore, if the Prophet (ص) did not leave his heir ʿAlī (ع) any worldly property, he would have had to leave him his knowledge of the Qurʾān and Sunnah. Anyone who inherits these would certainly be the imām, as he would be the most knowledgeable of the people and therefore the one who must be followed in all matters.

Since the tradition claiming that the prophets do not leave inheritance is false, Abū Bakr was among those who appended lies to the Prophet (ص). How can one who has no fear of ridiculing the laws of Allāh, appending lies to His Messenger (ص), and contradicting the Qurʾān be the leader of the Muslim nation? According to traditions that are mutawātir among the Sunnīs and Shīʿah alike, those who append lies to the Prophet (ص) will be cast into the fire.[3117] The Qurʾān says, "And We made them imāms who call to the fire."[3118]

The Hypocrisy of Abū Bakr in Regards to the Prophet's Inheritance

As is widely accepted, Abū Bakr did not allow Fāṭimah (ع) to keep Fadak, claiming that prophets leave no inheritance. Yet, Abū Bakr gave the Prophet's (ص) house to ʿĀʾishah, and Abū Bakr and ʿUmar were both buried there. There are indeed only two possibilities.

The first possibility is that the Messenger of Allāh (ص) did leave inheritance. In this case, Abū Bakr appended a false statement to the Messenger of Allāh (ص). In addition, the Prophet's (ص) property belonged to his heirs. Since he had a child and nine wives when he died, all of his wives together would receive an eighth of his total property.[3119] As such, ʿĀʾishah would receive one-ninth of one-eight of his property, which would be one seventy-secondth of his house. ʿĀʾishah's living in the other seventy-one parts would thus be forbidden (ḥarām). In addition, she would not have been able to bury Abū Bakr and ʿUmar in such a small portion of the house, meaning that Abū Bakr and ʿUmar were buried on stolen property, and that their burial there was illegitimate.

[3115] Refer to chapter 22.

[3116] Refer to chapters 1, 2, 10, 11, 14, and 29.

[3117] Refer to chapter 75.

[3118] Qurʾān 28:41.

[3119] Qurʾān 4:12.

The second possibility is that the Messenger of Allāh (ص) did not leave inheritance and that, as Abū Bakr said, all of his property was to be charity. In that case, ʿĀʾishah had no right to live in what belonged to the indigent Muslims, and Abū Bakr and ʿUmar had no right to be buried there. Their burial in the Prophet's (ص) house would be usurping the property of the entire Muslim community. In that case, their burial was also illegitimate.

In addition, Abū Bakr and ʿUmar's burial in the house of the Messenger of Allāh (ص) was in clear contradiction to the command of the Qurʾān: "Do not enter the houses of the Prophet unless he gives you permission."[3120] Clearly, Abū Bakr and ʿUmar had no right to enter the houses of the Prophet (ص), never mind be buried there, without the Prophet's (ص) permission. Indeed, this verse does not say that his wives could grant such permission, but rather that the Prophet (ص) had to grant it himself. Moreover, the use of shovels at the gravesite of the Prophet (ص) is forbidden, as the Qurʾān prohibits any clamoring and noise near the Prophet (ص).[3121]

The Destiny of Fadak

According to Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd,

> Abū Bakr took its produce, gave [the Prophet's (ص) family] what they needed [for sustenance], and divided the rest. ʿUmar did this, and ʿUthmān[3122] did this, and ʿAlī (ع) did this. But when Muʿāwīyah took control, he gave Marwān ibn Ḥakam a third of it, ʿAmr ibn ʿUthmān ibn ʿAffān a third of it, and Yazīd ibn Muʿāwīyah a third of it after the death of Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī. They did not stop passing it amongst [their heirs] until Marwān ibn Ḥakam's days as caliph. He gave it to his son ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz who gave it to his son ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz.
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> When ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz took over the caliphate, [he made sure that] it would be the first of the properties taken unjustly to be returned. He called forth Ḥasan ibn Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib but was told, "Instead, call ʿAlī ibn Ḥusayn." He handed Fadak over to him. It was in the hands of the offspring of Fāṭimah during the rule of ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz. But when Yazīd ibn [ʿAbd al-Malik] took power, he took it away from them [once again]. It remained in the hands of the Banū Marwān and they passed it from one to another until the caliphate was taken away from them [by the ʿAbbāsīds]. When [the ʿAbbāsīd caliph] Abū al-ʿAbbās al-Saffāḥ took power, he gave it to ʿAbd Allāh ibn Ḥasan ibn Ḥasan [ibn ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib]. Then Abū Jaʿfar [al-Manṣūr] took it when what happened to the Banū Ḥasan occurred (i.e. their revolt and subsequent slaughter at the hands of the ʿAbbāsīds). Then his son Mahdī passed it on to the descendants of Fāṭimah. Then [the caliphs] Mūsā ibn Mahdī and his brother Hārūn [al-Rashīd] took it and it did not leave their hands until Maʾmūn took power and passed it on to the descendants of Fāṭimah.

[3120] Qurʾān 33:53.
[3121] Qurʾān 49:2.
[3122] This may be inaccurate because other traditions indicate that ʿUthmān handed over Fadak to Marwān ibn Ḥakam. Refer to chapters 63 and 66.

Ma`mūn addressed the properties taken unjustly. He looked at the first paper that entered his hand and cried. He asked the person assisting him, "Where is the representative (wakīl) of Fāṭimah?" A man wearing a long gown and a turban stood and came forward. He argued his position in regards to Fadak. Ma`mūn reasoned against him and he reasoned against Ma`mūn. Ma`mūn then ordered the land to be assigned to them. The deed was written and read to him, and he put his order to action. Di´bil went towards Ma`mūn and composed some verses, the first of which is:

> The face of time has just woken up smiling,
> Because of Ma`mūn's passing on of Fadak to [the Banū] Hāshim

It did not leave their hands until the days of Mutawakkil. ´Abd Allāh ibn ´Umar al-Bāzyār took it away. In it were eleven palm trees that the Messenger of Allāh (ص) had planted with his own hands and from which the Banū Fāṭimah would take dates. When the pilgrims would come, they would sell these dates to them, and as a result a large amount of wealth came to them. ´Abd Allāh ibn ´Umar al-Bāzyār had these palm trees cut down, and sent someone called Bashrān ibn Abī Umayyah al-Thaqafī to Madīnah to cut them down. He then returned to Baṣrah and became paralyzed.[3123]

The Taking Away of the Khums

The politico-economic plan to weaken the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) also included taking away their right to the khums. Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd said,

> Know that the people think that the dispute between Fāṭimah and Abū Bakr was limited to two issues—[her] inheritance [from the Prophet (ص)] and the granting [of Fadak to her during the Prophet's (ص) life] (niḥlah). I have found in the traditions that they also differed on a third matter from which Abū Bakr similarly forbade her, and that was the share of the close ones (dhawī al-qurbā)."[3124]

´Urwah said, "Fāṭimah sought Fadak and the share of the close ones from Abū Bakr. He refused to give them to her and made them [part] of the property of Allāh, the oft-high."[3125] Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad ibn ´Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib (ع) said, "Verily Abū Bakr took away from Fāṭimah and the Banū Hāshim the share of the close ones and spent it in the path of Allāh on arms and livestock."[3126] According to Anas ibn Mālik,

> Fāṭimah told Abū Bakr, "You know you have deprived the Ahl al-Bayt from the charitable properties and what Allāh has granted us in the Qur`ān in terms of the share of the close ones from the booty." She then recited to him the word of the oft-high, "And know that of whatever you acquire, a fifth of it is for Allāh, and for the Messenger, and for the [Messenger's] near relatives."[3127] Abū Bakr said, "By my father and mother and your children, listening and obedience are due to the Book of Allāh, the rights of the Messenger of Allāh, and the rights of his close ones. I have read what you read to me of the Book of Allāh, but I do not know whether I should submit the khums to you entirely." She said, "Is it

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[3123] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 16:216-7.
[3124] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 16:230.
[3125] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 16:231.
[3126] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 16:231.
[3127] Qur`ān 8:41.

> for you and your close ones?" He replied, "No. I will give some of it to you and spend the rest on the benefits of the Muslims." She said, "This is not the command (ḥukm) of Allāh." He said, "This is the command of Allāh. If the Messenger of Allāh has promised you in this regard anything or has mandated for you any rights, tell me so that I will verify what you say and submit it entirely to you and your family." She said, "The Messenger of Allāh has not promised me in this matter anything, except that when this verse was revealed he told me, 'Take the glad tidings, O family (āl) of Muḥammad, for sustenance has just come to you.'" Abū Bakr said, "I do not know from this verse whether I should give you this entire share. But you will have enough to sustain you. And this is ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb and Abū ʿUbaydah ibn al-Jarrāḥ. So ask them for this and see if either of them agrees with you in what you claim." She went to ʿUmar and told him what she had told Abū Bakr, and he told her something similar to what Abū Bakr had told her. Fāṭimah was amazed at this and believed that the two had discussed this and agreed on [what to say beforehand].[3128]

It should be noted that Fāṭimah made a serious charge when she said, "This is not the command (ḥukm) of Allāh," as she was clearly saying that Abū Bakr did not rule by what Allāh has revealed. The Qur`ān says in that regards, "And those who do not rule (lam yaḥkum) by what Allāh has revealed are disbelievers,"[3129] "and those who do not rule (lam yaḥkum) by what Allāh has revealed are oppressors,"[3130] "and those who do not rule (lam yaḥkum) by what Allāh has revealed are deviants (fāsiq)."[3131]

The Usurpation of the Khums and Fay` was Necessary to Establish Abū Bakr's Caliphate

In all fairness, when Abū Bakr usurped the caliphate, he had little choice but to confiscate the properties the Prophet (ص) had left as inheritance, the properties he had granted to Fāṭimah (ع) during his lifetime, and the khums and fay` that had been acquired and that would be acquired in the future. The reason was that if the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) were to take control of all valuable and income-generating properties under the Prophet's (ص) control, Abū Bakr would be left with nothing of value in his own hands to spend as he pleased. Furthermore, Abū Bakr was planning on expanding the empire and bringing in new wealth in the form of khums or fay`. After defeating the enemy in battle, he would be obligated to divide four-fifths of the spoils among the troops while handing over the remaining fifth to the Ahl al-Bayt (ع), and if he were ever to acquire a property or right diplomatically, he would be obligated to hand it over in its entirety to the Ahl al-Bayt (ع). He would then be left with little wealth to govern with. As such, his usurpation of the caliphate more or less required his usurpation of the property rights of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع). By corollary, the Prophet's (ص) confirmation of the imāmate of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) included his establishment of their rights to the khums and fay`, which is clearly spelled out in the Qur`ān.[3132]

Some object, saying that had Fadak belonged to the Ahl al-Bayt (ع), ʿAlī (ع) would have taken control of it during his caliphate. The reason ʿAlī (ع) did not do so was for fear of the discord the hypocrites would create had he clearly gone against the decisions of Abū Bakr and ʿUmar. According to Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd,

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[3128] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 16:230-231.
[3129] Qur`ān 5:44.
[3130] Qur`ān 5:45.
[3131] Qur`ān 5:47.
[3132] Refer to chapter 23.

> Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq said: I asked Abū Ja´far Muḥammad ibn ´Alī [al-Bāqir], "When ´Alī had power over Iraq and power over the affairs of the people, what did he do with the share of the close ones?" He said, "He did with them what Abū Bakr and ´Umar did." I said, "How is that when you say what you say (i.e. that the Ahl al-Bayt deserves the khums)?" He said, "By Allāh, his family (ahl) does not do anything but by his decision." I said, "What prevented him [from taking the khums]?" He replied, "He did not like [his enemies] to use his disagreements with Abū Bakr and ´Umar against him."[3133]

It is clear that ´Alī (ع) lived under taqīyyah throughout his caliphate. He was therefore unable to undo all their injustices during his short rule. He had to militarily defeat successive armies of rebels first before he could undo all the innovations, otherwise he would simply create more divisions. The enemies of Islām from among those the Sunnī scholars have labeled as noble companions of the Prophet (ص) martyred him before he could even unify the Muslim nation under his rule. Indeed, the opportunity has not yet arisen for all of Abū Bakr and ´Umar's innovations to be corrected, as it will be up to Imām Mahdī (ع) to establish true Islām, pure from all innovations, lies, and errors.

[3133] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 16:231-232.

Chapter 50

The Death and Nighttime Burial of Fāṭimah (ع) and the Plot to Kill ´Alī (ع)

Fāṭimah (ع) Shunned Abū Bakr and ´Umar During Her Final Illness

After the death of the Messenger of Allāh (ص) and the attack upon her house and her miscarriage of her third son Muḥsin, the health of Fāṭimah (ع), whose kunyah was Umm Abīhā (the mother of her father),[3134] and who was given the title al-Zahrā`[3135] and referred to as the chief of the women of the worlds (Sayyidah al-Nisā` al-´Ālamīn)[3136] deteriorated. Abū Bakr and ´Umar realized that it was not politically expedient for Fāṭimah (ع) to die while shunning the two of them, so they decided that it was necessary, at least as a public sign of good-will, to visit Fāṭimah (ع). According to Ibn Qutaybah,

> ´Umar told Abū Bakr, "Let us go visit Fāṭimah, for we have angered her." The two went to the house of Fāṭimah and asked her for permission [to enter]. She did not grant them permission, so they went to ´Alī and spoke to him. ´Alī took them to her. When they sat with her, she turned her head away from them towards the wall. They greeted her but she didn't respond to their greeting. Abū Bakr said, "O loved one of the Messenger of Allāh! By Allāh, I prefer closeness to the Messenger of Allāh to closeness to my own [family], and I love you more than my own daughter ´Ā`ishah. I wish that I had died the day your father died and that I did not live on after him. How can it be that I, while cognizant of your rights and your high status, would take away your rights to your inheritance? It's just that I heard from your father, 'We do not leave inheritance. What we leave is charity (ṣadaqah).'"
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> She replied, "Do you want me to tell you a tradition from the Messenger of Allāh so that you may know it and act upon it?" They said, "Yes." She said, "By Allāh, did you not hear the Messenger of Allāh (ص) say, 'The satisfaction of Fāṭimah is from my satisfaction and the anger of Fāṭimah is from my anger. Whoever loves my daughter Fāṭimah indeed loves me, whoever makes Fāṭimah content has indeed made me content, and whoever makes her angry has indeed made me angry'?" They said, "Yes, we have heard this from the Messenger of Allāh."
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> She said, "I take Allāh and the angels as witnesses that you two have angered me and have not made me content. When I meet the Messenger of Allāh (ص), I will complain to him regarding both of you." Abū Bakr said, "I seek refuge to Allāh from His wrath and your wrath, O Fāṭimah!" Abū Bakr then started

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[3134] Majma´ al-Zawā`id #15225; Iṣābah 4:2596 #11579 (Fāṭimah al-Zahrā`); Usd al-Ghābah 5:364 #7184 (Fāṭimah bint Rasūl Allāh); Istī´āb 4:452 #3491 (Fāṭimah bint Rasūl Allāh).

[3135] Iṣābah 4:2596 #11579 (Fāṭimah al-Zahrā`).

[3136] Istī´āb 4:447 #3491 (Fāṭimah bint Rasūl Allāh); Tārīkh Damishq 14:173, 42:134.

> weeping so loudly that his life was about to leave him. Fāṭimah said, "By Allāh, I will curse you in every prayer that I perform."
>
> Abū Bakr left her house crying. The people gathered around him. Abū Bakr told them, "Each one of you goes home, embracing his wife and enjoying his family. Leave me with what I have [gotten myself] into. I have no need for your pledge of allegiance. Take your pledge away from me."[3137]

The reality was that Abū Bakr could have easily attracted the satisfaction of Fāṭimah (ع) had he truly desired to do so. All he needed to do was return to Fāṭimah (ع) her rightful property, restore to ʿAlī (ع) the caliphate that was rightfully his, and sincerely repent from the sinful acts that he had performed. However, Abū Bakr's intention was not to step down from power, but rather to appear caring and just in the eyes of people. This was not possible without making it appear that he had appeased the daughter of the Messenger of Allāh (ص). However, at the end, Abū Bakr and ʿUmar did not gain her satisfaction, and as ʿĀʾishah said according to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, "[Fāṭimah] did not speak to him until she died."[3138] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī also states that, "[Fāṭimah] became angry with Abū Bakr and kept away from him and did not talk to him until she died... When she died, her husband ʿAlī buried her at night without informing Abū Bakr and he said the funeral prayer by himself."[3139] According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, ʿĀʾishah also said, "Fāṭimah, the daughter of Allāh's Apostle got angry and stopped speaking to Abū Bakr, and continued assuming that attitude until she died."[3140] According to Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim and Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, "Abū Bakr refused to hand over anything from [the properties Fāṭimah was demanding] to Fāṭimah, who got angry at Abū Bakr for this reason. She forsook him and did not talk to him until the end of her life."[3141]

Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, after relating a number of accounts on this topic, concluded, "The truth for me is that she died upset at Abū Bakr and ʿUmar and she stated in her will that the two of them must not pray upon her. For our companions, this is a matter for which the two of them are forgiven. It would have been better for them to have honored her and to have respected [the sanctity of] her house, but they feared discord."[3142]

The problem with this is that the Prophet said that one who dies without recognizing the imām or while not submissive to the command of the imām dies the death of the Days of Ignorance.[3143] It is clear that Fāṭimah died while rejecting Abū Bakr. As such, either the chief of the women believers, the chief of the women of the worlds, and the best of the women of paradise[3144] died the death of the Days of Ignorance or Abū Bakr's imāmate was illegitimate.

Abū Bakr and ʿUmar Angered the Messenger of Allāh (ص) by Their Treatment of Fāṭimah

According to widely narrated traditions appearing in Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, and many other leading Sunnī books, the Prophet (ص) said,

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[3137] Imāmah wa Sīyāsah 23-4.
[3138] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #8.80.718.
[3139] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.59.546.
[3140] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #4.53.325.
[3141] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #19.4352; Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.59.546.
[3142] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 6:50.
[3143] Refer to chapter 42.
[3144] Refer to chapter 50.

1. "Verily Fāṭimah is part of me (literally, of my flesh). Whoever harasses her has harassed me."[3145]
2. "Verily Fāṭimah is part of me. Whoever makes her angry has made me angry."[3146]
3. "Verily Fāṭimah is part of me. Whoever harasses her has harassed me and whoever opposes her has opposed me."[3147]
4. "Verily Fāṭimah is part of me. Whoever saddens her has saddened me and whoever makes her happy has made me happy."[3148]

It is clear that Abū Bakr and ʹUmar harassed, angered, saddened, and opposed Fāṭimah (ع), and thereby harassed, angered, saddened, and opposed the Prophet (ص). If any Muslim is told that someone harassed, angered, saddened, and opposed the Messenger of Allāh (ص), his first reaction would be that that individual must have been the enemy of Islām. It is very clear that Fāṭimah (ع) died angry at them. Anyone who claims that Abū Bakr and ʹUmar repented from this is arguing in vain because when a sin involves a wrong one has done to another, one must obtain the other's forgiveness before being forgiven by Allāh, and Fāṭimah (ع) clearly died without forgiving them.

According to a widely narrated tradition Ḥākim certified as authentic, the Prophet (ص) told Fāṭimah (ع),

> Verily, Allāh bears wrath by your wrath and becomes content by your contentment.[3149]

Therefore, by inciting the wrath of Fāṭimah (ع), Abū Bakr and ʹUmar brought on themselves the wrath of Allāh. Every time Muslims recite Sūrah Fātiḥah, they ask Allāh to keep them away from the path of Abū Bakr and ʹUmar and to guide them to the path of Fāṭimah (ع): "Guide us to the straight path. The path of those whom You have favored, not the [path] of those who earn Your *wrath* or who go astray."[3150] Indeed, Fāṭimah (ع) was so upset at what Abū Bakr and ʹUmar did after the Prophet's (ص) death that, according to Ibn Athīr, "She was not seen smiling after the death of the Messenger of Allāh (ص) until she joined Allāh, the great and glorious, as she was struck by intense agony."[3151] A similar statement also appears in Muʹjam al-Kabīr Ṭabarānī.[3152]

The Timing of Fāṭimah's (ع) Death

[3145] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #31.6000; Sunan al-Kubrā Bayhaqī #20651; Kanz al-ʹUmmāl #34241; Iṣābah 4:2597 #11579 (Fāṭimah al-Zahrā`). The English translation of Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim has translated this tradition as follows: "Fāṭimah is a part of me. He in fact tortures me who tortures her."

[3146] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.57.61; Sunan al-Kubrā Nasā`ī #8371; Kanz al-ʹUmmāl #34222, #34244; Jāmiʹ al-Ṣaghīr Suyūṭī #5833-4.

[3147] Sunan Tirmidhī #3869; Mustadrak Ḥākim #4751 (certifies the tradition as authentic by the criteria of Bukhārī and Muslim); Faḍā`il Ḥanbal #1327; Kanz al-ʹUmmāl #34215.

[3148] Mustadrak Ḥākim #4747 (certifies the tradition as authentic).

[3149] Mustadrak Ḥākim #4730 (certifies the tradition as authentic); Kanz al-ʹUmmāl #34237-8, #37725; Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb vol 12 #2860 (Fāṭimah bint Rasūl Allāh); Majmaʹ al-Zawā`id #15204 (certifies the chain of transmission as good [ḥasan]); Iṣābah 4:2597, 4:2598 #11579 (Fāṭimah al-Zahrā`); Usd al-Ghābah 5:367 #7184 (Fāṭimah bint Rasūl Allāh).

[3150] Qur`ān 1:6-7.

[3151] Usd al-Ghābah 5:368 #7184 (Fāṭimah bint Rasūl Allāh).

[3152] Muʹjam al-Kabīr Ṭabarānī 22:399.

There is some difference among the various traditions in regards to the exact timing of Fāṭimah's (ع) death. Ya'qūbī said, "She died forty nights after [the Prophet (ص) died]. Another group says seventy nights. Others say thirty nights. Yet others say six months."[3153] A similar range of accounts appear in a number of other sources.[3154] 'Ā'ishah claimed that she lived six months after the Prophet's (ص) death, the longest period claimed by anyone. Her claim was likely intended to make it appear that the miscarriage of her child due to the assault on her was not the proximate cause of her death. Moreover, someone who did not even keep track of her husband's burial[3155] was not likely to be an accurate record keeper for the death of her husband's daughter.

Fāṭimah (ع) Barred Abū Bakr and 'Umar from Her Funeral

Fāṭimah (ع), who was intensely displeased with Abū Bakr and 'Umar, requested that they not appear at her burial and that they not pray upon her. Her body was washed in accordance to her wishes by 'Alī (ع) and Asmā' bint 'Umays,[3156] who at the time was the wife of Abū Bakr. Of note, Asmā' married 'Alī (ع) after Abū Bakr's death, and her son from Abū Bakr, Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr, was adopted by 'Alī (ع) and became among his most prominent Shī'ah. According to Ibn Athīr and Ibn 'Abd al-Barr,

> When [Fāṭimah] died, 'Ā'ishah went [to visit her] but Asmā' [bint 'Umays] prevented her [from doing so]. 'Ā'ishah complained to Abū Bakr and said, "This woman from the tribe of Khath'am is coming between us and the daughter of the Messenger of Allāh!" Abū Bakr stood by the door and said, "O Asmā'! What prevents you from allowing the wives of the Messenger of Allāh to enter upon the daughter of the Messenger of Allāh, and [what makes] you create an enclosure for her [such that no one else may enter]?" She replied, "[Fāṭimah] ordered me not to allow anyone to enter upon her."[3157]

According to other accounts that appear to have been favored by Ibn Ḥajar, Fāṭimah (ع) bathed herself just before her death and asked to be buried with that bath and with the clothes she was wearing.[3158] This account has been questioned because washing a corpse is mandatory and this obligation is not lifted by bathing prior to one's death. As such, these accounts can only be explained by the fact that she died a martyr and therefore washing her would not be mandatory.[3159] In that case, her bathing herself would be only because she wanted to be clean when she met her father.

According to numerous Sunnī traditions, including those related in Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī and Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, Fāṭimah (ع) was buried by 'Alī (ع) at night without informing Abū Bakr and 'Umar about her death.[3160] It has been related that 'Alī (ع), 'Abbās, and Faḍl ibn

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[3153] Tārīkh Ya'qūbī 2:115.

[3154] Usd al-Ghābah 5:368 #7184 (Fāṭimah bint Rasūl Allāh); Iṣābah 4:2598 #11579 (Fāṭimah al-Zahrā'); Istī'āb 4:448-9, 4:452 #3491 (Fāṭimah bint Rasūl Allāh); Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 8:28; Imāmah wa Sīyāsah 24.

[3155] Refer to chapter 47.

[3156] Usd al-Ghābah 5:368, 5:369 #7184 (Fāṭimah bint Rasūl Allāh); Iṣābah 4:2598 #11579 (Fāṭimah al-Zahrā'); Istī'āb 4:451, 4:452 #3491 (Fāṭimah bint Rasūl Allāh).

[3157] Usd al-Ghābah 5:368-9 #7184 (Fāṭimah bint Rasūl Allāh); Istī'āb 4:451 #3491 (Fāṭimah bint Rasūl Allāh).

[3158] Iṣābah 4:2598-9 #11579 (Fāṭimah al-Zahrā'); Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 8:27-28.

[3159] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #2.23.427 states that the martyrs of Uḥud were buried without being washed and with blood on their bodies.

[3160] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.59.546; Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #19.4352; Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 8:29-30 (several accounts); Iṣābah 4:2599-2600 #11579 (Fāṭimah al-Zahrā'); Istī'āb 4:452 #3491 (Fāṭimah bint Rasūl Allāh); Usd al-Ghābah 5:369 #7184 (Fāṭimah bint Rasūl Allāh); Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 16:280 (several accounts).

ʿAbbās buried her and that ʿAlī (ع) led the prayer upon her.[3161] According to Sīrah Ḥalabīyyah, Wāqidī said, "It is established for us that ʿAlī buried her and prayed upon her at night, and that ʿAbbās and Faḍl were with him."[3162] Based on a composite of Sunnī accounts, it appears that ʿAlī (ع), Ḥasan (ع), Ḥusayn (ع), ʿAbbās ibn ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, Faḍl ibn ʿAbbās, Miqdād, and Zubayr were the only ones present at her nighttime burial.[3163] According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī and Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim,

> Fāṭimah got angry with Abū Bakr for this reason. She forsook him and did not talk to him until the end of her life... When she died, her husband, ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib, buried her at night. He did not inform Abū Bakr about her death and offered the funeral prayer over her himself.[3164]

Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī also states,

> Allāh's Apostle said, "Fāṭimah is a part of me, and he who makes her angry, makes me angry."[3165]

As stated previously, these traditions from Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī offer clear proof that Abū Bakr and ʿUmar made the Prophet (ص) angry at them by angering Fāṭimah (ع) and that the Prophet's (ص) anger at them would never subside, as Fāṭimah (ع) died angry at them. Upon her death, they forever lost any chance they had of abating her anger and gaining her pleasure. Abū Bakr later said, "I wish I did not violate the house of Fāṭimah even if I had been forced to battle."[3166] Although some claim that this denoted repentance, it is merely regret. Since he had violated the rights of another individual, he was obligated to restitute her lost rights and gain her forgiveness before he could be forgiven.

According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, Abū Bakr used to say, "Please Muḥammad by doing good to his family."[3167] The response to Abū Bakr is as follows:

> "Do you enjoin right conduct on the people and forget [to practice it] yourselves and yet you read the Book? Will you not think?"[3168]
>
> "Why do you say that which you do not do? Most hateful it is in the sight of Allāh that you say that which you do not do."[3169]

It must be noted that Sunnī traditions have been invented claiming that Abū Bakr prayed upon Fāṭimah (ع) at her burial. Even the Sunnī scholars have acknowledged the weakness of these traditions. According to Ibn Ḥajar,

> Wāqidī relates through [a chain of transmission] that Shaʿbī said, "Abū Bakr [led the prayers] prayed for Fāṭimah." But this [tradition] has [both] weakness [in its

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[3161] Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 8:29; Iṣābah 4:2599-2600 #11579 (Fāṭimah al-Zahrāʾ); Usd al-Ghābah 5:369 #7184 (Fāṭimah bint Rasūl Allāh).

[3162] Sīrah Ḥalabīyyah 3:487.

[3163] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 16:280; Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 8:29; Iṣābah 4:2599-2600 #11579 (Fāṭimah al-Zahrāʾ); Istīʿāb 4:452 #3491 (Fāṭimah bint Rasūl Allāh); Usd al-Ghābah 5:369 #7184 (Fāṭimah bint Rasūl Allāh).

[3164] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.59.546; Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #19.4392.

[3165] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.57.61, #5.57.111.

[3166] Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #14113; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 2:46-47; Tārīkh Ṭabarī 11:149-50; Imāmah wa Sīyāsah 27-8; ʿIqd al-Farīd 4:257-8; Tārīkh Damishq 30:419-20. Refer to chapter 53 for Abū Bakr's nine regrets.

[3167] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.57.94.

[3168] Qurʾān 2:44.

[3169] Qurʾān 61:2-3.

> chain of transmission] (ḍa´f) as well as an interruption [in the chain of transmission] (inqiṭā´). A number of abandoned [transmitters of tradition] have also related something similar from Mālik from Ja´far ibn Muḥammad from his father.[3170]

Although the weakness of these accounts is evident to even discerning Sunnī scholars, and despite clear statements to the contrary appearing in Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī and Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, it is not uncommon to see Salafī propagandists claiming that Abū Bakr buried Fāṭimah (ع) and that he led her funeral prayer.

Some of the Prophet's (ص) Comments About Fāṭimah (ع)

1. The Prophet (ص) said, "Allāh named her Fāṭimah because Allāh has cut off (faṭama) her and those who love her from the fire."[3171]

2. The Prophet (ص) said, "Fāṭimah guarded her chastity, so Allāh has forbidden her offspring (dhurīyyah) from [entering] the fire."[3172]

3. The Prophet (ص) told Fāṭimah (ع), "You and I and these two (i.e. Ḥasan and Ḥusayn) and the one who is sleeping (i.e. ´Alī) will be in one place on the Day of Judgment."[3173]

4. The Prophet (ص) said, "Fāṭimah is the chief (sayyidah) of the women of paradise."[3174] The tradition in Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī adds, "or the chief (sayyidah) of all the lady believers."[3175]

5. The Prophet (ص) said, " Suffices you four women from among all the women of the worlds: Mary the daughter of ´Imrān; Āsīyah the daughter of Muzāḥim [and] the wife of Pharaoh; Khadījah the daughter of Khuwaylid; and Fāṭimah the daughter of Muḥammad."[3176]

3170. Iṣābah 4:2599 #11579 (Fāṭimah al-Zahrā`).
3171. Tārīkh Baghdād #6772 (Ghānim ibn Ḥumayd); Kanz al-´Ummāl #34226-7; Fayḍ al-Qadīr #203; Dhakhā`ir al-´Uqbā 26.
3172. Mustadrak Ḥākim #4726 (certifies the tradition as authentic); Tārīkh Baghdād #997 (Muḥammad ibn ´Alī ibn Mūsā ibn Ja´far ibn Muḥammad ibn ´Alī ibn Ḥusayn ibn ´Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib); Kanz al-´Ummāl #34220; Mu´jam al-Kabīr Tabarānī 22:407; Jāmi´ al-Ṣaghīr Suyūṭī #2309.
3173. Usd al-Ghābah 5:367 #7184 (Fāṭimah bint Rasūl Allāh).
3174. Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #4.56.819; Sunan Tirmidhī #3781; Musnad Ḥanbal #11733, #23377; Mustadrak Ḥākim #4721-2, #4733, #6837 (certifies #4722 and #4733 as authentic); Faḍā`il Ḥanbal #1331, #1406; Fatḥ al-Bārī #3230, #3249, #3507, #3555, #4170; Sunan al-Kubrā Nasā`ī #8298, #8365-6, #8512-4; Jāmi´ al-Ṣaghīr Suyūṭī #93, #3822, #5835; Kanz al-´Ummāl #32262, #34158, #34217, #34224, #34260, #37617, #37728; Usd al-Ghābah 5:367 #7184 (Fāṭimah bint Rasūl Allāh); Iṣābah 4:2597, 4:2598 #11579 (Fāṭimah al-Zahrā`); Istī´āb 4:449 #3491 (Fāṭimah bint Rasūl Allāh).
3175. Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #4.56.819. Note that the English translation uses the word "mistress" for sayyidah, which has the same meaning, but has been changed here to match the other accounts.
3176. Sunan Tirmidhī #3878 (certifies the tradition as authentic); Mustadrak Ḥākim #4745, #4756 (certifies this tradition as authentic by the criteria of Bukhārī and Muslim); Musnad Ḥanbal #12414; Faḍā`il Ḥanbal #1325, #1337, #1575; Mu´jam al-Kabīr Tabarānī 22:402, 23:7; Kanz al-´Ummāl #34403; Majma´ al-Zawā`id #15269; Jāmi´ al-Ṣaghīr Suyūṭī #3714; Musannaf ´Abd al-Razzāq #20919; Iṣābah 4:2597 #11579 (Fāṭimah al-Zahrā`); Istī´āb 4:450 #3491 (Fāṭimah bint Rasūl Allāh); Tārīkh Damishq 52:102, 70:109-10 (several traditions); Fatḥ al-Bārī #3249; ´Umdah al-Qārī 3:272, 15:309; Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb vol 12 #2860 (Fāṭimah bint Rasūl Allāh).

6. The Prophet (ص) said, "The chiefs (sayyidāt) of the women of paradise are four—Mary the daughter of ʻImrān, Fāṭimah the daughter of the Messenger of Allāh, Khadījah the daughter of Khuwaylid, and Āsīyah the wife of Pharaoh."[3177]

7. The Prophet (ص) asked Fāṭimah (ع), "O daughter, are you not content with being the chief (sayyidah) of the women of this world" or "the chief of the women believers?"[3178]

8. The Prophet (ص) asked Fāṭimah (ع), "O daughter, are you not content with being the chief (sayyidah) of the women of the worlds?" She asked, "O father, then what is Mary the daughter of ʻImrān?" He replied, "She is the master of the women of her world, you are the master of the women of your world, and, by Allāh, I have married you to one who is a master in this world and in the hereafter."[3179]

9. The Prophet (ص) said, "The best of the women of paradise are Khadījah, Fāṭimah, Mary, and Āsīyah."[3180] The Prophet (ص) similarly said, "The best of the women of the worlds are four—Mary the daughter of ʻImrān, Āsīyah the daughter of Muzāḥim, Khadījah the daughter of Khuwaylid, and Fāṭimah the daughter of Muḥammad."[3181]

10. The Messenger of Allāh (ص) drew four lines in the ground. He then asked, "Do you know what this is?" The people said, "Allāh and His Messenger know better." The Messenger of Allāh (ص) said, "The best (afḍal) of the women of paradise are Khadījah the daughter of Khuwaylid, Fāṭimah the daughter of Muḥammad, Mary the daughter of ʻImrān, and Āsīyah the daughter of Muzāḥim [and] the wife of Pharaoh."[3182]

11. According to a tradition Ḥākim certified as authentic by the criteria of Bukhārī and Muslim, the Prophet (ص) said, "When it is the Day of Judgment, it will be said, 'O people of the gathering, lower your gazes until Fāṭimah the daughter of the Messenger of Allāh passes.'"[3183]

12. ʻĀʼishah said, "I have seen no one more virtuous (afḍal) than Fāṭimah other than her father."[3184]

3177. Mustadrak Ḥākim #4853; Jāmiʻ al-Ṣaghīr Suyūṭī #4759; Kanz al-ʻUmmāl #34406, #34409; Majmaʻ al-Zawāʼid #15190 (certifies the tradition as authentic), #15271.

3178. Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #31.6005 (Arabic original #2450); Musnad Ḥanbal #26456; Mustadrak Ḥākim #4740; Kanz al-ʻUmmāl #34216, #34232; Faḍāʼil Ḥanbal #1343.

3179. Istīʻāb 4:449 #3491 (Fāṭimah bint Rasūl Allāh).

3180. Mustadrak Ḥākim #3836, #4754, #4852 (certifies all three traditions as authentic); Musnad Ḥanbal #2668, #2903; Faḍāʼil Ḥanbal #1339; Fatḥ al-Bārī #3230, #3249, #3558, #3604, #3609; Majmaʻ al-Zawāʼid #15268 (certifies the tradition as authentic); Sunan al-Kubrā Nasāʼī #8355, #8357, #8364; Kanz al-ʻUmmāl #34402; Jāmiʻ al-Ṣaghīr Suyūṭī #1307; Iṣābah 4:2597 #11579 (Fāṭimah al-Zahrāʼ); Istīʻāb 4:450 #3491 (Fāṭimah bint Rasūl Allāh).

3181. Jāmiʻ al-Ṣaghīr Suyūṭī #4088; Istīʻāb 4:450 #3491 (Fāṭimah bint Rasūl Allāh); Iṣābah 4:2597 #11579 (Fāṭimah al-Zahrāʼ).

3182. Mustadrak Ḥākim #3836, #4754, #4852 (certifies all three traditions as authentic); Musnad Ḥanbal #2668, #2903; Istīʻāb 4:450 #3491 (Fāṭimah bint Rasūl Allāh).

3183. Mustadrak Ḥākim #4728 (certifies the tradition as authentic by the criteria of Bukhārī and Muslim), #4757 (certifies the tradition as authentic); Faḍāʼil Ḥanbal #1344; Majmaʻ al-Zawāʼid #15228; Jāmiʻ al-Ṣaghīr Suyūṭī #822; Kanz al-ʻUmmāl #34209-11, #34219; Usd al-Ghābah 5:368 #7184 (Fāṭimah bint Rasūl Allāh); Dhakhāʼir al-ʻUqbā 48; Tārīkh Baghdād #4234 (Ḥusayn ibn Muʻādh).

3184. Iṣābah 4:2597 #11579 (Fāṭimah al-Zahrāʼ).

13. ʿĀʾishah said, "I have not seen anyone more similar to the Messenger of Allāh in her manner of speech than Fāṭimah. It was such that when she entered upon him, he would stand up for her, accept her, and welcome her as she would do for him."[3185]

14. ʿĀʾishah said, "I have not seen anyone more truthful in speech than Fāṭimah except for her father."[3186]

15. The Prophet (ص) said, "The most beloved of my family to me is Fāṭimah."[3187]

16. Jumayʿ ibn ʿUmayr al-Taymī said: I visited ʿĀʾishah and asked her, "Which person was the most beloved to the Messenger of Allāh (ص)?" She replied, "Fāṭimah." I asked, "And who among the men?" She replied, "Her husband."[3188]

17. When ʿĀʾishah was asked about ʿAlī (ع), she said, "I have not seen any man more beloved to the Messenger of Allāh than [ʿAlī] and no woman more beloved to him than his wife."[3189]

18. Buraydah said, "The most beloved of women to the Messenger of Allāh (ص) was Fāṭimah, and [the most beloved] of the men was ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib."[3190]

19. The Prophet (ص) told ʿAlī (ع), "Fāṭimah is more beloved to me than you, but to me, you are greater [in status] (aʿazz) than her."[3191]

20. Fāṭimah (ع) said: When the verse, "Do not set the calling of the Messenger like the way some of you call others,"[3192] was revealed, I was afraid to call the Prophet (ص), "O father!" so instead I called him, "O Messenger of Allāh!" He came to me and said, "O daughter! This [verse] was neither revealed in [regards to] you nor in [regards to] your family. You are from me and I am from you. It was revealed only in regards to the ill-mannered arrogant pompous ones. Call me, 'O father,' for it is dearer to the heart and more pleasing to the Lord."[3193]

Sunnī Traditions Claiming that ʿAlī (ع) Angered Fāṭimah (ع)

A tradition that appears widely transmitted in the Sunnī ṣiḥāḥ is the following tradition related from Miswar ibn Makhramah:

> When ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib demanded the hand of the daughter of Abū Jahl [in marriage so that she would] be his wife besides Fāṭimah, I heard Allāh's Apostle on his pulpit delivering a sermon in this connection before the people, and I had then attained the age of puberty. Allāh's Apostle said, "Fāṭimah is from me, and I am afraid that she will be subjected to trials in her religion." The Prophet then

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[3185] Istīʿāb 4:450 #3491 (Fāṭimah bint Rasūl Allāh).
[3186] Istīʿāb 4:450-1 #3491 (Fāṭimah bint Rasūl Allāh).
[3187] Jāmiʿ al-Ṣaghīr Suyūṭī #203.
[3188] Istīʿāb 4:451 #3491 (Fāṭimah bint Rasūl Allāh); Usd al-Ghābah 5:366 #7184 (Fāṭimah bint Rasūl Allāh).
[3189] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:390.
[3190] Istīʿāb 4:451 #3491 (Fāṭimah bint Rasūl Allāh).
[3191] Usd al-Ghābah 5:367 #7184 (Fāṭimah bint Rasūl Allāh); Jāmiʿ al-Ṣaghīr Suyūṭī #5836.
[3192] Qurʾān 24:63.
[3193] Manāqib Ibn Mughāzilī #411.

> mentioned one of his son-in-laws who was from the tribe of ´Abd Shams, and he praised him as a good son-in-law, saying, "Whatever he said was the truth, and he promised me and fulfilled his promise. I do not make a legal thing illegal, nor do I make an illegal thing legal, but by Allāh, the daughter of Allāh's Apostle and the daughter of the enemy of Allāh can never get together [as the wives of one man]."[3194]

The problem with this tradition that has even been recognized by Sunnī scholars is that Miswar ibn Makhramah was born in the year 2 A.H. and he emigrated to Mecca in the year 8 A.H.[3195] Ibn Ḥajar said, "The problem with the source [of this tradition] is that there is no disagreement among the historians that he was born after the emigration and the event of ´Alī's proposal [to Abū Jahl's daughter] would have had to be six or seven years after the birth of Miswar. So how could [Miswar] be called pubertal at that age?"[3196] This is a blatant error committed by the one who forged this tradition, as he apparently did not know Miswar's age. Moreover, it is extremely doubtful that someone around the age of sixty could accurately relate a speech he heard when he was only six or seven years old. Miswar's history is also rather suspicious. According to Ibn Ḥajar, ´Abd al-Raḥmān ibn ´Awf was his maternal uncle, and "He was a constant [companion of] ´Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb."[3197] Of note, ´Abd al-Raḥmān was the man who gave the caliphate to ´Uthmān instead of to ´Alī (ع).[3198] Adding to the suspicion regarding this tradition is the fact that ´Alī (ع) was allegedly contrasted with ´Uthmān ibn ´Affān ibn Umayyah ibn ´Abd Shams, who was the son-in-law from the tribe of ´Abd Shams referred to in the text of the tradition. A common feature of forgeries is that they denigrate ´Alī (ع) while promoting the virtues of the first three caliphs.[3199] Furthermore, this account has to be contrasted with the following account from Miswar, according to which ´Alī (ع) did not wish to marry another woman, but rather marriage to another woman was merely proposed to him:

> Miswar ibn Makhramah said: I heard the Messenger of Allāh saying while he was on the pulpit, "The family of Hāshim ibn Mughīrah have asked me to marry their daughter to ´Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, but I do not permit it, and I will not permit it unless Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib were to divorce my daughter and marry their daughter, as she is a piece of my flesh. Whatever bothers her bothers me and whatever harasses her harasses me, and whoever harasses the Messenger of Allāh, his deeds will be futile."[3200]

The point of the forgery was to make it appear that ´Alī (ع) was the one who angered Fāṭimah (ع) by wishing to marry another woman and was scolded for doing so by the Prophet (ص) during his lifetime.[3201] As such, one cannot blame Abū Bakr for angering her, as she was easily angered and was in fact angered by ʿAlī (ع). Other forgeries have similarly made it appear that Fāṭimah (ع) also angered ʿAlī (ع) to the point of making him sleep in the mosque, where he got dusty and therefore was called Abū Turāb. Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī has related from Sahl ibn Saʿd,

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[3194] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #4.53.342. Similar traditions appear in Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.57.76; Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #31.6001-2; Sunan Ibn Mājah #1999; Sunan Abū Dāwūd #2069.

[3195] Iṣābah 3:1838 #7996 (Miswar ibn Makhramah); Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb vol 10 #290 (Miswar ibn Makhramah).

[3196] Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb vol 10 #290 (Miswar ibn Makhramah).

[3197] Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb vol 10 #290 (Miswar ibn Makhramah).

[3198] Refer to chapter 61.

[3199] Refer to chapter 76.

[3200] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #7.62.157 (Arabic original #4932); Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #31.5999 (Arabic original #2449); Sunan Abū Dāwūd #2071; Sunan Ibn Mājah #1998; Sunan Tirmidhī #3867; Musnad Ḥanbal #18946; Sunan al-Kubrā Nasā‘ī #8518-9; Sunan al-Kubrā Bayhaqī #14575-6, #21202; Kanz al-´Ummāl #34213; Tārīkh Damishq 58:159-60 (two traditions).

[3201] Shī´ah traditions referring to this event claim that one of the companions went to Fāṭimah (ع) and told her that ´Alī (ع) was going to propose to the daughter of Abū Jahl, and he swore three times that he was telling the truth. She was upset by this, but soon found out that it was a lie, as ´Alī (ع) had no such intentions. The Prophet (ص) then gathered Abū Bakr, ´Umar, and Ṭalḥah and proclaimed, "Fāṭimah is part of me. Whoever

> There was no name dearer to ʿAlī than his nickname Abū Turāb (the father of dust). He used to feel happy whenever he was called by this name. Once Allāh's Apostle came to the house of Fāṭimah but did not find ʿAlī in the house. So he asked, "Where is your cousin?" She replied, "There was something (i.e. a quarrel) between him and me whereupon he got angry with me and went out without having a midday nap in my house." Allāh's Apostle asked a person to look for him. That person came and said, "O Allāh's Apostle! [ʿAlī] is sleeping in the mosque." So Allāh's Apostle went there and found him lying [there]. His upper body cover had fallen off to one side of his body and so he was covered with dust. Allāh's Apostle started cleaning the dust from him, saying, "Get up, O Abū Turāb! Get up, O Abū Turāb!"[3202]

The question one must ask is how Sahl ibn Saʿd knew what Fāṭimah (ع) told the Prophet (ص) in the privacy of her own house. However, one must appreciate the fact that Saʿd ibn Sahl refused to curse ʿAlī (ع) during Umayyad times. Furthermore, when they used the title "Abū Turāb" to refer to ʿAlī (ع) in a derogatory fashion, he defended it as a virtuous title bestowed upon him by the Prophet (ص).[3203] Unfortunately, however, he passed on this inaccurate account of the origin of the title Abū Turāb.

The title Abū Turāb was actually granted to him during the military expedition known as ʿUshayrah, when the Prophet (ص) found ʿAlī (ع) and ʿAmmār sleeping in soft sand. He woke them up and said, "Rise, O Abū Turāb (father of dust). Shall I inform you of the two worst men? [They are] Uḥaymir of Thamūd who slaughtered the camel and the one who will strike this (i.e. your head) until this (i.e. your beard) is dyed with its [blood]." This tradition, which Ḥākim has certified as authentic by the criteria of Muslim, appears in numerous Sunnī sources and has been related by Ḥākim, Ḥanbal, Nasāʾī, Ibn Hishām, Ṭabarī, Ibn Kathīr, Ibn ʿAsākir, and Haythamī.[3204] Since all the historians relating this event have placed the expedition prior to the Battle of Badr, and since Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī claims that ʿAlī (ع) married Fāṭimah after the Battle of Badr in the year 2 A.H.,[3205] it is clear that ʿAlī (ع) bore the title Abū Turāb before he was married to Fāṭimah (ع) and that he did not bear that title as a result of fictitious conflicts between him and his wife.

The Scrolls (Muṣḥaf) of Fāṭimah (ع)

Some anti-Shīʿah propagandists falsely claim that the Shīʿah believe that Fāṭimah (ع) had a Qurʾān that was different from the Qurʾān of everyone else. Yet, the Muṣḥaf of Fāṭimah (ع) was not a different Qurʾān, or for that matter, any type of divine book like the Qurʾān. According to Shīʿah traditions, Imām Ṣādiq (ع), the sixth Shīʿah imām, said, "[The Book of Fāṭimah (ع)] is a book three times the length of the Qurʾān, yet there is

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harasses her has harassed me." (ʿIlal al-Sharāʾiʿ of Shaykh Ṣadūq 1:185-6) According to this, Miswar passed on a distorted version of the event, perhaps because he was too young to remember the details of the event, while others were afraid to narrate or relate the event because of what it implied for Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, and Ṭalḥah.

[3202] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #8.74.297. Similarly, Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #8.73.223; Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #31.5924.

[3203] Ṣaḥīh Bukhārī #5.57.53; Sahīḥ Muslim #31.5924.

[3204] Mustadrak Ḥākim #4679 (certifies the tradition as authentic by the criteria of Muslim); Musnad Ḥanbal #18347; Faḍāʾil Ḥanbal #1172; Sunan al-Kubrā Nasāʾī #8538; Khaṣāʾiṣ Nasāʾī 129-130; Sīrah Ibn Hishām 434; Tārīkh Tabarī 7:16-17; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 3:303; Tārīkh Damishq 42:549-550; Majmaʿ al-Zawāʾid #14775.

[3205] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #3.34.302, #3.40.563.

not a single word of the Qur`ān in it."[3206] Other Shī'ah traditions state that, "In the Muṣḥaf there is nothing of the permissible and prohibited, but rather the knowledge of the events of the future,"[3207] as well as "Fāṭimah's (ع) will."[3208] Even though there is nothing of what Islām permits and forbids, as this is common and widely disseminated knowledge, certain issues pertaining to judging that make it necessary for the people to seek the rightful imām are to be found in it.[3209] Indeed, Imām Ṣādiq (ع) said, "With us are [writings] that make us not need others [for knowledge], while [making] others need us. With us is a book that the Prophet (ص) dictated and 'Alī (ع) recorded and, a Ṣaḥīfah that contains all the permissible and forbidden."[3210] Furthermore, the companions knew about these texts that were with 'Alī (ع) and were jealous of the advantage in knowledge they gave him over the rest of them. As related in Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, 'Alī (ع) answered charges that he had a divine book other than the Qur`ān as follows:

> We have no book to read except the Book of Allāh and what is written in this paper (Ṣaḥīfah), which contains verdicts regarding [proper retaliation for] wounds, the ages of the camels [given as zakāt or as blood money], and the fact that Madīnah is a sanctuary in between Mount 'Ā`ir to such and such [mountain].[3211]

Interestingly, Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī says that the Ṣaḥīfah possessed by 'Alī (ع) contained the "verdicts regarding wounds," while according to Uṣūl al-Kāfī, Imām Ṣādiq (ع) claimed that the Ṣaḥīfah of Fāṭimah (ع) contained, "the punishment for one lash, half a lash and a quarter of a lash; even the punishment for a scratch is in it."[3212] It appears that this is the same Ṣaḥīfah mentioned in Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī. If anyone believes that belief in the existence of such a ṣaḥīfah is disbelief, then they must believe that 'Alī (ع) was a disbeliever, as were the companions who believed that 'Alī (ع) had such a text.

What is often criticized is the fact that a couple of traditions in Uṣūl al-Kāfī, a leading Shī'ah compilation of tradition, state that the Ṣaḥīfah of Fāṭimah (ع) also recorded the words of angels, including Gabriel (ع), who were sent to console Fāṭimah (ع) after the death of the Messenger of Allāh (ص). This fact is used as proof that the Shī'ah consider it to be a divine book or some other type of Qur`ān. However, none of the Shī'ah consider it to be a divine book. Moreover, according to Mustadrak Ḥākim, Ḥasan ibn 'Alī (ع) said, "I am from the Ahl al-Bayt; to us Gabriel would descend, and from us he would ascend [back to the heavens]."[3213] His use of the plural here denoted that while Gabriel (ع) only brought the Qur`ān to the Prophet (ص), he would descend upon the entire Ahl al-Bayt (ع). Even Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī has related the fact that Fāṭimah (ع) had communication with Gabriel (ع):

> When the ailment of the Prophet got aggravated, he became unconscious, whereupon Fāṭimah said, "O how distressed my father is!" [The Prophet] said, "Your father will have no more distress after today." When he expired, she said, "O father who has responded to the call of the Lord Who has invited him! O

[3206] Uṣūl al-Kāfī #629.
[3207] Uṣūl al-Kāfī #630.
[3208] Uṣūl al-Kāfī #632.
[3209] Uṣūl al-Kāfī #631.
[3210] Uṣūl al-Kāfī #634.
[3211] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #4.53.397. Refer to chapter 17 for further discussion of the Ṣaḥīfah 'Alī (ع) possessed.
[3212] Uṣūl al-Kāfī #631.
[3213] Mustadrak Ḥākim #4802.

> father whose dwelling place is the garden of paradise! O father! We convey this news [of your death] to Gabriel."[3214]

No ordinary Muslim could claim to convey information to Gabriel (ع), yet Fāṭimah (ع) claimed that she would do so. As such, even Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī offers proof of the contact between Fāṭimah (ع) and the angels, although this contact should not be taken as evidence of prophecy or the existence of a divine book after the Qur`ān.

Similarly, Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah has related a tradition according to which when ʿAlī (ع) entered upon the Prophet (ص), Gabriel (ع), who was present, told him, "You have more rights to [the Prophet (ص)] than I do."[3215] Moreover, according to Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal and Muḥibb Ṭabarī, Ibn ʿAbbās described ʿAlī (ع) as the one who "would hear the footsteps of Gabriel on his rooftop."[3216] Another fact is that revelation (waḥy), according to the Qur`ān, is not limited to prophets and messengers:

> "And your Lord revealed (awḥā) to the bee saying, 'Make hives in the mountains and in the trees and in what they build.'"[3217]
>
> "And We revealed (awḥaynā) to the mother of Moses, saying, 'Suckle him, then when you fear for him, cast him into the river and neither fear nor grieve. Surely We will bring him back to you and make him one of the messengers.'"[3218]

If bees and the mother of Moses (ع) can receive revelation, it is not clear why the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) cannot. What is clear is that they cannot receive any new laws, new religious edicts, or new divine books. Indeed, traditions citing the call heard from heaven during the Battles of Badr and Uḥud saying, "There is no sword but the Dhū al-Faqār, and there is no brave young man but ʿAlī,"[3219] show that the voices of the angels could be heard by the Muslims at large. Indeed, both Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī and Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim cite a tradition according to which Usayd ibn Ḥuḍayr saw angels:

> Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī told of Usayd ibn Ḥuḍayr saying that one night he recited the Qur`ān in his enclosure when the horse began to jump about. He again recited, and [the horse] again jumped. He again recited, and it jumped as before. Usayd said: I was afraid lest it should trample [my son] Yaḥyā. I stood near [the horse] and saw something like a canopy over my head, with what seemed to be lamps in it, rising up to the sky until it disappeared. I went to the Messenger of Allāh on the next day and said, "...I saw something like a canopy with what seemed to be lamps in it rising up to the sky until it disappeared." Upon this, the Messenger of Allāh said, "Those were the angels who listened to you; and if you had continued reciting, the people would have seen them in the morning and they would not have concealed themselves from them."[3220]

More specifically, the following tradition accepted by Ḥanbal, Ḥākim, Ibn Kathīr, and many others shows that the archangels Gabriel and Michael (ع) would accompany ʿAlī (ع) to battle: "The Prophet (ص) would give ʿAlī the banner and he would fight with Gabriel on his right and Michael on his left and would not return until Allāh would grant him victory."[3221] ʿAlī's (ع) miraculous ability to fight in battle was ascribed to the fact that the angels were there to help him in battle, as Gabriel (ع) would be on his right and Michael (ع) on his left. Yet, this descent of angels to help him fight was by no means proof of prophecy. Similarly, the descent of angels to console Fāṭimah (ع) in no way implied her prophecy, a new religion, or the revelation of a new book from Allāh. Yet, the enemies of the Shīʿah twist the facts to create some sort of commotion about this topic. They have to realize that if, according to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar could see the two angels dragging him to hell in a dream,[3222] there is no reason why Fāṭimah (ع) could not see the angels that would take her to paradise. Indeed, the Qurʾān proves that angels could speak to those who are not prophets:

[3214] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.59.739.
[3215] Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:196.
[3216] Faḍā`il Ḥanbal #1112; Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:196.
[3217] Qur`ān 16:68.
[3218] Qur`ān 28:7.
[3219] Refer to chapters 8 and 11.
[3220] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #4.1742. Similarly, Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #6.61.536t.

> There came out messengers (i.e. angels) to Abraham with glad tidings. They said, "Peace!" He answered, "Peace!" and hastened to entertain them with a roasted calf. But when he saw their hands not extending towards it, he felt some mistrust towards them and was concerned about them. They said, "Fear not—we have been sent against the people of Lot." And his wife was standing by and laughed, but we informed her of Isaac and after Isaac Jacob. She said, "Alas for me! Shall I bear a child while I am an old woman and this husband of mine is elderly? That would be an amazing thing!" [The angels] said, "Do you marvel at Allāh's command? May Allāh's mercy and blessings be upon you, O people of the house (Ahl al-Bayt). He is praiseworthy, glorious!"[3223]

These verses are absolutely explicit that angels can be heard by, speak to, and be spoken to by non-prophets, in this case Abraham's (ع) wife. As such, there is no basis for saying that it would have been impossible for the angels to console Fāṭimah (ع). If Abraham's (ع) wife were to record what the angels had told her, it would not be evidence of her prophecy or of a new divine book.

Other Items Carried by the Imāms

According to the Shīʿah, in addition to the Muṣḥaf of Fāṭimah (ع), the imāms of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) also possess unadulterated copies of all the divine books of every prophet, as Allāh would not allow any of these to perish. Moreover, the imāms possess the weapon of the Messenger of Allāh (ص) and a number of other items of special interest. Shīʿah traditions assert that Imām Mahdī (ع) is in possession of all these items and will disclose them upon his return. Some deny these facts as mere Shīʿah exaggerations. However, a number of these facts are well established in Sunnī sources. It was already shown that ʿAlī (ع) was in possession of the Ṣaḥīfah, which gave him an advantage in knowledge over the other companions.[3224] It is also clear that the imāms of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) were in possession of the weapon of the Messenger of Allāh (ص). According to both Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī and Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, this weapon was held by ʿAlī ibn Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī (ع), the fourth Shīʿah imām.[3225] It is therefore unclear how anyone could maintain that the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) were not be in possession of anything the rest of the nation was not in possession of.

[3221] Mustadrak Ḥākim #4802; Musnad Ḥanbal #1719; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:368; Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #36574; Majmaʿ al-Zawāʾid #14798, #14979; Tārīkh Damishq 42:579, 42:581, 42:582; Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:232; Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:155.

[3222] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #2.21.255, #5.57.83, #9.87.155-6.

[3223] Qurʾān 11:69-73.

[3224] Refer to earlier in this chapter as well as to chapter 17.

[3225] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #4.53.342; Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #31.6001.

Moreover, there are a number of traditions stating that the Prophet (ص) had a divine book in Syriac (Siryānī) or Hebrew and asked Zayd ibn Thābit to learn the language so he could read it as well.[3226] Clearly, if the Prophet (ص) had access to such a book, he would not have allowed it to perish. Since none of the other companions claimed to possess this book, it is obvious that he left it with his Ahl al-Bayt (ع). Even the Sunnī scholars have to admit that to be true, as they claim that ʻAlī's (ع) being the inheritor (wārith) of the Prophet (ص) meant that he inherited only knowledge,[3227] which ought to include knowledge of the content of this book. Indeed, Allāh would not let any of his Word perish: "We have surely revealed the Reminder and We will most surely be its guardian."[3228] As such, either every holy book from every prophet of Allāh has to exist in its unadulterated form with the Ahl al-Bayt (ع), or nearly all the books of Allāh have been lost. Yet, the Qurʾān is clear that divine revelation is protected by Allāh.

The Plot to Kill ʻAlī (ع)

There are Shīʻah traditions stating that Abū Bakr and ʻUmar decided that, in order to solidify their grip on power and to eliminate the constant threat they faced from ʻAlī (ع), they must assassinate him. They asked Khālid ibn Walīd to perform this and he agreed. The plan was to kill ʻAlī (ع) immediately after the end of the morning prayer, but Abū Bakr's wife Asmāʾ bint ʻUmays, who was previously the wife of Jaʻfar ibn Abī Ṭālib and who was a devout Shīʻah, became aware of their plot. She sent her servant to ʻAlī's (ع) house, telling her to recite the verse in which the believer of the family of Pharaoh told Moses (ع), "The chiefs are consulting together about you, [plotting] to kill you, so leave, for I am among your well-wishers."[3229] ʻAlī (ع) said, "But if they kill me, who will then fight the breakers of vows, the deviants, and the heretics?"[3230] He then went to the mosque and Khālid ibn Walīd stood next to him bearing his sword. Abū Bakr started the prayers and proceeded to the tashahhud of the second and final rakʻah. However, he was afraid that Khālid ibn Walīd would fail and that ʻAlī (ع) would emerge as an even more powerful figure, or perhaps that the murder of ʻAlī (ع) would leave an indelible mark on his caliphate that would result in its collapse. As his prayer was coming to an end, Abū Bakr stalled after the tashahhud to the point that everyone thought that he had made some error in his prayers, and to the point that the sun was about to rise. Then, before ending his prayers with the taslīm, he said to Khālid ibn Walīd, "O Khālid! Do not do what I ordered you to do!" He then gave the taslīm, thus ending his prayers.[3231] The Shīʻah scholar ʻAllāmah Majlisī said,

> Even though the majority of Sunnīs have tried to hide the decision of Abū Bakr and ʻUmar to kill the Commander of the Faithful (ع), and even though they have not related it explicitly in their books, they have still related the saying of Abū Bakr to Khālid before the taslīm [ending] his prayers. This is a clear corroboration of the truth of the Shīʻah traditions in this regards.[3232]

[3226] Maṣāḥif Ibn Abī Dāwūd #1; Muʻjam al-Kabīr Ṭabarānī 5:155-6 (four traditions); Kanz al-ʻUmmāl #37059-60.

[3227] Mustadrak Ḥākim #4634.

[3228] Qurʾān 15:9.

[3229] Qurʾān 28:20.

[3230] This is a reference to the tradition in which the Prophet (ص) said that ʻAlī (ع) would fight three groups. Refer to chapter 78 for the sources of this mutawātir tradition.

[3231] Refer to Ḥaqq al-Yaqīn 193-194.

[3232] Ḥaqq al-Yaqīn 195.

According to Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, Abū Ḥanīfah used the fact that Abū Bakr spoke to Khālid ibn Walīd prior to his taslīm to "reason that the taslīm [that ends the prayer] is part of human speech and that it is not part of the prayer, its words, or its fundamental parts."[3233] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd said,

> I asked al-Naqīb Abū Ja´far Yaḥyā ibn Abī Zayd..., "Is what is said in regards to Khālid true?" He said, "A group of the descendants of ´Alī have said this." He then said, "It has been related that a man went to Zufar ibn Hudhayl, a companion of Abū Ḥanīfah and asked him about what Abū Ḥanīfah had said in regards to the permissibility of leaving prayer (ṣalāt) by activities such as talking, physical movements, or the nullification of ablution without performing the taslīm. [Zufar] said, 'It is permissible, because Abū Bakr indeed said after his tashahhud what he said.' The man asked, 'What was it that Abū Bakr said?' He said, 'It is not fitting for you [to know].' [The man] repeated the question a second and third time. Zufar then said, Get him out! Get him out!'"[3234]

Majlisī said,

> Faḍl ibn Shādhān[3235] has related this in his book Īḍāḥ from Sufyān ibn ´Uyaynah, Ḥasan ibn Ṣāliḥ ibn Ḥayy, Abū Bakr ibn ´Ayyāsh, Sharīk ibn ´Abd Allāh,[3236] and a group of other Sunnī scholars. He said that Sufyān, Ibn Ḥayy, and Wakī´ were asked, "What do you say in regards to what Abū Bakr did?" They all said, "It was a bad thing but he did not go through with it." Another group of the people of Madīnah said, "It is permissible to kill a man if it is for the benefit of the nation so that they do not splinter. Since ´Alī discouraged people from pledging allegiance to Abū Bakr, [Abū Bakr] ordered him to be killed." Some have not related this from fear of its horror, yet they have related the order of Abū Bakr to Khālid to do "such-and-such" upon his saying the taslīm, his regret before saying the taslīm, and his telling Khālid not to do what he had told him to do. They have turned this act of his into permission to speak before stating the taslīm.[3237]

3233. Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 17:222-3.

3234. Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 13:301-2.

3235. Faḍl ibn Shādhān was an eminent third century A.H. Shī´ah scholar.

3236. Hahabī has listed all four of these Sunnī scholars in Tadhkirah al-Ḥuffāẓ, his work on eminent and trustworthy scholars. Sufyān ibn ´Uyaynah, Ḥasan ibn Ṣāliḥ ibn Ḥayy, Abū Bakr ibn ´Ayyāsh, and Sharīk ibn ´Abd Allāh passed away in 198, 167, 193, and 177 A.H., respectively (Tadhkirah al-Ḥuffāẓ #249, #203, #250, #218, respectively).

3237. Ḥaqq al-Yaqīn 195.

Chapter 51
The Riddah Wars and the Assassination of Sa´d ibn ´Ubādah

After the pledge of allegiance at the Saqīfah, Abū Bakr and his allies were faced with a number of challenges. First, they had to convince the Banū Umayyah who had gathered in the house of ´Uthmān ibn ´Affān and the Banū Zuhrah who had gathered in the houses of ´Abd al-Raḥmān ibn ´Awf and Sa´d ibn Abī Waqqāṣ to join their cause.[3238] They then convinced Abū Sufyān to pledge allegiance to Abū Bakr in return for generous compensation.[3239] With respect to the growing threat centering in Fāṭimah's (ع) house in the Prophet's Mosque, they utilized intimidation and force to obtain the pledge of allegiance of virtually every man there.[3240] ´Alī (ع), though apparently not forced to pledge allegiance in the immediate aftermath of the Saqīfah then became more isolated as those around him were scattered by force, and especially after the death of his wife. The property of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) was confiscated so that they would not have the financial resources to attract supporters, and this act was justified by fabricated traditions.[3241] Yet, Abū Bakr had two remaining challenges. The first was that a number of the tribes of Arabia refused to acknowledge his rule. Abū Bakr lumped these tribes together with those that had left Islām and had both groups of tribes massacred. The second challenge that plagued the caliphate of Abū Bakr and later that of ´Umar was the fact that Sa´d ibn ´Ubādah, the leader of the Khazraj tribe, one of the two tribes of the Anṣār, was unwilling to acknowledge their caliphate under any circumstances despite the inordinate pressures placed on him. He was therefore completely isolated. He eventually adopted exile, and he was then assassinated by Khālid ibn Walīd on the behest of the caliphate.

Battles Against the Tribes Refusing to Submit to Abū Bakr

Towards the end of the lifetime of the Prophet (ص), a number of tribes started following a false prophet named Musaylimah. Abū Bakr used this fact not just to attack and kill Musaylimah, but also to muster forces to crush all the tribes that dissented to his rule. These tribes expressed their disapproval of Abū Bakr and his lack of Islāmic authority over them by withholding their payment of zakāt from him. Abū Bakr declared these tribes as infidels and ordered that they be slaughtered as apostates. There was much unease about this decision among the companions. As related in a widely narrated account that appears in Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī and Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim and that has also been related by Abū Dāwūd, Nasā`ī, Ḥanbal, and Bayhaqī,

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[3238] Refer to chapter 40.
[3239] Refer to chapter 48.
[3240] Refer to chapter 48.
[3241] Refer to chapter 49.

> When Allāh's Apostle died and Abū Bakr became the caliph, some Arabs renegaded [and Abū Bakr decided to declare war against them]. ʿUmar said to Abū Bakr, "How can you fight with these people even though Allāh's Apostle said, 'I have been ordered [by Allāh] to fight the people until they say, 'None has the right to be worshipped but Allāh,' and whoever says it then he will save his life and property from me except by trespassing the law [in which case he would be punished justly], and his accounts will be with Allāh'?" Abū Bakr said, "By Allāh! I will fight those who differentiate between the prayer and the zakāt, as zakāt is the compulsory right to be taken from the property. By Allāh! If they refuse to pay me even a she-kid (ʿiqāl) which they used to pay at the time of Allāh's Apostle, I would fight with them for withholding it." Then ʿUmar said, "By Allāh, it was not but Allāh who opened Abū Bakr's chest towards the decision [to fight], and I came to know that his decision was right."[3242]

This tradition shows that many of those who were killed in the Riddah wars were not infidels as such, but rather those who merely withheld their zakāt from Abū Bakr. It also shows that even ʿUmar knew that Abū Bakr's decision to kill people for withholding their zakāt from him was against the laws the Prophet (ص) had set down. Yet, he either realized that Abū Bakr was onto a clever political plan or he realized that if disputed the king he may no longer remain the heir to his throne, so he agreed. Yet, as soon as he took power, ʿUmar returned the captured property and released the prisoners and captives,[3243] thus proving that he knew that what Abū Bakr did was unjustifiable and wrong.

The law of Islām is made clear in this tradition. If someone states belief in Allāh and the prophecy of Muḥammad (ص), his blood is protected, even if he is not observant of legal matters such as prayer, fasting, zakāt, khums, etc. If they are not observant, their account will be with Allāh. Moreover, zakāt does not have to be paid to the caliph, but can be spent personally on appropriate charitable purposes, which makes one wonder if the property in question was truly zakāt or perhaps some other form of charity, such as khums, which would have to be handed over to the Prophet (ص) and his Ahl al-Bayt (ع) but that was forbidden to Abū Bakr. In any case, Allāh's laws did not suit Abū Bakr, so he instead ordered the massacre of Muslims whose blood was sanctified.

Furthermore, according to many of these traditions, Abū Bakr's exact phrase was, "If they withhold an *ʿiqāl* which they used to pay at the time of the Messenger of Allāh, I will fight them."[3244] Although "ʿiqāl" has often been translated into English as a "hobbling-cord,"[3245] or in the Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī tradition as a "tying rope,"[3246] according to Balādhurī, "An ʿiqāl is voluntary (sunnah) charity."[3247] Needless to say, there is no Islāmic justification in killing someone who decides no longer to give voluntary charity that he used to give. However, from Abū Bakr's perspective, their withholding of even voluntary charity was a sign of their denunciation of his rule.

3242. Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #2.23.483, #2.24.536, #9.84.59, #9.92.388; Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #1.29; Sunan Abū Dāwūd #1556; Sunan Nasāʾī #2443, #3091-2, #3970, #3973; Sunan al-Kubrā Nasāʾī #2223, #3432, #3435, #4299, #4300; Musnad Ḥanbal #117; Sunan al-Kubrā Bayhaqī #7116-7, #7169, #12894, #16507, #18407.

3243. Milal wa Niḥal 20.

3244. Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #9.92.388 (Arabic original #6855); Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #1.29 (Arabic original #20); Sunan Abū Dāwūd #1556; Sunan Nasāʾī #2443, #3970; Sunan al-Kubrā Nasāʾī #2223, #3432; Sunan al-Kubrā Bayhaqī #7117, #16507, #18407.

3245. Milal wa Niḥal 20. Similarly, Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #1.29 translated it as a "cord used for hobbling the feet of a camel."

3246. Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #9.92.388.

3247. Futūḥ al-Buldān 113 #277.

Khālid ibn Walīd Killed Mālik ibn Nuwayrah, Slaughtered His Tribe, and Raped His Wife

Under the pretext of fighting those who were withholding the zakāt, Abū Bakr sent Khālid ibn Walīd to Buṭāḥ in Najd to fight Mālik ibn Nuwayrah and his tribe even though they were Muslim. When Khālid met them, he convinced them to lay down their arms because they were all Muslims and would therefore have no reason to fight one another. After they completed their prayers, Khālid proceeded to kill Mālik ibn Nuwayrah and his men and then raped his wife, for who he lusted, that same night. According to Ṭabarī,

> Among those who testified that Mālik [ibn Nuwayrah] [had embraced] Islām was Abū Qatādah Ḥārith ibn Rib'ī, a brother of the Banū Salimah. He made a vow to Allāh that he would never witness a war with Khālid ibn Walīd after that. He used to relate that when they came upon the group, they watched them under cover of night [and therefore] the group took up arms. Then we said, "We are Muslims," whereupon they said, "We too are Muslims." We said, "Then what is the meaning of your weapons?" They said, "And what is the meaning of your weapons?" whereupon we said, "If you are as you say (i.e. Muslim), then put your weapons down." So they put them down; then we prayed and they prayed. Khālid used to excuse himself for killing [Mālik on the grounds] that [Mālik] had said, when [Khālid] was interrogating him, "I think your companion (i.e. Abū Bakr) was only saying such and such." [Khālid] said, "And why didn't you reckon him a companion of yours?" Then he made him come forward and struck off his head and those of his companions.
>
> Then, when 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb learned of their murder, he spoke of it with Abū Bakr repeatedly, saying, "The enemy of Allāh transgressed against a Muslim man, killing him and then leaping upon his wife." Khālid ibn Walīd approached [Madīnah] in his return until he entered the mosque, wearing a robe of his on which was iron rust, and with his head wrapped in a turban of his in which arrows had become planted. So when he entered the mosque, 'Umar went to him and pulled the arrows from his head and smashed them. Then he said, "What hypocrisy, to kill a Muslim man and then leap upon his wife! By Allāh I would pelt you with stones [as your punishment for adultery]." Khālid ibn Walīd did not speak to him, and thought that Abū Bakr would only have the same opinion about him as 'Umar, until he entered upon Abū Bakr. When he entered upon him, he told him the story and Abū Bakr pardoned him and forgave him without punishment for whatever had happened in his recent campaign. So Khālid went out when Abū Bakr favored him.[3248]

Similar accounts appear in Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr[3249] and Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd.[3250] Mālik knew that the reason for his death was Khālid's lust for his wife. According to Ibn Ḥajar,

> The name of Mālik's wife was Umm Tamīm bint Minhāl. Khālid saw Mālik's wife who was exquisitely beautiful. Afterwards, Mālik told his wife, "You have killed me!"[3251]

[3248] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 10:103-4. Note that the past continuous in the translation was changed to the past tense as it reads better in English.

[3249] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 6:354-5.

[3250] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 1:179, 17:202-214.

[3251] Iṣābah 3:1761 #7698 (Mālik ibn Nuwayrah).

Khālid's massacre of a Muslim tribe and rape of a Muslim woman and Abū Bakr's willingness to forgive him were so appalling that even ʿUmar could not keep his quiet. Since Mālik's wife was a Muslim woman whose husband had died, she would have had to maintain a waiting period (ʿiddah) before she could have intercourse with another man. Traditions in Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim and Sunan Nasāʾī explicitly state that when married women were captured in battle, they were "permissible [only] after their ʿiddah (waiting period) had passed."[3252] Therefore, Khālid ibn Walīd ought to have been punished both for murder and for committing adultery. Abū Bakr should have decided whether to stone him before decapitating him, to decapitate him before stoning him, or to use one form of execution to punish both crimes, unless Mālik's heirs would agree to the payment of blood money, in which case Khālid would only have to be stoned. Instead, he forgave Khālid ibn Walīd. The Qurʾān condemns those who do not rule in accordance with Allāh's commands in the following three verses: (1) "Whoever does not command based on what Allāh has revealed is a disbeliever (kāfir),"[3253] (2)"Whoever does not command based on what Allāh has revealed is an oppressor (ẓālim),"[3254] and (3) "Whoever does not command based on what Allāh has revealed is wicked (fāsiq)."[3255] Khālid ibn Walīd continued to lead a glorious existence in Abū Bakr's caliphate after committing this crime. When ʿUmar took power, he also used Khālid ibn Walīd to advance his sinister aims, which included the assassination of Saʿd ibn ʿUbādah.

The Destiny of Saʿd ibn ʿUbādah

Saʿd Ibn ʿUbādah was the leader of the Khazraj. As we saw earlier, some of the Anṣār had gathered in the Saqīfah to pledge allegiance to him when Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, and Abū ʿUbaydah arrived and selected Abū Bakr as caliph.[3256] Saʿd's son Qays was upset by the fact that Saʿd had disregarded the words of the Prophet (ص) in seeking power for himself when the imāmate had been designated as the right of ʿAlī (ع). As such, Qays ibn Saʿd, who remained among the loyal Shīʿah of ʿAlī and Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī (ع), told him, "You heard the Messenger of Allāh (ص) say such and such about ʿAlī ibn ʿAlī Ṭālib's [right to the imāmate], but you still sought the caliphate, and your companions were saying [to the Muhājirīn], 'Let there be a ruler from amongst us and one from amongst you.' I will not talk to you at all, by Allāh, after what you said!"[3257]

Saʿd ibn ʿUbādah never agreed to pledge allegiance to Abū Bakr and instead left to Syria.[3258] Ibn Ḥajar said, "The story of his refusal to pledge allegiance to Abū Bakr is famous, and he left for Syria and died in Ḥawrān."[3259] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd said,

> [Saʿd] refused to pledge allegiance on the day [of the Saqīfah] and afterwards. ʿUmar intended to force him to do so but was advised not to do so because he would not pledge allegiance until he was killed, and he would not be killed until

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[3252] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #8.3432 (Arabic original #1456, three chains of transmission); Sunan Nasāʾī #3333. Note that the Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim English translation includes this statement only parenthetically, even though it is explicitly present in the original Arabic text. As such, this phrase has been translated directly from the Arabic. Indeed, the title of chapter 29 of book 8 of Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim is, "It is permissible to have sexual intercourse with a captive woman after she is purged," which means after completion of her ʿiddah.

[3253] Qurʾān 5:44.

[3254] Qurʾān 5:45.

[3255] Qurʾān 5:47.

[3256] Refer to chapter 40.

[3257] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 6:44.

[3258] Murūj al-Dhahab 2:307-308.

[3259] Iṣābah 1:708 #3174 (Saʿd ibn ʿUbādah).

> his entire family was killed, and his family would not be killed until the Khazraj was killed, and if [the Muhājirīn] were to fight the Khazraj, the Aws would be on the side [of the Khazraj].[3260]

Thus, Sa´d could not be killed lest civil war would break out in Madīnah between the Muhājirīn and Anṣār, and the chances were great that Abū Bakr and ´Umar would lose the battle and that ´Alī (ع) would emerge as the rightful caliph. Therefore, they tolerated him but had him completely isolated in a manner similar to that in which they tolerated but isolated ´Alī (ع). According to Ṭabarī,

> [Sa´d] was left [alone] for several days [after the Saqīfah], then he was sent to [and told] that he should come to render the oath of allegiance, for the people [generally] had done so and his tribe as well. But he said, "By Allāh, I shall not do it before I have shot at you with whatever arrows are in my quiver, and have reddened the head of my spear, and struck you with my sword, as long as my hand controls it. I will fight you with my family and those who obey me of my tribe. I swear by Allāh, [even] if the jinn gathered to you with the people, I would not render the oath of allegiance to you until I am brought forth before Allāh and know what my reckoning is.
>
> When Abū Bakr was informed of this, ´Umar said to him, "Pester him until he renders the oath of allegiance." But Bashīr ibn Sa´d said, "He has refused; he has made up his mind, and wouldn't render the oath of allegiance to you even if he were killed; and he would not be killed without his children and family and a party of his kinsmen being killed with him. So leave him alone; leaving him won't harm you, [for] he is only one man." So they left him alone. They came to accept the advice of Bashīr ibn Sa´d, consulting him whenever it seemed right to them to do so.
>
> Sa´d used not to pray in their [daily] prayer or congregate with them [for Friday prayer]; he performed the pilgrimage [to Mecca] but did not press on with them in the multitudes. He continued thus until Abū Bakr died.[3261]

Indeed, upon ´Umar's ascension to the caliphate, Sa´d chose exile in Syria to living in his native Madīnah. According to Balādhurī, "Sa´d ibn ´Ubādah left to Syria and was killed there."[3262] When Sa´d left, the caliphate was concerned that he could unite the other Arab tribes with the Anṣār and oppose them, so it was decided that he had to be eliminated. According to Ibn ´Abd Rabbih and Balādhurī,

> As for Sa´d ibn ´Ubādah, he left for Syria. ´Umar sent a man to Syria and told him, "Call him to pledge allegiance and coerce him in any way possible. If he does not agree, ask Allāh for help against him." The man went to Syria and met [Sa´d] in an enclosure in Ḥawrān. He called him to pledge allegiance. He said, "I will never pledge allegiance to a man from the Quraysh!" [The man sent by ´Umar] said, "So I will kill you!" He said, "Even if you kill me!" [The man] said, "Are you staying out of what the nation has entered (i.e. submission to the rule of the caliph)?" Sa´d replied, "In regards to the pledge of allegiance, I am out." [The man sent by ´Umar] cast an arrow at him and killed him.[3263]

3260. Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 6:10.
3261. Tārīkh Ṭabarī 10:9-10.
3262. Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:254.
3263. ´Iqd al-Farīd 4:249; Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:254.

Ibn Sīrīn said, "Sa´d ibn ´Ubādah was struck by an arrow, which pierced through his body. He thus died. The jinn recited [the poem]: 'We killed the chief of Khazraj, Sa´d ibn ´Ubādah / We cast at him two arrows that did not miss his heart.'"[3264] It is said that he was killed while squatting to urinate,[3265] or while taking a bath.[3266] Muḥibb Ṭabarī said, "It is said that the jinn killed him and his story is famous among the historians."[3267] In fact, some have claimed that, "It was said that the jinn killed him because he urinated while standing in the desert at night."[3268] It is, however, highly doubtful that the companions of the Prophet (ص) were so gullible and dim-witted as to actually believe that the jinn killed Sa´d ibn ´Ubādah.

Most sources state that Sa´d was assassinated during the caliphate of ´Umar, and Ibn Ḥajar said that he died in the year 15 or 16 A.H.[3269] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, however, apparently took the position that Khālid ibn Walīd killed Sa´d ibn ´Ubādah during Abū Bakr's caliphate, thereby implying that consensus was obtained in favor of Abū Bakr's caliphate during his lifetime, not afterwards, as is generally accepted by the Sunnīs. He said in defense of Abū Bakr,

> I don't believe that the jinn killed Sa´d or that this poem is the work of the jinn. Rather, I have no doubt that humans killed him and that this poem is a poem of man. But it is not proven to me that Abū Bakr ordered Khālid [to kill Sa´d] or that Abū Bakr was content with this act [of his]. Therefore, the sin is upon Khālid and Abū Bakr is free of this sin.[3270]

However, these typical excuses are weak for several reasons: (1) They prove that there was no consensus regarding the caliphates of Abū Bakr and ´Umar. Consensus cannot be obtained by force or murder, because the threat of persecution creates a situation in which the true beliefs of people cannot be known. (2) If Khālid murdered Sa´d, the caliph should have punished him for it, as even Sunnīs agree that the caliph's job is to maintain the rule of law. If the caliphs could not punish murderers or at least properly investigate murders, they were not qualified to be caliph. (3) It is clear that the caliph was either stupid enough to believe the jinn killed Sa´d or deceitful enough to pass that story on. (4) It is apparent that Khālid, though admired by the Salafīs as a companion of the Prophet (ص), murdered a believer; according to the Qur`ān, the recompose of those who deliberately kill a believer will be the fire.[3271] (5) Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd tried to get Abū Bakr off the hook on a technicality, because it might be true that Abū Bakr did not order Khālid to kill Sa´d, but rather that ´Umar did so. In that case, ´Umar was responsible for ordering the death of a believer. Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd also claimed that Sa´d was rightfully "killed for abandoning obedience to the imām."[3272] If that was true, then there was no reason for the caliph to hide the fact that he had ordered Khālid to kill him and there was no need to attribute his murder to the jinn. If it is claimed that they lied for the benefit of the nation and to prevent the Khazraj from opposing them, then the entirety of the Shī´ah beliefs about Abū Bakr and ´Umar are proved—that they lied incessantly to keep a hold on power, just like most ordinary monarchs do. Furthermore, if one deserves to be killed for abandoning the obeisance of the caliph, then it would follow that ʻĀʼishah, Ṭalḥah, Zubayr, and Muʻāwīyah deserved to be killed for abandoning the obeisance of ʻAlī (ع).

[3264] ´Iqd al-Farīd 4:249; Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:254; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 10:111, 17:223.

[3265] Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:254.

[3266] ´Iqd al-Farīd 4:249.

[3267] Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 1:241.

[3268] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 10:111.

[3269] Iṣābah 1:708 #3174 (Sa´d ibn ´Ubādah).

[3270] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 17:223-4.

[3271] Qur`ān 4:93.

[3272] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 10:111.

The fate of Saʻd should be contrasted with that of Bilāl, who also refused to pledge allegiance to the illegitimate rulers, and who similarly fled to Syria.[3273] In contrast, Bilāl was not persecuted or assassinated after his self-imposed exile. The reason why Bilāl was allowed to lead a life of seclusion in Syria while Saʻd ibn ʻUbādah had to be killed was simple. Bilāl was a freed Ethiopian slave who could not create much political trouble. Saʻd ibn ʻUbādah, on the other hand, was a tribal leader who could easily unite other tribes against the caliph and thus posed an existential threat to their rule.

3273. Refer to chapter 48.

Chapter 52
The Qualities and Knowledge of Abū Bakr

After discussing the coming into power of Abū Bakr and his injustices against the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) and others in the process of solidifying his grip on power, it is appropriate to examine his knowledge and qualifications for the position of leadership he adopted.

Abū Bakr's Belief According to the Qur`ān

We have already discussed the emigration of the Messenger of Allāh (ص) from Mecca to Madīnah and the fact that the following verse of the Qur`ān was revealed regarding that event:

> When the disbelievers made him (the Prophet) leave, he was the second of the two when the two were in the cave. When he was saying to his companion, "Do not worry, Allāh is with us," Allāh sent His serenity upon him and helped him with troops that cannot be seen.[3274]

The key conclusion that is readily drawn from this verse is that Abū Bakr lacked faith. For this discussion, refer to chapter 6.

The Personality of Abū Bakr

Abū Bakr is typically portrayed as having been a kind and gentle leader, which is perhaps true in contrast to ʹUmar's harsh and demeaning style. Yet, the following tradition in Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, which has been cited earlier,[3275] shows that Abū Bakr also had an unappealing personality:

> [Zaynab] raised her voice and abused ʹĀ`ishah to her face... ʹĀ`ishah started replying to Zaynab till she silenced her. The Prophet then looked at ʹĀ`ishah and said, "She is really the daughter of Abū Bakr!"[3276]

The Knowledge of the Caliph

As the one in charge of implementing Islāmic law and as the one taking on many of the public roles of the Prophet (ص), the caliph must be knowledgeable in regards to the Qur`ān and the Sunnah. As such, it is important to analyze the knowledge of Abū Bakr and others who came to power to see if their knowledge was befitting of their position. Our discussion here is very brief; those interested in further inquiry into Abū Bakr's status and the falsity of the extreme claims that have made in regards to him should refer to al-

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[3274] Qur`ān 9:40.

[3275] Refer to chapter 28.

[3276] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #3.47.755.

Ghadīr.[3277] Sunnīs claim that knowledge is not necessary in a caliph as long as they seek knowledge from those who know. However, when one examines Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, and ʿUthmān, one finds several consistent features: (1) they lacked knowledge; (2) they were often unaware of their own ignorance; (3) they often did not seek knowledge when they lacked it; (4) they often acted based on ignorance; (5) they often ignored the advice of those telling them to do what was right; (6) even when they had knowledge of what was right, they often did what was wrong; and (7) they would invent prophetic traditions to justify their wrong acts.

Abū Bakr's Knowledge of the Qur`ān: The Word "Abb"

There is nothing of substance related from Abū Bakr regarding the science of Qur`ānic commentary. Indeed, only the ignorance of Abū Bakr has been related in this regards. For example, Abū Bakr and ʿUmar did not know the meaning of "abb" in the verses, "Then we split the earth open and caused grain to sprout from it, and grapes and fodder, olive trees, date palms, and dense woodlots, and fruit and herbage (abb), as sustenance for you and your livestock."[3278] Zamakhsharī, Ibn Kathīr, Qurṭubī, and many others have related,

> Abū Bakr was asked about [the word] "abb". He said, "What sky would cast a shade over me and what earth would carry me if I were to say in regards to the Book of Allāh that which I have no knowledge of."[3279]

According to numerous Sunnī sources, ʿUmar was equally clueless about the meaning of the word abb:

> ʿUmar recited [these verses] and then said, "We have recognized everything here, but what is 'abb'?" He then raised (in some accounts, tossed[3280]) his cane and said, "This, by Allāh, is a burden [you are not required to carry]. It is not for you to know the meaning of the word abb. You should just follow the guidance that is clear to you from the Book and act upon that. Whatever you do not understand, leave it to its Lord."[3281]

According to traditions certified as authentic by Ḥākim, when Ibn ʿAbbās said, "Abb is what grows from the earth that animals eat but that humans do not," ʿUmar said to his companions, "You were unable to say what this boy said!" He then told Ibn ʿAbbās, "I have banned you from speaking, but when I invite you among them you may speak."[3282]

This shows that Ibn ʿAbbās, who had expertise in Qur`ānic commentary, was banned from speaking about the Qur`ān during ʿUmar's reign until he was granted specific permission to do so, but only in ʿUmar's presence so that he could be closely monitored and censored, and so that he could be appropriately censured for any interpretations that were not to the liking of the caliph. ʿUmar was so strict in enforcing his ban on Qurʾānic commentary, that when he saw people discussing the meaning of the word abb, he went at them wielding his hand-whip.[3283] Some Sunnī scholars have used the attitude of Abū Bakr and ʿUmar with respect to this verse as proof that one should be happy with whatever one understands of the Qurʾān and not seek a deeper meaning. Yet amazingly, it was ʿUmar who said, "Suffices us the Book of Allāh," when he wanted to prevent pen and paper from being brought to the Prophet (ص) so he could write a will.[3284] Later, this same man showed not only that he did not know the meaning of the Book of Allāh, but also that did he not even allow any clarification of the surface meanings of its words. The lack of knowledge of the meaning of the word abb is a sign of Abū Bakr and ʿUmar's ignorance of the Book of Allāh, and ʿUmar's strict prevention of Qurʾānic interpretation shows his fear of the meaning of the Qurʾān. What is even more shocking is that the word abb is clearly defined in the Qurʾān itself: "fruit and abb, as sustenance for you and your livestock." Clearly fruit is what humans eat, while abb (herbage) is what livestock eat.

[3277] For a more detailed analysis of Abū Bakr's qualities and level of Islāmic knowledge, refer to al-Ghadīr 7:73-312.

[3278] Qur`ān 80:26-32.

[3279] Tafsīr Zamakhsharī, Tafsīr Ibn Kathīr, Tafsīr Qurṭubī, Tafsīr Khāzin, and Tafsīr Abū al-Saʿūd, verse 80:31. Fatḥ al-Bārī #3026, #6863; Tārīkh al-Khulafā` 86-87 (two traditions).

[3280] Fatḥ al-Bārī #6863; Mustadrak Ḥākim #3897 (certifies the tradition as authentic by the criteria of Bukhārī and Muslim).

[3281] Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, verse 80:31. Numerous similar accounts appear in Fatḥ al-Bārī #6863 (several traditions); Mustadrak Ḥākim #3145, #3897 (certifies both traditions as authentic by the criteria of Bukhārī and Muslim); Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #4154; Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 2:379; Tārīkh Baghdād #6349 (ʿAlī ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn Jaʿfar); Tafsīr Ṭabarī, Tafsīr Qurṭubī, Tafsīr Zamakhsharī, Tafsīr Thaʿlabī, Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, and Tafsīr Abū al-Saʿūd, verse 80:31.

[3282] Mustadrak Ḥākim #1597 (certifies the tradition as authentic by the criteria of Muslim); Mustadrak Ḥākim #6297 (certifies the tradition as authentic).

Abū Bakr's Knowledge of the Qurʾān: The Word "Kalālah"

The Qurʾān says,

> If the man or woman whose inheritance is in question is kalālah, but has left a brother or a sister, then each one of the two would get a sixth; but if more than two, they share in a third after payments of legacies and debts so that no loss is incurred. This is ordained by Allāh, and Allāh is all-knowing, most forbearing.[3285]

The Qurʾān also says,

> They ask you a legal decision. Say, "Allāh commands about those who are kalālah. If it is a man who dies, leaving a sister but no child, she shall have half the inheritance. If she is a woman who left no child, her brother would take her inheritance. If there are two sisters, they shall have two-thirds of the inheritance. If they are brothers and sisters, the male shall have twice the share of the female." Thus does Allāh make clear to you lest you err.[3286]

These verses of the Qurʾān expound the laws of inheritance of kalālah, who are those who die leaving behind no descendants or ascendants to inherit from them.[3287] However, when Abū Bakr was questioned about the inheritance of such individuals, he had no knowledge of these verses and resorted to his personal opinion. According to numerous Sunnī sources,

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[3283] Fatḥ al-Bārī #6863; Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, verse 80:31.

[3284] Refer to chapter 38.

[3285] Qurʾān 4:12.

[3286] Qurʾān 4:176.

[3287] Mufradāt al-Qurʾān 437 (k-l, kalālah).

> When Abū Bakr was asked about the inheritance of kalālah, he said, "I will speak in regards to it based on my own opinion (ra`y). If it is correct, it is from Allāh, and if it is an error, it is from me and from Satan."[3288]

ʿUmar, similarly, did not understand the inheritance of kalālah. Even on his deathbed he said, "I will not say a word in regards too kalālah."[3289] Verses such as these are among the simplest and most solid (muḥkam) and easily understood of the verses of the Qur`ān. If Abū Bakr and ʿUmar did not even understand these, they clearly had a very small share of Qur`ānic knowledge.

Indeed, Abū Bakr's entire contribution to Qur`ānic commentary has been compiled by Suyūṭī.[3290] It comprises a total of six traditions, in three of which he expressed utter bewilderment and lack of knowledge, specifically in regards to abb and kalālah, while in the other three he said absolutely nothing of substance or insight. This is the man who Suyūṭī claimed to have been the most knowledgeable of the companions![3291]

Abū Bakr's Knowledge of Prophetic Traditions

In his Musnad, Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal classified traditions according to the companions they originated from. He found only eighty-one that came from Abū Bakr.[3292] Around twenty of these are repetitive, so the total number of traditions from Abū Bakr that he accepted was around sixty. This is sixty out of nearly thirty thousand traditions in his Musnad. This is an indication of Abū Bakr's miniscule knowledge of Islāmic jurisprudence and Qur`ānic commentary, especially when one considers the fact that he was the caliph for over two years and was therefore in a position to transmit prophetic traditions from the pulpit and in a variety of other public and private gatherings.

Suyūṭī said that there are a total of one hundred and forty-two traditions related from Abū Bakr, which, after removal of repetitive ones, become one hundred and four.[3293] This should be compared to the over five thousand traditions that have been related from Abū Hurayrah, who was a companion of the Prophet (ص) for only four years,[3294] as opposed to the twenty or so years Abū Bakr was a companion. Even out of the few traditions that have been related from Abū Bakr, a good number of them were invented either by himself or later scholars who invented the traditions and ascribed them to him. Some have to do with his taking away Fāṭimah's (ع) inheritance and other property rights, his appointment of ʿUmar as caliph, and his glorification of ʿUmar. For a fair number of these traditions, he was the only one who claimed to have heard them from the Prophet (ص), making his claims, which invariably served him a particular purpose, rather suspicious. In fact, among the hundred or so traditions that have been related from him, the Shīʿah have found an immense amount of incriminating information regarding Abū Bakr himself. The following are just a few examples of traditions related from Abū Bakr that are clearly lies:

[3288] Sunan Dāramī #2972; Sunan al-Kubrā Bayhaqī #12043; Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #30691; Tārīkh al-Khulafā` 87; Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, verse 4:176; Tafsīr Zamakhsharī, Tafsīr Khāzin, and Tafsīr Nīsābūrī, verse 4:12. Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd (17:201-2) has related this as well, but he has omitted the phrase, "and from Satan."

[3289] Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #14248.

[3290] Tārīkh al-Khulafā` 86-7.

[3291] Tārīkh al-Khulafā` 42.

[3292] Musnad Ḥanbal #1-81.

[3293] Tārīkh al-Khulafā` 79. A list of the 104 traditions is presented by Suyūṭī in Tārīkh al-Khulafā` 80-86.

[3294] Refer to chapter 77.

1. According to Abū Bakr, the Prophet (ص) said, "Had I not been chosen [as prophet] from among you, ʿUmar would have been chosen."[3295] This tradition contradicts common sense. All prophets are individuals pure from sin who never worshipped anything other than Allāh. The Qur`ān says, "And we did send messengers before you from amongst the Shīʿah of the men of old,"[3296] showing that the prophets are only selected from among the devout followers of previous prophets. How could ʿUmar, who spent decades worshipping idols of stone and wood, be chosen as a prophet to guide of all humanity? Also, since previous generations were promised a prophet named Aḥmad (ص), it would make no sense for Allāh to then choose a man named ʿUmar instead.

2. According to Abū Bakr, the Prophet (ص) said, "The sun does not shine upon any man better than ʿUmar."[3297] Again, this indicates that ʿUmar was equal to or even better than the Prophet (ص). There is no reason to believe this. In fact, there were many companions better than ʿUmar. Even Sunnīs consider Abū Bakr to have been better than him.

3. According to Abū Bakr, the Prophet (ص) said, "The heat of hell for my nation is only like a warm bath."[3298] This tradition contradicts all the verses of the Qur`ān that mention the extreme heat of the fire.

4. According to Abū Bakr, the Messenger of Allāh (ص) said, "We [prophets] do not have any heirs; what we leave behind is charity."[3299] This tradition, which has only been related by Abū Bakr, is a lie that contradicts the Qur`ān as well as the words of the Prophet's (ص) daughter, wives, and the executor of his will (waṣī).[3300]

Abū Bakr's Method for Judging

Given his limited knowledge of the Qur`ān and Sunnah, when Abū Bakr was faced with a decision regarding any religious matter, he would seek an answer based on his knowledge of the Qur`ān. When he found none, he would try to find something from his memory of the Sunnah of the Prophet (ص). Sometimes he would ask around to see if anyone had heard anything from the Prophet (ص) on the subject. When he was still empty-handed, he would just make a new rule and would say, "I will speak in regards to it based on my own opinion (ra`y). If it is correct, it is from Allāh, and if it is an error, it is from me and from Satan."[3301] This is what the Sunnīs call ijtihād, an act claimed to be so holy that the mujtahid deserves one reward if he errs and two rewards if he is correct. Yet, this process is simply coming up with laws out of thin air, not true ijtihād, which is a struggle o find out the rulings of Allāh and the Prophet (ص).[3302] If there was a reward for acting based on one's own opinion, then every evil despot would be amply rewarded. Sunnīs have defended Abū Bakr by saying, "It is not mandatory for an imām to know all the rules... And as far as exerting his own opinion (ra`y) goes, this is mandatory in cases where there is no specific law regarding it."[3303] However, the lack of knowledge of a specific law and its non-existence are two separate issues. An unknowledgeable caliph will imagine that laws don't exist and make up his own laws instead, even though such laws do in fact exist, as the Qur`ān claims over and over again that it contains all knowledge, as Allāh has "omitted nothing from the Book,"[3304] as it is "the book explaining all things,"[3305] and as it is "a detailed exposition of all things."[3306] Of course, this knowledge is not available to all, as only the Ahl al-Bayt is truly and inseparably in contact with it.[3307]

[3295] Tārīkh al-Khulafā` 85 (tradition #86 from Abū Bakr).

[3296] Qur`ān 15:10.

[3297] Tārīkh al-Khulafā` 82 (tradition #36 from Abū Bakr).

[3298] Tārīkh al-Khulafā` 85 (tradition #77 from Abū Bakr).

[3299] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.59.546; Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #19.4352.

[3300] Refer to chapter 49.

[3301] Sunan Dāramī #2972; Sunan al-Kubrā Bayhaqī #12043; Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #30691; Tārīkh al-Khulafā` 87; Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, verse 4:176; Tafsīr Zamakhsharī, Tafsīr Khāzin, and Tafsīr Nīsābūrī, verse 4:12.

[3302] Refer to chapter 54 for a discussion on ijtihād.

Abū Bakr's lack of qualification to lead the Muslim nation is evident in his lack of knowledge. Since he did not have sufficient knowledge, it was incumbent upon him to follow one with knowledge. Such an individual would then be the one whom Abū Bakr must follow and would therefore be Abū Bakr's imām. Indeed, it would be illegitimate to force such an imām to follow the verdicts arising from Abū Bakr's ignorance.

Abū Bakr's Knowledge of the Laws of Inheritance

Abū Bakr had no knowledge of the laws pertaining to the inheritance of grandparents. According to Mālik ibn Anas,

> A grandmother came to Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq and asked him for her inheritance. Abū Bakr said to her, "You have nothing in the Book of Allāh, and I do not know that you have anything in the Sunnah of the Messenger of Allāh. Go away therefore until I have questioned the people [to see if they know anything]." He questioned the people, and Mughīrah ibn Shu´bah said, "I was present with the Messenger of Allāh when he gave the grandmother a sixth." Abū Bakr said, "Was there anybody else with you?" Muḥammad ibn Maslamah al-Anṣārī stood up and said the like of what Mughīrah had said. Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq gave it to her. Then the other grandmother came to ´Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb and asked him for her inheritance. He said to her, "You have nothing in the Book of Allāh, and what has been decided is only for other than you, and I am not the one to add to the fixed shares, other than that sixth. If there are two of you together, it is between you. If either of you is left alone with it, it is hers."[3308]

Similarly, Mālik had related,

> Two grandmothers came to Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq, and he wanted to give the sixth to the one who was from the mother's side [and none to the one on the father's side]. A man of the Anṣār said, "What?! Are you omitting the one from whom he would inherit if she died while he was alive?" [So] Abū Bakr divided the sixth between [the two of] them.[3309]

It is thus clear that he had little knowledge of the laws of inheritance, which are clearly spelled out in the Qur`ān and Sunnah. According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, Abū Bakr "regarded a grandfather as the father himself [in inheritance]."[3310] The absurdity of this judgment is so clear it requires little discussion. Abū Bakr obviously did not come up with his own opinions only when there was nothing in the Qur`ān and Sunnah on a matter, but rather would substitute his own opinion for the clearest and best-established laws of Islām.

[3303] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 17:202.
[3304] Qur`ān 6:38.
[3305] Qur`ān 16:89.
[3306] Qur`ān 12:111.
[3307] Refer to chapters 14 and 15.
[3308] Muwaṭṭa` Mālik #27.8.4.
[3309] Muwaṭṭa` Mālik #27.8.5.

Abū Bakr Did Not Know How to Punish a Thief

According to Bayhaqī, a thief who had already lost one hand and one foot to his previous punishments for theft was brought to Abū Bakr for punishment for committing theft a third time. Abū Bakr decided to cut off his remaining foot so that he could use his remaining hand for cleaning himself. 'Umar told him, "The Sunnah is [to cut off the other] hand [in this situation]," so Abū Bakr cut off his remaining hand.[3311] Abū Bakr clearly did not even know simple laws of punishment that a caliph would need to know on a day-to-day basis.

Abū Bakr Ordered Fujā`ah al-Sulamī to be Burned to Death

Fujā`ah al-Sulamī was a man who asked Abū Bakr for weapons to fight the tribes who had rebelled against him. According to Ṭabarī, "Abū Bakr mounted him upon camels and gave him weapons, whereupon he went forth indiscriminately against the people, Muslim and apostate [alike], taking their property and striking whoever of them tried to resist."[3312] When the Muslims approached him, he claimed to be a commander of Abū Bakr and completely submissive to his command. They arrested him and took him to Madīnah, whereby Abū Bakr had him cast into the fire alive so that he would burn to death.[3313] The problem here was that this punishment was an innovation for the crime that had been committed, as the punishment for the crime of Fujā`ah is clearly stated in the Qur`ān:

> The punishment of those who wage war against Allāh and His Messenger and who strive for mischief through the land is execution, crucifixion, the cutting off of hands and feet from opposite sides, or exile from the land. This is their disgrace in this world, and a heavy punishment will be theirs in the hereafter.[3314]

Therefore, Abū Bakr violated the limits clearly spelled out in the Book of Allāh. Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd defended Abū Bakr's act by saying, "It is permissible for the imām to choose a punishment based on analogy."[3315] By that token, any form of cruel and unusual punishment could be justified by analogy. In any case, why withhold the punishments prescribed by Allāh and have Abū Bakr create new ones instead? Moreover, even those who support reasoning by analogy only allow it when there is no ruling in the Qur`ān or Sunnah, not when the Qur`ān and Sunnah offer clear laws. Even Abū Bakr admitted that he had erred in this regards, as he later listed this event as one of his nine regrets.[3316]

It should be noted that Fujā`ah was not the only person punished by fire during Abū Bakr's caliphate, as the rest of his tribesmen suffered the same fate as well. According to Muḥibb Ṭabarī, Abū Bakr's sent Khālid ibn Walīd to the Banū Sulaym. Khālid took their men, gathered them in a fenced enclosure, and then set them all on fire. ʽUmar complained to Abū Bakr about the illegitimacy of the punishment that had been inflicted upon them, but Abū Bakr yet again took Khālid's side.[3317]

[3310] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #8.80.730.
[3311] Sunan al-Kubrā Bayhaqī #17041-2.
[3312] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 10:80.
[3313] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 10:80-81; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 17:222; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 1:369; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 6:351-2.
[3314] Qur`ān 5:33.
[3315] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 17:222.
[3316] Refer to chapter 53.

Abū Bakr Admitted that He was Not the Best

Even Abū Bakr himself realized that he was not the foremost of the companions. In his inauguration speech, he said, "O Men! Here I have been assigned the job of being ruler over you *while I am not the best among you.* If I do well in my job, help me. If I do wrong, redress me."[3318] This proves the falsehood of the Ashʽarī claim that Abū Bakr was the best of the companions, followed by ʽUmar, ʽUthmān, and ʽAlī (ع) in that order. The Bakrīyyah keep repeating the following tradition in Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī as proof that Abū Bakr and ʽUmar were superior to ʽAlī (ع):

> Narrated Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafīyyah: I asked my father (i.e. ʽAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib), "Who are the best people after Allāh's Apostle?" He said, "Abū Bakr." I asked, "Who then?" He said, "Then ʽUmar." I was afraid he would say, "ʽUthmān," so I said, "Then you?" He said, "I am only an ordinary person.[3319]

This tradition includes Muḥammad ibn Kathīr in its chain of transmission,[3320] and Ibn Maʽīn said, "He is not trustworthy (thiqah)."[3321] Muḥammad ibn Kathīr is also the same person who transmitted some of the traditions in Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī stating that the best generation are the companions, then the generation after them, and then the generation after that.[3322] He obviously had a penchant for inventing traditions ranking companions and generations.

The Bakrīyyah also use the following tradition as proof that Abū Bakr was the best of the companions:

> Narrated Ibn ʽUmar: "We used to compare the people as to who was better during the lifetime of Allāh's Apostle. We used to regard Abū Bakr as the best, then ʽUmar, and then ʽUthmān."[3323]

This is the word of someone who despised ʽAlī (ع) so much that he never pledged allegiance to him.[3324] Even Sunnī scholars have refuted the validity of these tradition. Ibn ʽAbd al-Barr said,

> Whoever says this (i.e. that Abū Bakr, ʽUmar, and ʽUthmān were distinctly virtuous while ʽAlī was an ordinary companion) has spoken against the consensus of the Sunnī experts of jurisprudence and history from the early generations (salaf) and later generations (khalaf) that ʽAlī was certainly the best of people after ʽUthmān. No one disagrees about this (i.e. the fact that ʽAlī was not like the rest of the companions). What they have disagreed about is

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[3317] Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 1:149-50.

[3318] Haykal 510-511; Tārīkh Ṭabarī 9:201; Sīrah Ibn Isḥāq 687; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 5:269; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 6:20; Tārīkh al-Khulafāʼ 65; Kanz al-ʽUmmāl #14064; Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 1:254; Tārīkh al-Khamīs 2:169. Refer to chapter 40 for the full text of Abū Bakr's widely transmitted inauguration speech (bring refs).

[3319] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.57.20.

[3320] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī (Arabic original) #3468.

[3321] Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb vol 9 #686 (Muḥammad ibn Kathīr al-ʽAbdī).

[3322] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī (Arabic original) #2509, #3451.

[3323] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.57.7. Similarly, Saḥiḥ Bukhārī #5.57.47 (account for both in Arabic).

[3324] Refer to chapter 78.

whether ʹAlī was superior or ʹUthmān. The early generations (salaf) also disagreed about whether ʹAlī was superior or Abū Bakr. The consensus we have discussed is proof that the tradition of Ibn ʹUmar is doubtful and incorrect.[3325]

The Qur`ān Chastised Abū Bakr and ʹUmar for Disrespecting the Prophet (ص)

According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī,

> ʹAbd Allāh ibn Zubayr said that a group of riders belonging to the Banū Tamīm came to the Prophet. Abū Bakr said [to the Prophet], "Appoint Qaʹqaʹ ibn Maʹbad ibn Zurārah as [their] ruler." ʹUmar said, "No! But appoint Aqraʹ ibn Ḥābis." Thereupon Abū Bakr said [to ʹUmar], "You just wanted to oppose me." ʹUmar replied, "I did not want to oppose you." So both of them argued so much that their voices became louder, and then the following divine verses were revealed in that connection: "O you who believe! Do not be forward in the presence of Allāh and His Apostle... (till the end of verse).[3326]"[3327]

Thus, Allāh ordered the two of them to be tactful in the presence of the Prophet (ص). In fact, the continuation of the verse, which not surprisingly has been omitted by Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī,[3328] reads as follows:

> O you who believe! Do not be forward in the presence of Allāh and His Messenger. Rather, fear Allāh, for Allāh is He Who hears and knows all things. O you who believe! Do not raise your voices above the voice of the Prophet, nor speak aloud to him in talk as you may speak aloud to one another, lest your deeds become nullified and you perceive not.[3329]

These verses explicitly state that Abū Bakr and ʹUmar's behavior nullified any good deeds they may have had. In spite of the verse, ʹUmar raised his voice and insulted the Prophet (ص) at his deathbed and the sound of picks and shovels were raised at the Prophet's (ص) house so that Abū Bakr and ʹUmar could be buried there next to him. Indeed, there is no need for a Qur`ānic verse to establish the fact that raising one's voice is a sign of disrespect, as anyone with the least bit of culture, common courtesy, and good manners would know that raising one's voice is a sign of disrespect. Furthermore, this verse is proof of their hypocrisy because the Qur`ān says, "You will recognize them (i.e. the hypocrites) by their tone of speech."[3330] As such, the revelation of this verse in regards to Abū Bakr and ʹUmar revealed their hypocrisy. Indeed, the annulment of their deeds would not be brought about by a minor lapse in tactfulness or even by a minor sin, but rather by hypocrisy and disbelief.

Abū Bakr's Virtues are Inventions

Due to their love for Abū Bakr, the Sunnīs have related many undeserved qualities invented for him, some of which go to quite some extremes. Such traditions are numerous indeed, and some of them have been addressed previously. For example, we have already proved the falsehood of the claim that Abū Bakr was the first to accept

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[3325] Istīʹāb 3:214 #1875 (ʹAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib).
[3326] Qur`ān 49:1.
[3327] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.59.653, #6.60.370.
[3328] The verse is cut off in the Arabic original (Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #4109 and #4566) as well.
[3329] Qur`ān 49:1-2.
[3330] Qur`ān 47:30.

Islām.[3331] The fact that anyone would even grant credence to such a claim shows the lengths to which some would go to create virtues for Abū Bakr. In chapter 8, the claim that Abū Bakr was the bravest of the companions was addressed, even though in reality he was one of the most cowardly. In chapter 9, we addressed the fabrication of claims that the Prophet (ص) allowed Abū Bakr to have a door or window open to the mosque. In chapter 7, we addressed the fact that Abū Bakr was not the Prophet's (ص) friend. Indeed, this tradition deserves some further attention as it is widely cited by Sunnīs. Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī has related from Abū Sa´īd al-Khudrī:

> Allāh's Apostle addressed the people saying, "Allāh has given the option to a slave to choose [between] this world or what is with Him. The slave has chosen what is what Allāh." Abū Bakr wept, and we were astonished at his weeping caused by what the Prophet mentioned as to a slave [of Allāh] who had been offered a choice. [We learned later on] that Allāh's Apostle himself was the person who was given the choice and that Abū Bakr knew best of all of us. Allāh's Apostle added, "The person who has favored me most of all both with his company and wealth is Abū Bakr. If I were to take a friend (khalīl) other than my Lord, I would have taken Abū Bakr as such, but [what relates the two of us] is the Islāmic brotherhood and friendliness. All the gates of the mosque should be closed except the gate of Abū Bakr."[3332]

There are several problems in regards to this tradition:

1. First is the assertion that Abū Bakr knew more than the other companions, even though we have already discussed the paucity of Abū Bakr's knowledge in this chapter.

2. The Qur`ān says, "Whoever performs a good deed, it is for his own self, and whoever performs a bad deed, it is upon [his own self]."[3333] Moreover, the Qur`ān says, "They impress you as a favor that they have embraced Islām. Say, 'Count not your Islām as a favor upon me; nay, Allāh has conferred a favor upon you that He has guided you to belief if you are true and sincere.'"[3334] Therefore, this tradition contradicts these verses of the Qur`ān because no one did the Messenger of Allāh (ص) a favor by accepting Islām and aiding him. Rather, they were favored by Allāh and His Messenger (ص) for guiding them to Islām and granting them the opportunity to aid the Prophet (ص). Since it would be impossible for the Prophet (ص) to contradict the Qur`ān, he could not have made such claims about Abū Bakr having bestowed a favor upon him.

3. According to this tradition, the Prophet (ص) denied taking anyone as a friend (khalīl). However, the Sunnīs have related other traditions that say, "Verily my khalīl is Abū Bakr."[3335] These traditions clearly contradict one another. If the Prophet (ص) did not take a friend (khalīl), then Abū Bakr had no special position due to being a friend and the other traditions are invented, and if he did take a friend then tradition of Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī is false and invented.

3331. Refer to chapter 1.
3332. Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.57.6. Similarly, Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #1.8.455.
3333. Qur`ān 41:46.
3334. Qur`ān 49:17.
3335. Kanz al-´Ummāl #31940, #32572, #32598.

4. The claim that Abū Bakr's gate to the mosque should be left open was proven to be a fabrication in chapter 9.

5. This tradition, as discussed previously,[3336] has a weak chain of transmission due to the presence of Fulayḥ ibn Sulaymān. Yet, it has been related by Bukhārī because he found its content most pleasing.

6. Even if Abū Bakr was the friend of the Prophet (ص), it proves no virtue as, according to Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, the Prophet (ص) said, "I will be there at the fount before you, and I will have to contend for some people, but I will have to yield. I will be saying, 'My Lord, they are my friends, they are my friends!' and it will be said, 'You don't know what innovations they made after you!'"[3337]

The Shī´ah believe that most if not all of the noble qualities claimed for Abū Bakr, ´Umar, ´Uthmān, Mu´āwīyah, and specific other companions are inventions. The efforts of the Umayyads in spreading false traditions in this regards will be discussed later,[3338] but it is important to note at this point that the Umayyads made a great effort to spread false traditions in praise of companions other than ´Alī (ع), particularly the first three caliphs. Abū Ja´far al-Iskāfī, a third century Sunnī Mu´tazilī theologian, said,

> Everyone knows that the government and the sultan control what the people say. Everyone is familiar with the power of the leaders, scholars, and rulers to enact their own commands; with the tyranny of the sultans; with the great fear [people have] of them; with the prizes they would give to those relating news and traditions in regards to the good qualities of Abū Bakr, the extent to which the Umayyads would go in this regards, and what the transmitters of tradition (muḥaddithīn) created in this regards seeking the [worldly goods that were in the] hands [of the rulers]. Throughout their reign, [the Umayyads] never ceased to hide the names of ´Alī and his children, putting down their light, and hiding their qualities, virtues, and actions. In the meanwhile, they continued insulting them, defaming them, and cursing them on the pulpits. Swords dripped with their blood despite their small numbers and the large numbers of their enemy. They were either killed or taken prisoner; they fled and ran away; they were humiliated and oppressed; they were fearful and cautious. Occasionally a scholar of jurisprudence (faqīh) or expert of tradition (muḥaddith) or a judge or a theologian would receive a stern threat of death or punishment so that he would desist from mentioning any of their qualities, and they would thereby prevent anyone from getting close to the [Ahl al-Bayt]. Occasionally a transmitter of tradition would use taqīyyah, and when he would mention a tradition of ´Alī, he would avoid his name and would [instead] say, "A man from the Quraysh said," or, "A man from the Quraysh did," and would not mention ´Alī [by name], and would avoid opening his mouth with his name.[3339]

This explains the source of the innovations regarding the fine qualities that have been attributed to Abū Bakr, ´Umar, and ´Uthmān. Indeed, this passage exposes a significant issue, which is the power of the ruling class to dictate the tenets of religion. The bulk of people know nothing of religion except for what they hear on the pulpit. If they are told that Jesus is the son of God, they believe it. If they are told that Abū Ṭālib was a disbeliever, they believe it. If they are told that ʿAlī (ع) was a deviant heretic, while Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, ʿUthmān, and Muʿāwīyah were virtuous companions, they believe it. If they are told that the Prophet (ص) left us the Qurʾān and the Sunnah instead of the Qurʾān and his Ahl al-Bayt (ع), they believe it. Only a small minority with a keen interest in ascertaining the truth of the matter would put in the effort to seek out the truth.

[3336] Refer to chapter 9.
[3337] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #30.5690.
[3338] Refer to chapter 76.
[3339] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 13:219.

The false traditions repeated over and over again on the Umayyad pulpits were eventually taken for granted and passed on as the word of the Prophet (ص) himself. As every reference to Abū Bakr was followed by al-Ṣiddīq, and as every reference to ʿUmar was followed by al-Fārūq, the people eventually believed that these were their glorious titles granted to them by the Prophet (ص) himself. Eventually, the companions who would repeatedly hear the same lies, would pass on what they heard in the mosque, and those who heard these traditions from them would mistake them for the unquestionable words of the Prophet (ص), assuming that the companions had taken these words directly from the mouth of the Prophet (ص), rather than from the mouths of Mughīrah ibn Shuʿbah, Marwān ibn Ḥakam, Abū Hurayrah, ʿAmr ibn ʿĀṣ, or Muʿāwīyah.

The Order of Virtue of the First Four Caliphs and the Preference of the Less Preferable (Tafḍīl al-Mafḍūl)

Even though Ashʿarīs more or less unanimously believe that the first four caliphs served in order of virtue, a number of Sunnī scholars have historically believed that ʿAlī (ع) was superior to Abū Bakr. Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr said,

> What [the Sunnī scholars from both the old generations (salaf) and the later generations (khalaf)] have disagreed about is whether ʿAlī was superior or ʿUthmān. The early generations (salaf) also disagreed about whether ʿAlī was superior or Abū Bakr.[3340]

Muḥibb Ṭabarī also made similar comments regarding disagreements specifically about the superiority of ʿAlī (ع) over ʿUthmān. He said,

> A group of the Ahl al-Sunnah and the leaders of the early generations (salaf) have made no commitment as to the superiority of ʿAlī or ʿUthmān... Today, the Ahl al-Sunnah hold Abū Bakr to be first, then ʿUmar, then ʿUthmān, then ʿAlī. The majority of the scholars and jurists are [now] of this opinion, except for a select few who believe in what we just mentioned.[3341]

As such, Sunnīsm is not specifically defined by the belief that ʿAlī (ع) was fourth in order of virtue, but rather by the belief that the caliphate was not his right to be usurped. Accordingly, the Sunnīs who have believed that ʿAlī (ع) was the best of the companions have believed that it was permissible, legitimate, and even desirable to choose someone else as caliph if that would best serve the interests of the nation. As such, even though ʿAlī (ع) was better than Abū Bakr, Abū Bakr was picked because he would better serve the nation at that moment in time, namely by keeping the nation unified and by not alienating the Quraysh. Thus, they have permitted tafḍīl al-mafḍūl, which means "the preference of the less preferable." In contrast, tafḍīl al-mafḍūl has been absolutely banned by the Imāmīyyah Shīʿah, as they maintain that the caliphates of Abū Bakr,

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[3340] Istiʿāb 3:214 #1875 (ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib).
[3341] Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:181-2.

ʹUmar, and ʹUthmān were completely illegitimate because those individuals were inferior to ʹAlī (ع) and therefore less preferable (mafḍūl).

Historically, the majority of Sunnīs have been Bakrīyyah and Murji`ah, meaning that they have held the belief that Abū Bakr was the best of the companions (Bakrīyyah) and that ʹAlī (ع) was in fourth place in terms of virtue (Murji`ah). The word Murji`ah, although used in a number of contexts, in this context refers to "putting off" ʹAlī (ع) from first place to fourth place in terms of merit.[3342] Accordingly, the Prophet (ص) said, "[The Murji`ah] have no share in [the benefits of] Islām."[3343]

The Ashʹarī position in regards to tafḍīl al-mafḍūl is somewhat absurd. On the one hand, they hold that the first four caliphs ruled by their order of virtue,[3344] therefore not requiring tafḍīl al-mafḍūl, yet they cannot possibly claim that being the best (afḍal) is a requirement for the caliphate, as subsequent caliphs were completely devoid of virtue. Indeed, Māwardī said, "The presence of the preferable (afḍal) is not an obstacle to the imāmate of the less preferred."[3345] As such, they have divided the caliphs into two groups—the rightly guided caliphs (khulafā` al-rāshidīn) and the rest of the caliphs. By adamantly maintaining that the first four caliphs served in order of merit, they have not allowed tafḍīl al-mafḍūl for the rightly guided caliphs, even though they have allowed it for subsequent ones. Yet, if tafḍīl al-mafḍūl is permissible, then it should have been permissible from the beginning, and if it is impermissible, then it would not have been permissible for later caliphs. If it was permissible from the beginning, then they should not feel compelled to go to such lengths to claim that Abū Bakr was the best of the companions, as ʹAlī's (ع) superiority would not delegitimize the caliphate of Abū Bakr. It therefore appears that they fundamentally accept the flaw of tafḍīl al-mafḍūl and that their Bakrīyyah beliefs are simply meant to counter the Shīʹah tendencies that would naturally develop once it is accepted that ʹAlī (ع) was the best of the companions.

The Bakrīyyah Ashʹarī belief indeed contradicts the words of Abū Bakr himself, as they believe that Abū Bakr was the best companion and claim his superiority in merit entitled him to be the first caliph. However, during the Saqīfah, Abū Bakr told those present to pledge allegiance to ʹUmar or Abū ʹUbaydah ibn al-Jarrāḥ,[3346] and he later admitted that he was not the best of the companions.[3347] Therefore, there are only two possibilities: (1) Abū Bakr considered himself inferior to ʹUmar and Abū ʹUbaydah, in which case the Bakrīyyah belief is incorrect because Abū Bakr himself insisted that he was not the best, or (2) Abū Bakr considered himself superior to them but recommended them as caliphs anyways. In that case, he was recommending tafḍīl al-mafḍūl, or picking the worse candidate to be caliph in the presence of a better candidate. Yet, the Ashʹarīs for some inexplicable reason do not consider this allowable for the "rightly-guided" caliphs, even though they require no virtue whatsoever for later caliphs. Shahrastānī, after discussing the permissibility of tafḍīl al-mafḍūl among the Zaydīyyah, said,

> Most Sunnītes also are inclined to this view, and even say that the imām need not be one capable of exercising personal judgment in matters of law, mujtahid; nor need he be acquainted with the areas of ijtihād (independent judgment based on reason). He must, however, have the services of someone who is

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[3342] Milal wa Niḥal 119.
[3343] Kanz al-ʹUmmāl #558.
[3344] Milal wa Niḥal 87.
[3345] Aḥkām al-Sulṭānīyyah of Māwardī 9.
[3346] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.57.19. Refer to chapter 40.
[3347] Refer to chapter 40.

> capable of ijtihād, whom he can consult in matters of law, and whose opinion he can ask as to what is lawful or unlawful.[3348]

In summary, the belief that Abū Bakr was the most superior of the companions was one that formed over time in order to counter Shī'ah tendencies that would naturally follow from the fact that the members of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) were far superior, both qualitatively and quantitatively, to the other companions, particularly the first three caliphs.

The Zaydīyyah and the Preference of the Preferred

The only exception to the rejection of tafḍīl al-mafḍūl (the preference of the less preferable) by the Shī'ah have been some sects among the Zaydīyyah who have called themselves Shī'ah while believing in the legitimacy of the caliphates of Abū Bakr and 'Umar.[3349] The Imāmīyyah Shī'ah have absolutely dissociated themselves from the Zaydīyyah sects in this and other regards, asserting that the belief that 'Alī (ع) was the best of the companion is by no means sufficient to make one a true Shī'ah, as it is also necessary to believe that 'Alī (ع) had a right to the imāmate that was illegitimately usurped. Moreover, Shī'ism requires not only wilāyah, or strict adherence to the Ahl al-Bayt (ع), but also barā'ah, or renunciation of their enemies and those who usurped their rights. According to Shahrastānī,

> When the Shī'ah of Kūfah heard that Zayd [ibn 'Alī ibn Ḥusayn] had expressed these views (i.e. that the caliphates of Abū Bakr and 'Umar were legitimate) and learned that he did not dissociate himself from the two senior companions, they rejected him for the rest of his life. It was for this reason that they were called Rāfiḍītes (Rejectors).[3350]

The Origins of the Word Rāfiḍīte

Zayd complained bitterly that the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) and their Shī'ah had abandoned him, and this purportedly became the source of the word Rāfiḍīte, meaning abandoners or rejectors. To this day, this title is commonly used to denote the Shī'ah in derogatory terms. Others have claimed that the Shī'ah are called Rāfiḍītes because of their rejection of Abū Bakr and 'Umar. According to Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, "They are called Rāfiḍītes because they reject (rafaḍū) Abū Bakr and 'Umar, while no one else has rejected them."[3351] If correct, this statement proves that the Prophet (ص) was a Shī'ah. According to Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā of Ibn Sa'd, after 'Umar prevented pen and paper from being brought to the Prophet (ص), "The Prophet (ص) rejected him (rafaḍahu)."[3352] Therefore, if anyone who rejects (rafaḍa) 'Umar is Shī'ah, the Prophet (ص) was Shī'ah as well. At the very least, since the Prophet (ص) rejected 'Umar, it would be permissible for, if not incumbent upon, all Muslims to do so as well.

The definition of Ibn 'Abd Rabbih is indeed close to the truth, as Rāfiḍīte refers to those who reject illegitimate caliphs. According to Shī'ah traditions, the word originated when Pharaoh's sorcerers rejected him,[3353] and therefore applies to those who stick to the truth even if that means rejecting and alienating illegitimate rulers and suffering as a result. The Qur`ān says,

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[3348] Milal wa Niḥal 137.
[3349] Milal wa Niḥal 133.
[3350] Milal wa Nihal 133.
[3351] 'Iqd al-Farīd 2:380.
[3352] Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 2:243.
[3353] Tafsīr al-Imām al-'Askarī (ع) 310 #157. This tafsīr has been attributed to Imām 'Askarī (ع).

> So the magicians were thrown down in prostration, saying, "We believe in the Lord of Aaron and Moses!" [Pharaoh] said, "Do you believe in Him before I give you permission? Surely this must be your leader who has taught you magic! So I will cut off your hands and feet on opposite sides, and I will have you crucified on the trunks of palm-trees so that you will know for sure which of us is more severe and more lasting in punishment!" They said, "We will never choose you over the clear signs that have come to us or over Him Who created us, so order whatever you want to decree, as you can only decree regarding the life of this world. Surely we believe in our Lord so that He may forgive our sins and the magic to which you compelled us. Allāh is better and more lasting."[3354]

Just as the magicians rejected Pharaoh and preferred torture and crucifixion to what Pharaoh was calling them to, the noble Rāfiḍītes have rejected the illegitimate caliphs and have therefore been subjected to torture, exile, execution, and crucifixion.

[3354] Qur`ān 20:70-3.

Chapter 53

A Summary of Abū Bakr's Faults and Errors Culminating in His Selection of ʹUmar as Caliph

Abū Bakr's Nine Regrets

Abū Bakr said,

> I do not regret anything but three things that I did that I wish I hadn't done, three things I didn't do that I wish I had done, and three things I wish I had asked the Messenger of Allāh [but didn't].
>
> The three things I did but wish that I hadn't done are: I wish that I had not violate the house of Fāṭimah and that I had left it [alone] even if I had been forced into battle (i.e. by the supporters of ʹAlī). I wish that on the Day of Saqīfah of the Banū Sāʹidah I had left the caliphate on the necks of one of the two men, ʹUmar or Abū ʹUbaydah ibn al-Jarrāḥ, so that one of them would have become the ruler (amīr) and I would have been his minister (wazīr). I wish that when I was brought Fujāʹah I had not burned him and instead had killed him by iron (i.e. the sword) or had him released.
>
> The three things I didn't do but wish that I had done are: I wish that the day I was brought Ashʹath [ibn Qays] I had cut off his neck, as it appears to me that there is no evil (sharr) to which he is not drawn. I wish that when I sent Khālid to [fight] the people [in the] Riddah [wars], I had remained in Dhū al-Qaṣṣah, so that if the Muslims were not victorious I would be there for them. I wish that when I sent Khālid to Syria, I had sent ʹUmar to Iraq so that I would have opened up by my hands the entirety of the [lands to the] right and the left in the path of Allāh.
>
> The three things that I wish that I had asked the Messenger of Allāh are: I wish that I had asked him to whom the caliphate belongs, so that we would not be disputing those to whom it rightfully belongs. I wish that I had asked him whether the Anṣār have any share in this matter. I wish I had asked him about the inheritance of aunts and nieces, as I [find] a need for these [answers] in my soul."[3355]

The Story of Ashʹath ibn Qays

[3355] Kanz al-ʹUmmāl #14113; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 2:46-47; Tārīkh Ṭabarī 11:149-50; Imāmah wa Siyāsah 27-8; ʹIqd al-Farīd 4:257-8; Tārīkh Damishq 30:419-20.

In these regrets Abū Bakr referred to Ash´ath ibn Qays al-Kindī, who had left Islām along with his tribe in Ḥaḍramawt in Yemen. A summary of the account provided by Ṭabarī is that his tribe was placed under siege and it soon became apparent that they would not be able to hold out, particularly because Muslim reinforcements were about to arrive. Ash´ath ibn Qays went to ´Ikrimah ibn Abī Jahl, the leader of the Muslim forces, and offered to open the gate of the fortress under the condition that the lives of nine people whom Ash´ath would name would be spared. ´Ikrimah agreed, and a list was drawn up in which the name of Ash´ath himself did not appear either due to oversight or due to the fact that he had to write the name of another person instead of his own under duress and the threat of death. As agreed, the gate of the fortress was opened and all the men of the tribe were killed and the women and children were rounded up as slaves. The nine men on the list were spared as agreed. However, since Ash´ath ibn Qays was not on the list, Muhājir, one of the Muslim commanders, insisted that Ash´ath be killed. ´Ikrimah asked that he be spared so that Abū Bakr could decide his fate. It is said that ´Ikrimah was partial to Ash´ath ibn Qays because ´Ikrimah had married Asmā` bint Nu´mān ibn Abī Jawn, who had been from that tribe and who was a wife of the Prophet (ص) even though her marriage was dissolved prior to its consummation.[3356] As requested by ´Ikrimah, Ash´ath ibn Qays was taken to Madīnah along with the captive women and children. He was abused on the way by the women who called him a traitor. Upon reaching Madīnah, Abū Bakr told him, "Peace is required after sealing of a document only for those [named] in the document." Ash´ath replied, "Do you reckon there to be some good in me? Then release me and forgive my misbehavior, accept my Islām, do with me as you have done with others like me, and return my wife to me." At that time he was married to Abū Bakr's sister, Umm Farwah bint Abī Quḥāfah, even though they had not yet consummated their marriage. Abū Bakr released him saying, "Go, and let me hear [only] good from you." He also allowed him to consummate his marriage with Umm Farwah.[3357]

This event is troublesome for a number of reasons. First, the punishment for apostasy is death,[3358] and Abū Bakr had no reason not to punish Ash´ath, as there was no agreement to spare his life. If the punishment for apostasy was not death, then they had no right to kill all the other men of the tribe, making Abū Bakr and his men even more culpable. Indeed, it is clear that the proper punishment was death, as Abū Bakr regretted not killing Ash´ath later in life (see nine regrets above). Second, this was a clear case of nepotism in which the caliph spared the life of his brother-in-law, while allowing others to be beheaded. Of note, the account in Ṭabarī suggests that Ash´ath was already married to Abū Bakr's sister but had not consummated his marriage. Ibn Ḥajar and Ibn ´Abd al-Barr have suggested that the marriage occurred after Ash´ath was spared.[3359] Third, by releasing Ash´ath instead of killing him as required by divine law, Abū Bakr came to share responsibility for what Ash´ath brought forth afterwards.

During ´Uthmān's caliphate, Ash´ath was appointed as the governor of Ādharbayjān.[3360] He was infuriated when ´Alī (ع) became caliph and would no longer allow him to personally retain 100,000 dirhams annually from the treasury of that province.[3361]

[3356] Refer to chapter 28 for an account of how ´Ā`ishah led to the dissoution of the Prophet's (ص) marriage to Asmā` prior to its consummation.

[3357] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 10:189. Also refer to Iṣābah 1:56-7 #205 (Ash´ath ibn Qays).

[3358] Qur`ān 4:89 says, "If they (the hypocrites) turn away [as renegades], then sieze them and slay them wherever you find them."

[3359] Iṣābah 1:56-7 #205 (Ash´ath ibn Qays); Istī´āb 1:220 #135 (Ash´ath ibn Qays).

[3360] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:282.

[3361] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:194.

Knowing that he would have to give up the wealth he had unlawfully acquired, he was rather unsure whether to join ʻAlī (ع) or Muʻāwīyah, but ended up joining ʻAlī's (ع) side per the insistence of his associates.[3362] ʻAlī (ع) later replaced him as governor with Qays ibn Saʻd ibn ʻUbādah.[3363]

During the Battle of Ṣiffīn, Ashʻath became a leader of those who forced ʻAlī (ع) into arbitration and who forced him to select Abū Mūsā al-Ashʻarī as their arbitrator.[3364] As promised by the Prophet (ص) and as foretold by ʻAlī (ع), ʻAlī (ع) had to fight three groups: (1) the nākithīn (breakers of vows), referring to the Battle of Jamal, led by Ṭalḥah and Zubayr who broke their pledges of allegiance; (2) the qāsiṭīn (deviants), referring to Muʻāwīyah and the other deviants who gathered around him; and (3) the māriqīn (heretics), referring to the Khārijītes.[3365] ʻAlī (ع) handily defeated the breakers of vows in the Battle of Jamal, and after a hard-fought battle defeated the Syrian deviants in the Battle of Ṣiffīn. However, once defeated, Muʻāwīyah had his troops place Qur`āns on spears and demand arbitration instead of war. ʻAlī (ع) was inclined to finish them off, but Ashʻath ibn Qays and his colleagues demanded that ʻAlī (ع) give into arbitration. Shahrastānī summarized the events as follows:

> Those who most rebelled against [ʻAlī] and [who] strayed furthest from religion were Ashʻath ibn Qays al-Kindī, Misʻar ibn Fadakī al-Tamīmī, and Zayd ibn Ḥusayn al-Ṭā`ī, who went as far as to say, "They (the enemy) are summoning us to the Book of Allāh, but you summon us to the sword." ʻAlī, however, said, "I have better knowledge of what is written in the Book. Go and fight the rest of the enemy forces; go and fight those who say that Allāh and His Messenger have lied, whereas you believe that Allāh and His Messenger have told the truth." They, however, replied, "You must recall [Mālik al-]Ashtar from the battle against the Muslims, otherwise we shall treat you as we treated ʻUthmān (i.e. kill you)." ʻAlī was therefore forced to recall Ashtar, even though the enemy had been defeated and were retreating with only a small and almost exhausted force remaining to them. Ashtar on his part obeyed the command.
>
> The story of the arbitration is this. First of all the Khārijītes compelled ʻAlī to accept arbitration. Then when ʻAlī wanted to appoint ʻAbd Allāh ibn ʻAbbās as his arbitrator, the Khārijītes objected, saying, "He is a relative of yours." They forced him to send instead Abū Mūsā al-Ashʻarī to judge according to the Book of Allāh. The arbitration went against ʻAlī, and when ʻAlī did not accept it they rebelled against him. "Why did you appoint men as judges?" they asked. "Judgment belongs to Allāh alone." These were the rebels who afterwards assembled at Nahrawān.[3366]

Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd said, "[Ashʻath ibn Qays] was, among the companions of the Commander of the Faithful [ʻAlī] as ʻAbd Allāh ibn Ubayy ibn Salūl was among the companions of the Messenger of Allāh (ص). Each one of them was the chief of hypocrisy at his time."[3367] It is clear that had Abū Bakr killed Ashʻath ibn Qays as he was supposed to, Ashʻath would not have survived to help undermine ʻAlī's (ع) military victory at Ṣiffīn.

3362. Imāmah wa Sīyāsah 94.
3363. Tārīkh Ṭabarī 18:3. The fact that Qays ibn Saʻd was ʻAlī's (ع) governor in Ādharbayjān is also referred to in Tārīkh Yaʻqūbī 2:202.
3364. Refer to chapter 83.
3365. Refer to chapter 78 for the sources of this tradition.
3366. Milal wa Niḥal 98-99.
3367. Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 1:297.

Had ʿAlī (ع) uprooted Muʿāwīyah, he would have unified the Muslim nation and would have been able to undo the innovations that had been introduced to Islām. Due to the treachery of Ashʿath and his companions, ʿAlī's (ع) arduous efforts to save the nation were foiled. Instead, their acts led to another bloody battle at Nahrawān, the emboldening of Muʿāwīyah, the assassination of ʿAlī (ع), and the eventual victory of the ignorant deviants led by Muʿāwīyah over the devout enlightened believers led by Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī (ع). One can see the wisdom of the Prophet (ص) when he asked for pen and paper so he could appoint ʿAlī (ع) as the khalīf after him so that the nation would remain guided until the Day of Judgment. One can also see the wisdom of the laws of Allāh that require apostates such as Ashʿath ibn Qays to be killed, not coaxed and married to the caliph's sister. Moreover, it was Jaʿdah, the daughter of Ashʿath ibn Qays, who poisoned Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī (ع) at the behest of either Muʿāwīyah or Yazīd according to Sunnī sources.[3368] Shīʿah historical accounts go further by stating that he was complicit with Ibn Muljam in the assassination of ʿAlī (ع).[3369] Thanks to Abū Bakr's forgiveness, Ashʿath lived on to cause all this mischief.

Furthermore, Ashʿath ibn Qays and Abū Bakr's sister had a child named Muḥammad ibn Ashʿath ibn Qays, as well as a grandson, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad ibn Ashʿath ibn Qays, known as Ibn al-Ashʿath. Ibn al-Ashʿath was the one who treacherously captured Muslim ibn ʿAqīl in Kūfah, handing him over to ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Zīyād.[3370] Years later, he urged the massacre of the Kūfan prisoners of war by the forces of Ibn al-Zubayr,[3371] and he later became a Khārijīte leader.[3372]

Abū Bakr's Final Error: The Selection of ʿUmar as the Next Caliph

Abū Bakr's death occurred on the twenty-first of Jumādā al-Thānī of the year 13 A.H.[3373] after two years and three months of rule.[3374] When he was dying, he called ʿUthmān and ordered him to write a covenant. He said, "Write: In the name of Allāh, most gracious, most merciful. This is the covenant of ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUthmān (Abū Bakr) to the Muslims. So..." He then fainted. ʿUthmān wrote, "I make ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb the caliph over you." Abū Bakr regained consciousness and said, "I see that you feared that the people would fall into disagreement if I were to die during my unconsciousness." He replied, "Yes." Abū Bakr said, "May Allāh reward you well from Islām and its followers." He then completed the covenant and ordered it to be read to the people. Abū Bakr gave ʿUmar some advice and then died.[3375]

Upon the appointment of ʿUmar as the next caliph, a group of the companions including Ṭalḥah ibn ʿUbayd Allāh went to Abū Bakr and told him, "You have selected one with a very harsh temperament as our ruler. The people will disperse away from him and the hearts will be distanced from him." Abū Bakr said, "Do you invoke the fear of Allāh on

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3368. Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:380, 1:389; Tārīkh al-Khulafā' 169; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 8:47; Istīʿāb 1:440 #573 (Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī); Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 16:49.
3369. Kitāb al-Irshād of Shaykh Mufīd 12.
3370. Refer to chapter 95.
3371. Refer to chapter 97.
3372. Refer to chapter 85.
3373. Tārīkh Ṭabarī 11:129.
3374. Tārīkh Ṭabarī 11:131 (two accounts).
3375. Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 1:165-166. Similar accounts detailing Abū Bakr fainting and ʿUthmān's writing ʿUmar as the next caliph in his will for him while he was unconscious also appear in Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 3:200; Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:52; Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #14175; Tārīkh Damishq 30:411.

me? If I am told this, I would say, 'O Allāh! I made the best of Your people their leader.'"[3376]

Abū Bakr's Mistakes in Selecting ʿUmar

There are numerous glaring problems with the way Abū Bakr selected his successor, but for the sake of brevity, we will refer to only three of them here:[3377]

1. If, as the Sunnīs believe, the Messenger of Allāh (ص) left no successor,[3378] Abū Bakr had no right to do so either. If selecting a leader is the choice of the people in Islām, then Abū Bakr acted against Islām and gave himself powers that belonged to the people. On the other hand, if it is as the Shīʿah believe that the caliph is chosen by Allāh, Abū Bakr still erred because he should have never taken power in the first place and in case he did, it was obligatory for him to return it to ʿAlī (ع) throughout his reign and at the time of his death. In either case, Abū Bakr did not act upon the commands of the Qurʾān and the Sunnah of the Prophet (ص).

2. Even if it is claimed that Abū Bakr was the monarch and like other monarchs had the right to select a successor, what right did ʿUthmān have to appoint the new caliph when Abū Bakr was unconscious?

3. This incident proves the hypocrisy of Abū Bakr and ʿUmar because when the Messenger of Allāh (ص) wanted to have something written during his final illness so that his nation would not be misguided after him, ʿUmar claimed that he was delirious and delusional and that his words had no value.[3379] ʿUmar thus prevented the Prophet (ص) from clarifying once more, in the last moments of his life, his successor, this time in writing. However, when Abū Bakr was writing a covenant to select the caliph after himself, he fainted in the midst of doing so. ʿUmar made no objection to the effect that Abū Bakr might have been delirious or delusional and talking nonsense. This shows the fact that while ʿUmar was not agreeable to the decision of Allāh and His Messenger (ص) and thus prevented the Prophet (ص) from having his final will written, he was rather agreeable to gaining power and control over the nation and thereby made no objections to Abū Bakr's decision to appoint him to the caliphate.

ʿĀʾishah's Mourning for Abū Bakr

ʿĀʾishah, who had two years earlier abandoned the body of her husband,[3380] was wailing so loudly upon her father's death that it nearly caused a public uproar in Madīnah. Saʿīd ibn Musayyab said,

> When Abū Bakr died, ʿĀʾishah stayed up [along with other women] wailing for him. When ʿUmar found out, he forbade the women from doing so. They refused to stop. He told Hishām ibn Walīd to go to the daughter of Abū Bakr and

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[3376] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 1:164; Tārīkh Ṭabarī 11:153; Tārīkh al-Khulafāʾ 75; Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 1:260.

[3377] Refer to Ḥaqq al-Yaqīn 219.

[3378] Refer to chapter 40.

[3379] Refer to chapter 38.

[3380] Refer to chapter 47.

to strike her with his hand-whip to make her comply. When the mourners heard about this, they dispersed.[3381]

A Summary of Abū Bakr's Errors, Innovations, and Undesirable Qualities

The reader should be aware that a thorough listing of Abū Bakr's shortcomings and errors would form a book onto itself, and that our discussions of Abū Bakr have been limited to just a few topics of particular interest. In fact, Abū Bakr made so many errors and committed so many sins that he said, "By Allāh! I wish I was a tree by the roadside... and that I was not human."[3382] The following is a very brief summary of his faults:

1. Abū Bakr recklessly endangered the Prophet (ص) when he set out to join him in the emigration to Madīnah. He could have easily exposed the location of the Prophet (ص), enabling the pagans to martyr him.[3383]
2. The lack of faith of Abū Bakr was clearly revealed in the verse of the cave.[3384]
3. Abū Bakr was rejected as Fāṭimah's (ع) suitor. Despite ʿAlī's abject material poverty, the Prophet (ص) said that Allāh chose him for her instead because he was faster to accept Islām, more knowledgeable, and more patient than Abū Bakr.[3385]
4. Abū Bakr married his troubled daughter ʿĀʾishah to the Prophet (ص) and she caused the Messenger of Allāh (ص) many troubles, to the point that she was condemned in Sūrah Taḥrīm in the Qurʾān.[3386]
5. The Prophet (ص) attributed ʿĀʾishah's difficult personality to Abū Bakr, highlighting the similar nature of both their characters.[3387]
6. Even though it is claimed that he was the most courageous of the companions, Abū Bakr never showed bravery on the battlefield.[3388] This made him an agreeable choice of caliph for the forcibly-converted pagans who housed fresh memories of the blood of their loved ones that had been spilled by the sword of ʿAlī (ع).
7. Abū Bakr fled during the Battle of Uḥud, proving his cowardice,[3389] yet Sunnī scholars claim that he was the bravest of mankind (ashjaʿ al-nās)![3390] The Qurʾān makes is clear that Abū Bakr's fleeing the battlefield at Uḥud was due to the fact that Satan had control over him as a result of his sins.[3391] Someone who Satan could control should not be the leader of the nation. Furthermore, fleeing in battle is one of the seven great sin,[3392] and the Muslim nation cannot be entrusted to those who commit great sins.

[3381] Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 3:208-9; Fatḥ al-Bārī #2286.
[3382] Tārīkh al-Khulafāʾ 129.
[3383] Refer to chapter 6.
[3384] Refer to chapter 6.
[3385] Refer to chapter 7.
[3386] Refer to chapters 27-28.
[3387] Refer to chapters 28 and 52.
[3388] Refer to chapter 8.
[3389] Refer to chapter 11.
[3390] Tārīkh al-Khulafāʾ 38.
[3391] Refer to chapter 11.
[3392] Refer to chapter 11.

8. During the Prophet's (ص) life, Abū Bakr was never selected as a leader over ʿAlī (ع). Rather, he was always a follower of ʿAlī (ع) in every battle in which ʿAlī (ع) was present.[3393] Indeed, Abū Bakr's assigned role was typically that of follower rather than leader.

9. When he took the banner at Khaybar, Abū Bakr fled the battlefield. The Prophet (ص), spiting Abū Bakr and ʿUmar, said that Khaybar would only be conquered by one who loves Allāh and His Messenger (ص) and who is loved by them, proving that Abū Bakr and ʿUmar did not love them and/or were not loved by them. This proves their lack of faith because if they were sincere believers, they would both love them and be loved by them.[3394]

10. When Abū Bakr was asked to carry the verses of renunciation to the pagans, he was relieved of this task in favor of ʿAlī (ع).[3395] As such, he was deposed from a leadership post yet again, as he was unqualified for the task. The Prophet (ص) explained that Abū Bakr could not carry the verses of renunciation because only someone who was from the Prophet (ص) could do so. This shows that while ʿAlī (ع) was from the Prophet (ص), Abū Bakr was not.

11. When Abū Bakr was put in charge of administering charities, ʿAbbās complained and the Prophet (ص) immediately deposed him from that position.[3396]

12. Abū Bakr sobbed when the religion of Islām was completed by the appointment of ʿAlī (ع) as the nation's imām at Ghadīr Khumm.[3397] The Qurʾān said in regards to that day, "Today the disbelievers despair about your religion."[3398]

13. When Abū Bakr and ʿUmar raised their voices in front of the Prophet (ص), a verse of the Qurʾān was revealed telling them that they had thereby nullified all their deeds.[3399]

14. Abū Bakr drank for years despite the revelation of two Qurʾānic verses not only banning the consumption of intoxicants but also declaring drinking to be a great sin.[3400]

15. Abū Bakr defected from the army of Usāmah. Instead of going to Palestine as ordered, he returned to Madīnah and thereby incurred the curse of Allāh as invoked on him by the Prophet (ص).[3401]

16. The Prophet (ص) deposed Abū Bakr in mid-prayer when he attempted to lead the final prayer during the Prophet's (ص) lifetime.[3402]

[3393] Refer to chapter 8.
[3394] Refer to chapter 20.
[3395] Refer to chapter 32.
[3396] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 17:169.
[3397] Refer to chapter 34.
[3398] Qurʾān 5:3.
[3399] Refer to chapter 52.
[3400] Refer to chapter 36.
[3401] Refer to chapter 35.
[3402] Refer to chapter 37.

17. Abū Bakr accepted the position of caliph based on the pledge of allegiance of a handful of individuals without finding any Islāmic proof for the legitimacy of the method used to select him as caliph.[3403]

18. Abū Bakr became caliph even though he admitted than he was not the best of the nation.[3404] His natural duty in that case ought to have been to allow the best of the nation to rule.

19. Abū Bakr and ʿUmar both said that the pledge of allegiance to Abū Bakr was a hasty mistake (faltah),[3405] yet they imposed this rash decision of theirs on the entire Muslim nation without any consultation with others. ʿUmar even called the hasty mistake evil; although he claimed that Allāh had protected the nation from its evil, reality suggests otherwise.

20. ʿUmar admitted that he found no justification for the selection of Abū Bakr as caliph in the Qurʾān or Sunnah. Therefore, the caliphate of Abū Bakr was an innovation (bidʿah).[3406]

21. Sunnīs claim that Abū Bakr's caliphate was based on consensus, yet there was no consensus in that regards.[3407] Saʿd ibn ʿUbādah,[3408] Bilāl,[3409] and ʿAlī (ع)[3410] refused to pledge allegiance at all cost. Even if one takes the claim that the assassination of Saʿd and the pressuring of ʿAlī (ع) to pledge allegiance after the death of Fāṭimah (ع) created consensus, two problems remain. First is that consensus is not valid if it is based on coercion. Second is that, at the very least, in the first six months of Abū Bakr's caliphate there was no consensus, and his role as caliph at that time would have therefore been illegitimate if the basis for his caliphate's legitimacy was consensus.

22. Abū Bakr took over the Prophet's Mosque illegitimately. As the Masjid al-Nabī was the house of the Prophet (ص) and ʿAlī (ع),[3411] Abū Bakr should not have occupied its pulpit without ʿAlī's (ع) permission.

23. Abū Bakr sent his followers to attack the House of Fāṭimah (ع) and to threaten to burn it down with everyone inside.[3412]

24. Abū Bakr withheld the Prophet's (ص) inheritance from his daughter and wives, even though both independently claimed a right to their share of his inheritance.[3413]

25. Abū Bakr invented the tradition that prophets do not leave inheritance.[3414]

[3403] Refer to chapter 40.
[3404] Refer to chapters 40 and 52.
[3405] Refer to chapter 40.
[3406] Refer to chapter 40.
[3407] Refer to chapters 41, 48, and 51.
[3408] Refer to chapter 51.
[3409] Refer to chapter 48.
[3410] Refer to chapter 48.
[3411] Refer to chapter 9.
[3412] Refer to chapter 48.
[3413] Refer to chapter 49.
[3414] Refer to chapter 49.

26. Despite denying the right to inheritance, Abū Bakr gave the entirety of the Prophet's (ص) house to ʿĀʾishah. According to the laws of inheritance, the house should have been divided in seventy-two portions, and she would have received only one portion thereof.[3415]

27. Abū Bakr usurped Fadak, which Fāṭimah (ع) claimed to be her personal property during the life of the Prophet (ص). Even if not her personal property, it would have been hers through inheritance, as the land did not belong to the Muslims but rather the Prophet (ص) as it was conquered diplomatically and not militarily.[3416] Furthermore, Abū Bakr rejected ʿAlī and Fāṭimah (ع) as witnesses.[3417] Since their purity was guaranteed by the Qurʾān,[3418] that act was equivalent to denying the validity of the Book of Allāh. He also withheld the Ahl al-Bayt's (ع) rights to the khums of Khaybar and to the properties the Prophet (ص) personally held in Madīnah.[3419]

28. Abū Bakr insulted ʿAlī and Fāṭimah (ع) and harassed them in the Prophet's Mosque.[3420] According to the Prophet (ص), any abuse or harassment of his Ahl al-Bayt (ع) is equivalent to abusing and harassing the Prophet (ص) himself, which is equivalent to disbelief.[3421]

29. Abū Bakr took three dirhams from the treasury every day for himself.[3422] Even though this pales in comparison to what later caliphs would take, it set a precedent for later caliphs to deal with the treasury as they pleased.

30. Abū Bakr plotted to have Khālid ibn Walīd murder ʿAlī (ع). At the last minute, he invalidated his prayer to prevent that most heinous act.[3423]

31. Abū Bakr caused the miscarriage of Fāṭimah's (ع) unborn child, and she died from that miscarriage.[3424]

32. Fāṭimah (ع) died angry at Abū Bakr, and her anger is equivalent to the anger of the Prophet (ص).[3425] Furthermore, Fāṭimah (ع) banned Abū Bakr from attending her funeral. Since it is recommended for Muslims to attend funerals, this amounted to a verdict in which Fāṭimah (ع) convicted Abū Bakr of disbelief.

33. Abū Bakr massacred the tribes who were not willing to pay him alms despite their belief in Islām. This was in direct contravention of the Prophet's (ص) order that one cannot kill those who believe in the unity of Allāh and the prophecy of Muḥammad (ص).[3426] Furthermore, Abū Bakr rejected the advice of ʿUmar that he should not kill Muslims without just cause.

3415. Refer to chapters 49 and 58.
3416. Refer to chapters 23 and 49.
3417. Refer to chapter 49.
3418. Refer to chapter 14.
3419. Refer to chapter 49.
3420. Refer to chapter 49.
3421. Refer to chapter 22.
3422. Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 17:224.
3423. Refer to chapter 50.
3424. Refer to chapters 48 and 50.
3425. Refer to chapter 50.
3426. Refer to chapter 51.

34. By sending troops to kill and rape Muslims, Abū Bakr became responsible for the death of numerous Muslim men, the illegitimate rape of countless Muslim women, the enslavement of Muslims, and the confiscation of Muslim property.[3427]

35. Abū Bakr did not punish Khālid ibn Walīd for murdering Mālik ibn Nuwayrah and for committing adultery with his wife while she was still in her waiting period (ʿiddah) after he husband's death.[3428]

36. Abū Bakr burned Fujāʾah al-Sulamī by the fire, even though his crime was causing mischief through the land and the Qurʾān has clearly spelled out the proper punishment for this crime.[3429]

37. Abū Bakr allowed the apostate Ashʿath ibn Qays to live and even had his sister marry or consummate her marriage with him.[3430] Ashʿath ibn Qays caused much trouble later on. Had Abū Bakr not transgressed the limits set by Allāh and killed this man, his mischief would have been put to an end. Therefore, the heinous crimes of Ashʿath and his offspring are just one offshoot of the errors of Abū Bakr.

38. Abū Bakr lacked knowledge of prophetic traditions.[3431] This is why he would act based on ignorance, make blatant errors in judgment, and sometimes ask around for answers to rather simple questions.

39. Abū Bakr prohibited the recording of prophetic traditions.[3432]

40. Abū Bakr invented prophetic traditions granting false virtues to ʿUmar.[3433]

41. Abū Bakr claimed that ʿUmar was the best of those alive,[3434] even though that was a patently false claim. Indeed, his appointment of ʿUmar to the caliphate in return for ʿUmar's nomination of him to the caliphate was a clear act of corruption and cronyism.

42. Abū Bakr lacked knowledge of the definitions of simple words in the Qurʾān, such as kalālah and abb.[3435]

43. Abū Bakr lacked knowledge of simple concepts in Islāmic law such as inheritance.[3436]

44. Abū Bakr did not know how to judge in simple matters such as how to punish a thief.[3437]

45. According to ʿUmar, ʿAlī (ع) believed that Abū Bakr was a sinful, treacherous, and dishonest liar.[3438]

[3427] Refer to chapter 51.
[3428] Refer to chapter 51.
[3429] Refer to chapter 52.
[3430] Refer to earlier in this chapter.
[3431] Refer to chapter 52.
[3432] Refer to chapter 56.
[3433] Refer to chapter 52.
[3434] Refer to earlier in this chapter.
[3435] Refer to chapter 52.
[3436] Refer to chapter 52.
[3437] Refer to chapter 52.
[3438] Refer to chapter 49.

46. Abū Bakr admitted that he had a personal Satan whom he would sometimes obey.[3439] By having a Satan, Abū Bakr admitted to not being a sincere servant of Allāh as, according to the Qur`ān, Satan will not mislead the sincere servants of Allāh.[3440]

47. Abū Bakr admitted that he would make up rules. If they were correct, they were from Allāh, and if they were incorrect, they were from him and Satan.[3441] He therefore admitted to being a source of innovation, even though Prophet (ص) promised that his companions who innovated after him would be sent away from the Fount of Kawthar in the hereafter.[3442]

48. Abū Bakr designated ʿUmar as the caliph after him,[3443] even though Sunnīs believe that the Prophet (ص) did not designate a successor after himself.[3444] This would therefore be an innovation, and a caliphate based on innovation would be invalid. If the Prophet (ص), as the Shīʿah say, did appoint a successor, then Abū Bakr usurped the caliphate and his caliphate as well as that of his appointed successor would both be illegitimate.

49. By illegitimately designating ʿUmar as caliph, Abū Bakr came to share the burden of all the sins and innovations and injustices of ʿUmar, as well as their consequences for the Muslim nation from then to the day Imām Mahdī (ع) rises.

50. Abū Bakr's nine regrets show that he performed regrettable acts as the Muslim leader and that he was therefore better off being led rather than leading.[3445]

Sunnīs dismiss all these errors, innovations, and sins as deriving from Abū Bakr's ijtihād, an act so noble that he is to be rewarded for every single one of his errors, including the murders and rapes he allowed or pardoned, his illegitimate confiscations of Muslim properties, and his wrongful judgments and innovations.

[3439] Refer to chapters 40 and 52.

[3440] Qur`ān 15:39-40, 38:82-3.

[3441] Refer to chapter 52.

[3442] Refer to chapter 36.

[3443] Refer to earlier in this chapter.

[3444] Refer to chapter 40. According to Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim (#20.4486) and many other Sunnī sources, ʿUmar said, "If I do not nominate a successor, the Messenger of Allāh did not nominate his successor." In accordance with this statement, the Sunnīs believe that the Prophet (ص) did not nominate a successor.

[3445] Refer to earlier in this chapter.

Chapter 54
Ijtihād in Islām

The word "ijtihād" has been used in different contexts. The word is a derivative of "jahada (to struggle)" from which other commonly-known words such as "jihād (struggle)" are derived. In its original linguistic definition, ijtihād means "a struggle for the achievement of some affair," and a mujtahid is the one practicing ijtihād. Rāghib defined ijtihād as, "enduring hardship while devoting oneself to the extent of one's ability."[3446] This was the definition used at the time of the Prophet (ص), as evidenced by the following three traditions:

> "While prostrating yourselves, strive in (fajtahadū) supplication so that it would be fitting for your supplications to be answered."[3447]
>
> "Make a serious effort (wajtahadū) in your prayers (du'ā`)."[3448]
>
> "During the [last] ten days [of Ramaḍān], Sa'īd ibn Jubayr would make a most serious effort to the full extent of his abilities (ijtahada ijtihādan shadīdan)."[3449]

Subsequently, ijtihād took on a specific definition in Islāmic jurisprudence. In Shī'ah jurisprudence, it is commonly used to refer to the efforts of scholars fully versed in the Islāmic sciences to determine the laws of Islām by their use of the basic sources of Islāmic law—the Qur`ān, Sunnah, reason, and consensus. Variations of this definition have also been used by Sunnī scholars, even though most traditional Sunnīs do not believe that ijtihād can be practiced any longer, as the gate of ijtihād was closed by the deaths of their four imāms of jurisprudence—Abū Ḥanīfah, Mālik, Shāfi'ī, and Ḥanbal. Of course, there is no basis for such a belief in the Qur`ān or Sunnah.

The Sunnīs use ijtihād in yet another context that the Shī'ah reject. They claim that the companions of the Prophet (ص) all had the right of ijtihād, meaning that they had the right to make decisions regarding Islāmic laws, particularly when they knew of nothing in the Qur`ān or Sunnah to base their decisions upon. Even when such laws did exist in Islām, they had a right to decide to follow a different path based on their ijtihād. Moreover, their decisions in these matters bear significant Islāmic weight for all subsequent generations.

However, the word for this type of activity is not ijtihād but rather ra`y, or personal opinion, which has no place in Islām. In fact, Sunnī scholars typically mix the concept of ijtihād and ra`y, calling it "ijtihād-i ra`y," even though the two are completely different concepts. They even attribute this concept to ʻAlī (ع), even though his statements were based on knowledge, not opinion. In fact, knowledge is far superior to even true ijtihād, as the Prophet (ص) said, "The one with knowledge (ʻālim) has five hundred degrees of superiority over the mujtahid (i.e. one practicing ijtihād); the distance between each degree is [that of] a five hundred year journey on a slender, fast horse."[3450]

[3446] Mufradāt al-Qur`ān 101 (j-h-d, al-ijtihād).
[3447] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #4.970.
[3448] Sunan Dāramī #1325.
[3449] Sunan Dāramī #1774.

This difference between the Shīʻah and Sunnīs arises from the fact that many Sunnī scholars essentially believe Islām not to be complete, requiring the intervention of companions to create laws where laws were lacking. In contrast, the Shīʻah, as followers of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع), believe that there is no issue in regards to which the Qurʾān and Sunnah is mute. The Ahl al-Bayt (ع) have the knowledge of all Islāmic laws, so there is no need to resort to personal opinions. Furthermore, the Sunnīs allow ijtihād for the companions even when their actions or opinions clearly contradicted Islāmic law, something the Shīʻah reject as sin and innovation, not ijtihād.

The Evidence Used to Support the Sunnī Concept of Ijtihād

Sunnī scholars use one key tradition to prove their position in regards to ijtihād:

> The Prophet (ص), when he sent Muʻādh to Yemen, asked him, "How will you judge?" [Muʻādh] said, "I will judge by the Book of Allāh." [The Prophet (ص)] asked, "And if it is not in the Book of Allāh?" He replied, "By the Sunnah of the Messenger of Allāh (ص)." [The Prophet (ص)] asked, "And if it is not in the Sunnah of the Messenger of Allāh?" [Muʻādh] said, "By the ijtihād of my raʾy (opinion)." [Muʻādh then] said: He hit my chest and said, "Praise be to Allāh, Who agrees with the messenger of the Messenger of Allāh."[3451]

This tradition is weak because it is related from Ḥārith ibn ʻAmr. According to Bukhārī, "His traditions are not sound, and he is not known except by this one, unconnected (mursal)[3452] tradition that Abū ʻAwn related from him."[3453] Ḥārith related this tradition from "men among the companions of Muʻādh," whose identities he either did not know or did not state. All he stated was that the men he related it from were from Ḥimṣ.[3454] Regardless, this tradition is the primary one used in support of ijtihād. Yet, this tradition should be contrasted with a more authentic version of the event with a continuous chain of transmission, as appears in Sunan Ibn Mājah:

> Muʻādh ibn Jabal said: When the Messenger of Allāh (ص) sent me to Yemen he said, "Do not judge and do not make decisions except by what you have knowledge of. If a matter is dubious to you, defer [giving a verdict] until [the matter] becomes clear to you or you write me in its regards."[3455]

[3450] Sunan Dāramī #352.

[3451] Sunan Tirmidhī #1327; Musnad Ḥanbal #22060, #22114, #22153; Sunan Dāramī #168.

[3452] Mursal and munqaṭiʻ refer to traditions in which there is a gap between the relaters in the chain of transmission. More specifically, mursal may be used to refer to the absence of a companion from the chain of transmission, while munqaṭiʻ may be used to refer to the absence of another intervening person in the chain of transmission. Since the identity of the intervening individual cannot be established, it becomes impossible to evaluate the authenticity of the chain. However, Sunnīs do not necessarily dismiss traditions if the identity of the companion is not known, as they consider all companions to be equally flawless when it comes to narrating prophetic traditions. In the case of this tradition, the companions of Muʻādh have not been specified, making the tradition technically munqaṭiʻ.

[3453] Tārīkh Bukhārī vol 2 #2449 (Ḥārith ibn ʻAmr).

[3454] Musnad Ḥanbal #22060, #22153.

[3455] Sunan Ibn Mājah #55.

Moreover, Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī relates,

> The Prophet said, "Recite the Qur`ān as long as you agree about it, but if you have any difference of opinion then you should stop reciting it [for the time being until the proper recitation is ascertained]."[3456]

Moreover, according to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, the Prophet (ص) spoke of a time when "there will remain ignorant people who, when consulted, will give verdicts according to their opinions, whereby they will mislead others and go astray."[3457] It is clear that the Prophet (ص) did not intend for people to arbitrarily create rules.

The Reward for a Mujtahid

According to Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, 'Amr ibn 'Āṣ claimed that the Prophet (ص) said, "When a judge gives a decision, having tried his best to decide correctly and is right, there are two rewards for him; and if he gives a judgment after having tried his best [to arrive at a correct decision] but errs, there is one reward for him."[3458]

This tradition, though problematic for the Shī'ah because of its inclusion of 'Amr ibn 'Āṣ, refers to the real meaning of the word ijtihād, which refers to striving to do one's best. In fact, one should consider this tradition with its two possible meanings to see which one makes sense: (1) Whoever struggles to determine the decision of Allāh in some matter and errs will get a reward for his struggle. (2) Someone who makes an arbitrary decision based on his personal whims, desires, and opinions will get a reward. Anyone with the least bit of impartiality will see that the first meaning is the only one that can be intended; consideration of the actual meaning of the word ijtihād will only further prove that the first interpretation is the intended meaning of the tradition. Taking the first meaning, the Shī'ah scholars agree that there is great reward for anyone who struggles in the path of the determination of the laws of Allāh and that the struggle deserves a reward regardless of the correctness of the results, just as the one who takes his sword to fight in the path of Allāh is rewarded regardless of whether or not he achieves victory. In contrast, the one who creates rules based on his whims not only deserves no reward, but in fact deserves great punishment. Indeed, ẓann (conjecture) refers to a personal conclusion that one may be rather certain of, though not have absolute knowledge of. The Qur`ān expressly denounces ẓann when it says, "They have no knowledge of it; they merely follow ẓann,"[3459] and when it says, "The majority of them do not follow but ẓann and ẓann does not take the place of the truth at all."[3460]

It should also be noted that the tradition of Mu'ādh on ijtihād refers to the topic of judging, in which a decision has to be reached, and not to the invention of laws, as his position in Yemen would have required him to judge among people. It would make sense for him to judge to the best of his ability based on the evidence at hand, but not for him to come up with new laws. If the matter hinged on knowledge of laws, he was to withhold judgment until he could ascertain the law.

[3456] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #6.61.580-1 (Arabic original #4773-4). Note that the English translation has added the word "interpretation," meaning to stop reciting the Qur`ān if there are differences in interpretation, which makes no sense. Indeed, the Arabic original does not include this word.

[3457] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #9.92.410.

[3458] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #18.4261-3.

[3459] Qur`ān 53:28.

[3460] Qur`ān 10:36. Similarly, Qur`ān 53:28.

The Sunnī Position on the Ijtihād of the Companions

In this section, some of the words of the Sunnī scholars in regards to the ijtihād of the companions will be presented. The basic concept that runs through all these is that the companions were all mujtahids and were thus justified in everything that they did, even in the assassination of ʿAlī (ع), as everything they did was based on ijtihād. The only exception, of course, was the execution of ʿUthmān, which was inexcusable.

1. According to Ibn Ḥajar, "Every interpreter is excused in his interpretation (taʾwīl). He is not sinful as long as his interpretation is plausible in the Arabic language."[3461]

2. Ibn Ḥazm said, "ʿAmmār [ibn Yāsir] was killed by Abū al-ʿĀdīyah[3462] Yasār ibn Sabuʿ al-Sulamī who witnessed the pledge of allegiance of Riḍwān and therefore was one of those regarding whom Allāh has testified that He knew what was in his heart, sent serenity upon him, and was pleased with him. Abū al-ʿĀdīyah was an interpreter (mutaʾawwil) [and a] mujtahid who erred and who rendered injustice against [ʿAmmār]. He deserves a single reward. This is not like the murder of ʿUthmān, because they had no room for ijtihād in it."[3463]

3. Ibn Ḥazm also said, "Muʿāwīyah, may Allāh have mercy on him, was one who made mistakes (mukhṭiʾ), and will be rewarded once because he was a mujtahid."[3464]

4. Ibn Ḥazm also said, "There is no disagreement among anyone in the [Sunnī] nation that ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Muljam did not kill ʿAlī except by his interpretation (taʾwīl) as a mujtahid."[3465]

5. Ibn Kathīr said in regards to Yazīd, "The wrongful conduct that emanated from him is excused by [the fact that] he interpreted and erred. They say, 'As a result of [his acts], he was truly a deviant (fāsiq) imām.' But according to the most sound declaration of the scholars, when an imām performs deviant acts, he is not removed [from power] because of his deviance. Indeed, rising against him is not permitted... But regarding what is said by some people—that Yazīd became extremely delighted when the news of what happened to the people of Madīnah [in terms of their massacre and mass-rape] at the hands of Muslim ibn ʿUqbah and his army during [the Battle] of Ḥarrah reached him—he saw that he was the imām, that they had left his obedience, and that they had set in power over themselves someone other than him, so he fought them until they returned to obedience and the necessity of consensus..."[3466]

6. Ibn Ḥajar said, "And of the beliefs of the Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamāʿah similarly is that Muʿāwīyah was not a caliph during the reign of ʿAlī, but was only among the kings (mulūk). As a result of his ijtihād, he gained a single reward. But

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[3461] Fatḥ al-Bārī #6535.
[3462] Or Abū al-Ghādīyah (Iṣābah 4:2322-3 #10632 Abū al-Ghādīyah).
[3463] Al-Faṣl fī al-Milal wa al-Ahwāʾ wa al-Nihal of Ibn Ḥazm 4:242.
[3464] Al-Faṣl fī al-Milal wa al-Ahwāʾ wa al-Nihal of Ibn Ḥazm 4:151.
[3465] Al-Muḥallā of Ibn Ḥazm 10:484.
[3466] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 8:245.

there were for ʻAlī two rewards—a reward for his ijtihād and a reward for his being correct."[3467]

7. Ibn Taymīyyah said, "But [regarding] the invectives (maṭāʻin) against the plurality (jamāʻah), the prominent [Shīʻah scholars] have related a lot of it to the point that Kalbī compiled [a book regarding] the disgraceful acts of the companions, but did not mention in it [even] one weakness of the Ahl al-Bayt... The majority of these issues of theirs have excuses that remove them from being sins, and set them as cases of ijtihād in which, if the mujtahid is correct, there are two rewards for him in it, but if he errs, there is [one] reward. The entirety of what has been related about the rightly-guided caliphs is of this category."[3468]

This is a small sample of what the Sunnī scholars have said about the ijtihād of the companions and to excuse their horrendous acts.[3469] Sunnīs claim that all the companions had the right to ijtihād, and that there were two rewards set for their ijtihād: one just for giving an opinion, and another for their opinion being right. Thus, all the companions of the Prophet (ص) were justified in all their actions because their actions were based on their ijtihād, and if their words and actions were consistent with the teachings of Islām, they deserved two rewards, but if their words and actions were in contradiction to Islām, they deserved one reward. In this way they have justified all their errors, sins, and innovations.

Problems with the Ijtihād of the Companions

The Sunnīs claim that all the companions acted based on ijtihād and that since erring in ijtihād is no sin, they are all effectively sinless. Indeed this definition of ijtihād proves no virtue for the companions, but rather disproves fundamental precepts of the Sunnī faith for a number of reasons:

1. The Sunnī claim that all the companions are just (ʻādil) becomes meaningless and only trivially true. Even if a companion of the Prophet (ص) committed a sin, he would not have sinned according to the Sunnīs because he committed his act based on ijtihād and therefore deserves one reward for deciding that this sin was permissible due to some benefit (maṣlaḥah). Under such circumstances, the justness of a companion means nothing more than the fact that he was a companion, and does not say anything about his type of character and his devotion to following the precepts of Islām. If one were to find the truth about Islām, the companions would no longer be a good source, as they would be merely a source of their own opinions.

2. The deeds of a companion cannot be taken as evidence for how we should act because the companion was liable to having used his personal judgment and to have erred in it. Abū Bakr and ʻUmar may have used their judgment in usurping the caliphate at the Saqīfah, but it would be impermissible for us to follow their decisions without ascertaining whether their decisions were erroneous or not.

3. The traditions related by the companions ought not to be trusted. It is likely that some companions invented traditions, as they thought doing so was necessary

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[3467] Maʻālim al-Madrasatayn 2:79 quotes this from al-Ṣawāʻiq al-Muḥriqah of Ibn Ḥajar al-Haythamī 216.

[3468] Minhāj al-Sunnah of Ibn Taymīyyah 5:81-3.

[3469] For more accounts refer to Maʻālim al-Madrasatayn 2:74-83.

for some particular benefit. If a companion performed ijtihād in favor of inventing traditions, his transmissions must not be accepted. Even if, as the Sunnīs would say, such a companion did not sin by performing such an act of ijtihād, we must not take such a companion's words at face value.

4. It would make no sense for the Prophet (ص) to tell his companions to follow their own personal opinions in matters because differences of opinion were bound to emerge which could not be solved as a result of the fact that everyone would make decisions based on their own whims and desires.

5. Even if the Prophet (ص) did tell his companions to act based on their own opinions in religious matters, it does not mean that we ought to follow their opinions. If each individual was told to follow his own whims, one would certainly find no need to follow the whims of others. Even if the gate of ijtihād is now closed as the Sunnīs claim, we ought not to follow the ijtihād of the companions.

6. It is not necessarily true that all the companions acted based on their opinion of what was right. It is quite possible that a companion did something that he thought was not the Islāmically justified thing to do. For example, Abū Bakr expressed regret as to nine things which he wished he had done differently.[3470] It is at least conceivable that he did not consider what he did justified when he actually did them. Thus it becomes necessary for us to distinguish situations in which they used ijtihād and erred from those in which they defied the laws of Islām.

7. Companions committed acts such as drinking and committing adultery, and it is not clear how such acts could be justified by invoking ijtihād. For example, when Walīd drank, it is likely that he did not use ijtihād to Islāmically justify drinking, but rather just drank away until he was so drunk that he vomited wine on the miḥrāb of the Grand Mosque of Kūfah.[3471] Similarly, no one said that Mughīrah ibn Shū῾bah should not have been tried for committing adultery[3472] because he was a mujtahid and based his actions on ijtihād, for which he would be rewarded.

8. The first three caliphs prevented the transmission and recording of the words of the Prophet (ص).[3473] It seems rather convenient for them to prevent the people from following the Prophet (ص) by claiming that his traditions were not to be written or transmitted, while filling the vacuum with the personal opinions of the few companions who were part of their ruling circles.

Indeed, the entire Sunnī concept of ijtihād is wrong. Even if one accepts the tradition saying that one can use ijtihād when one finds nothing in the Book of Allāh or the Sunnah of the Prophet (ص), one cannot possibly use ijtihād to justify the acts of the companions. Many of them sinned despite their sins being against the clear laws of Islām. The murder of innocent believers is against Islāmic law, and there is no room for personal opinions in this matter. Yet, the fist three caliphs exiled, tortured, and killed many innocent Muslims. Indeed, the criticisms the Shī῾ah have about the companions are not about their decisions where Islām has no clear rules, but rather about their decisions that clearly violated the laws of the Qur`ān and the Sunnah of the Prophet (ص). As Allāh says, "Whoever surpasses the limits of Allāh—so they are the oppressors."[3474] Many of the companions were blatant oppressors, and the Shī´ah have renounced their sinful acts, just as the Prophet (ص) did when he said, "O Allāh, I am free from what Khālid has done!"[3475] when Khālid ibn Walīd killed innocent Muslims.

[3470] Refer to chapter 53.
[3471] Refer to chapter 64.
[3472] Refer to chapter 60.
[3473] Refer to chapter 56.

Abū Ḥanīfah's Personal Opinions

There are four schools of jurisprudence that the Sunnīs follow, which include the Ḥanafī, Shāfi´ī, Mālikī, and Ḥanbalī schools. The Ḥanafī school was created by Nu´mān ibn Thābit, commonly known as Abū Ḥanīfah, who was a great supporter of following his own personal opinions (ra`y), of substituting the laws of Islām with what he found to be more desirable (istiḥsān), and of following reasoning by analogy (qīyās), even when the conclusions of his analogies contradicted the Sunnah of the Prophet (ص). Subsequent imāms of Sunnī jurisprudence tried, somewhat unsuccessfully, to undo some of his damage to Islāmic law. Below is some of what Khaṭīb Baghdādī has related in regards to him in Tārīkh Baghdād:[3476]

1. Abū Ḥanīfah said, "Had the Messenger of Allāh met me and had I met him, he would have taken a great amount of what I say. Is religion anything but good opinions (ra`y)?"

2. Abū Isḥāq said, "When something would be brought from the [Sunnah] of the Prophet (ص), Abū Ḥanīfah would oppose it and [adopt] another [opinion]."

3. Yūsuf ibn Asbāṭ said, "Abū Ḥanīfah rejected four hundred or more [sound] traditions of the Prophet (ص)."

4. ´Alī ibn ´Āṣim said, "We related [something] to Abū Ḥanīfah from the Prophet (ص)." He said, "I won't take it!" I said, "[It is] from the Prophet (ص)!" He said, "I won't take it!"

5. Abū Isḥāq al-Fazārī said: I asked [Abū Ḥanīfah] about a problem and he answered me. I told him, "Verily, such-and-such (i.e. the opposite of what you say) has been related from the Prophet (ص)." He said, "Take this [tradition] away from us!"

6. When Abū Isḥāq al-Fazārī related a prophetic tradition to Abū Ḥanīfah, he said, "This tradition is superstition!"

7. Sufyān al-Thawrī mentioned a tradition of the Prophet (ص) and Abū Ḥanīfah said, "This is superstition!"

8. Ḥammād ibn Salamah said, "Abū Ḥanīfah would confront the traditions and turn his back on them with his opinion (ra`y)."

[3474] Qur`ān 2:229.
[3475] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.59.628, #9.89.299 (Arabic original #4084, #6766).
[3476] Tārīkh Baghdād #7297 (Nu´mān ibn Thābit).

9. Ḥammād ibn Salamah said, "Abū Ḥanīfah would confront the traditions (āthār) and customs (sunan) [of the Prophet (ص)] and reject them with his opinion."

Abū Ḥanīfah also mocked the traditions of the Prophet (ص):

10. Yaḥyā ibn Ādam said: The tradition in which the Prophet (ص) said, "Wuḍū` is half of belief (īmān)," was mentioned to Abū Ḥanīfah. He said, "Then perform wuḍū` twice so that your belief would be whole!"

The following are a few of the opinions of Sunnī scholars regarding him:

11. Sufyān al-Thawrī said, "No one has been born in this nation who has been more disastrous than Abū Ḥanīfah."
12. Awzā´ī said, "No one has been born in this nation who has been more disastrous than Abū Ḥanīfah."
13. Muḥammad ibn Maslamah[3477] was asked, "Why is it that the opinions of Abū Ḥanīfah have spread through every land except Madīnah." He replied, "The Messenger of Allāh (ص) said that the Dajjāl (Antichrist) and the plague will not enter it, and he is a dajjāl among the dajjāls."
14. ´Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Mahdī said, "I do not know of any fitnah (tribulation) in Islām after the fitnah of Dajjāl that is greater than the opinions of Abū Ḥanīfah."
15. Naḍr ibn Shumayl said, "In [Abū Ḥanīfah's] book al-Ḥīyal, there are such and such matters stated, all of which constitute disbelief (kufr)."
16. Ibn Mubārak said, "Whoever has the book al-Ḥīyal of Abū Ḥanīfah and uses it as a source of rulings, his ḥajj is void."
17. A man asked Ibn Mubārak, "Is Abū Ḥanīfah a mujtahid?" "No!" he replied, "How could he be a mujtahid?!"
18. Sufyān al-Thawrī forbade people from attending the meetings of Abū Ḥanīfah.
19. Abū Isḥāq said that it is better to die than to live near Abū Ḥanīfah.
20. Yazīd ibn Hārūn said, "I have not seen a group more similar to the Christians that the companions of Abū Ḥanīfah."
21. Sufyān al-Thawrī said, "Abū Ḥanīfah repented from disbelief (kufr) twice."
22. Ya´qūb said that Abū Ḥanīfah repented from disbelief "multiple times."
23. When Abū Ḥanīfah was mentioned, Sufyān al-Thawrī said, "His companions made him repent from disbelief many times."

[3477] This is referring to the second and third century Sunnī scholar, not the companion. Refer to Tārīkh Baghdād #1397 (Muḥammad ibn Maslamah).

24. Yūsuf ibn ʿUthmān, the governor of Kūfah, made Abū Ḥanīfah stand on an outdoor stone bench and repent from disbelief (kufr).

25. Abū Yūsuf said, "We would go to him to learn jurisprudence (fiqh) but we would not follow him in religious [beliefs]."

Indeed, Mālik, Shāfiʿī, and Ḥanbal all agreed that Abū Ḥanīfah was the enemy of Islām and must not be followed:

26. Abū Bakr ibn Abī Dāwūd al-Sijistānī said to his followers, "What do you say about a matter in which Mālik and his followers, Shāfiʿī and his followers, Awzāʿī and his followers, Ḥasan ibn Ṣāliḥ and his followers, Sufyān al-Thawrī and his followers, and Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal and his followers all concur?" They said, "There would be nothing more certain than such a matter." He said, "All of them concur that Abū Ḥanīfah was misguided."

27. Mālik said, "No child more harmful than Abū Ḥanīfah has been born in Islām."

28. Mālik said, "The fitnah of Abū Ḥanīfah in this nation has been more harmful than the fitnah of Iblīs (Satan)."

29. Mālik said, "Abū Ḥanīfah constitutes death in religion."

30. Mālik said, "The consuming ailment is the destruction of religion, and Abū Ḥanīfah is part of the consuming ailment."

31. Walīd ibn Muslim said: Mālik asked me, "Is Abū Ḥanīfah remembered in your land?" I replied, "Yes." He said, "Then it is not permissible for one to live in your land."

32. Mālik was asked to describe Abū Ḥanīfah. He said, "What do you think of a man who would say that this room is made of gold and keep arguing until he makes it turn into gold, when it is just made of wood and stone?" Abū Muḥammad (the narrator) said, "This means that he would be proving what is wrong and arguing against everything else and would not return to the truth."

33. When Abū Ḥanīfah was mentioned, Mālik said, "He conspires against religion! He conspires against religion!"

34. Mālik said, "[Abū Ḥanīfah] plots against religion, and whoever plots against religion has no religion."

35. Shāfiʿī said, "I looked into a book of the companions of Abū Ḥanīfah that contained one hundred and thirty pages. I counted in it eighty pages that opposed the Book [of Allāh] and the Sunnah [of the Prophet (ص)]."

36. Shāfiʿī said, "There is no one worse for [the Muslim nation] than Abū Ḥanīfah."

37. Shāfiʿī said, "Abū Ḥanīfah would make an error in the first place and then use that [error] as a basis for analogies (qiyās) that he would then base his entire book upon."

38. Shāfi'ī said, "I do not know of anyone other than Abū Ḥanīfah who has written a book based so much on his own errors."

39. Shāfi'ī said, "The opinions of Abū Ḥanīfah resemble nothing more than the rope of a sorcerer. He pulls it one way and it comes out green, and he pulls it another way and it comes out yellow."

40. Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal said, "It is as if he has no share of knowledge whatsoever."

41. Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal said, "Abū Ḥanīfah is worse for the Muslims than 'Amr ibn 'Ubayd[3478] because he has followers."

Indeed, Sunnī scholars of tradition have considered Abū Ḥanīfah unreliable as a narrator of tradition. Nasā`ī included Abū Ḥanīfah in the book he composed regarding the weak and abandoned relaters of tradition, al-Ḍu'afā` wa al-Matrūkīn. In it he said, "Nu'mān ibn Thābit Abū Ḥanīfah is not strong (qawī) in his relaying of traditions."[3479] Bukhārī said that the experts of tradition "remain silent about him."[3480]

According to Bukhārī, the Prophet (ص) warned us about following the mere opinions of leaders:

> People will take as their leaders ignorant persons who, when consulted, will give their verdict without knowledge. So they will go astray and will lead the people astray.[3481]

In fact, a great innovation of Sunnīsm is the fact that Sunnīs are required to follow one of their four "imāms" of jurisprudence. It is inconceivable that Islām requires this, as it can be found neither in the Book of Allāh nor in the Sunnah of the Messenger of Allāh (ص), and as none of these scholars and their personal opinions existed at the time of the Prophet (ص). Indeed, one of the most unfortunate aspect of Sunnīsm is that their scholars, on numerous instances, have favored the opinions of the companions, successors, and their "imāms" of jurisprudence over the Qur`ān and the Sunnah of the Prophet (ص).

3478. 'Amr ibn 'Ubayd was a prominent Mu'tazilī scholar and a leading pupil of Wāṣil ibn 'Aṭā`, the founder of the Mu'tazilī school of theology (Milal wa Niḥal 24).

3479. Al-Ḍu'afā` wa al-Matrūkīn (The Weak and the Abandoned) of Nasā`ī #586 (Nu'mān ibn Thābit).

3480. Tārīkh Bukhārī vol 8 #2253 (Nu'mān ibn Thābit).

3481. Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #1.3.100.

Chapter 55
The Compilation of the Qur`ān[3482]

The main sources of Islāmic knowledge include the Qur`ān and traditions. While the Qur`ān is the Book of Allāh, the traditions relay the words and deeds of the Prophet (ص) and others. Since the development of Islām is dependent on the Qur`ān and prophetic traditions, it is necessary to address how the companions of the Prophet (ص), particularly the first three caliphs, handled the two, and to clarify misconceptions that have arisen among Sunnīs, particularly in regards to the oft-spread rumor that the Shī´ah believe that the Qur`ān has been altered. In this chapter, the compilation of the Qur`ān will be discussed, while the next chapter will address the attitude of the first three caliphs in regards to the preservation of the Prophet's (ص) traditions. In regards to the Qur`ān, contradictory Sunnī accounts regarding the compilation of the Qur`ān will be cited, the Shī´ah position in this regards will be clarified, and a number of absurd Sunnī traditions and claims will be addressed.

The Claim that Abū Bakr was the First to Compile the Qur`ān

Suyūṭī said, "Among the major events that occurred during [Abū Bakr's] caliphate was... the collection of the Qur`ān."[3483] He also said, "Abū Bakr was the first to compile the Qur`ān between two covers."[3484] This claim appears in other Sunnī sources as well.[3485] According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, Zayd ibn Thābit said,

> Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq sent for me when the people [who had fought in the Battle] of Yamāmah had been killed [fighting against Musaylimah]. [I went to him] and found ´Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb sitting with him. Abū Bakr then said [to me]: ´Umar has come to me and said, "Casualties were heavy among the qurrā` (reciters) of the Qur`ān on the day of the Battle of Yamāmah, and I am afraid that more heavy casualties may take place among the qurrā` on other battlefields, whereby a large part of the Qur`ān may be lost. Therefore, I suggest that you (i.e. Abū Bakr) order that the Qur`ān be collected." I said to ´Umar, "How can you do something which Allāh's Apostle did not do?" ´Umar said, "By Allāh, that is a good project." ´Umar kept on urging me to accept his proposal until Allāh opened my chest for it, and I began to realize the good in the idea which ´Umar had realized. Then Abū Bakr said [to me], "You are a wise young man and we do not have any suspicion about you, and you used to write the divine inspiration for Allāh's Apostle. So you should search for [the fragmentary scripts of] the

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[3482] Much of the material of this chapter is based on the work Akdhūbah al-Taḥrīf (The Myth of [the Qur`ān's] Alteration) by Rasūl Ja´farīyān. Of note, this work has been translated into Farsi under the title, "Afsāneh Taḥrīf Qur`ān," which was utilized here.

[3483] Tārīkh al-Khulafā` 67.

[3484] Tārīkh al-Khulafā` 71.

[3485] Maṣāḥif Ibn Abī Dāwūd #8-24; ´Umdah al-Qārī 20:16.

Qur`ān and collect it in one book." By Allāh, if they had ordered me to shift one of the mountains, it would not have been heavier for me than this ordering of me to collect the Qur`ān. Then I said to Abū Bakr, "How will you do something which Allāh's Apostle did not do?" Abū Bakr replied, "By Allāh, it is a good project." Abū Bakr kept on urging me to accept his idea until Allāh opened my chest to what He had opened the chests of Abū Bakr and ʻUmar to doing. So I started looking for the Qur`ān and collecting it from [what was written on] palm stalks, thin white stones, and also from the men who knew it by heart, until I found the last verse of Sūrah Tawbah[3486] with Abū Khuzaymah al-Anṣārī, and I did not find it with anyone other than him. The verse is, "Verily there has come unto you an apostle from amongst yourselves. It grieves him that you should receive any injury or difficulty... (until the end of the sūrah)."[3487] Then the complete manuscript of the Qur`ān remained with Abū Bakr until he died, then with ʻUmar until the end of his life, and then with Ḥafṣah, the daughter of ʻUmar.[3488]

The Claim that ʻUmar was the First to Compile the Qur`ān

According to Ibn Saʻd, "[ʻUmar] was the first to compile the Qur`ān,"[3489] and Yaḥyā ibn ʻAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Ḥāṭib said, "ʻUmar decided to compile the Qur`ān, so he stood up among people and said, 'Whoever has anything of the Qur`ān [he has obtained] from the Messenger of Allāh should bring it to us.'"[3490] The wording of the tradition indicates that this occurred during ʻUmar's caliphate. According to Ibn Abī Dāwūd,

> ʻUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb asked about a verse from the Book of Allāh. He was told, "It was with so-and-so and he died on the Day of Yamāmah." ʻUmar said, "We are from Allāh!" and he ordered the compilation of the Qur`ān. He was therefore the first to compile the Qur`ān in one volume.[3491]

According to Kanz al-ʻUmmāl,

> When ʻUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb compiled the Qur`ān, he asked, "Who is the most knowledgeable of people to the Arabic [language]?" He was told, "Saʻīd ibn ʻĀṣ." He then asked, "Who is the best scribe among the people?" He was told, "Zayd ibn Thābit." He said, "So Saʻīd should dictate and Zayd should write." They wrote four copies and sent one to Kūfah, one to Baṣrah, one to Syria, and one to Ḥijāz.[3492]

The Claim that ʻUthmān was the First to Compile the Qur`ān

Muḥammad ibn Sīrīn said, "ʻUmar was killed and the Qur`ān had not [yet] been compiled."[3493] This statement is explicit that ʻUthmān was the first to compile the Qur`ān and that Abū Bakr and ʻUmar had failed to do so. ʻAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Mahdī said, "There were two qualities for ʻUthmān ibn ʻAffān that did not exist for Abū Bakr or

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[3486] Qur`ān, sūrah 9.
[3487] Qur`ān 9:128-129.
[3488] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #6.61.509.
[3489] Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 3:281.
[3490] Maṣāḥif Ibn Abī Dāwūd #27; Kanz al-ʻUmmāl #4759.
[3491] Maṣāḥif Ibn Abī Dāwūd #26; Kanz al-ʻUmmāl #4758.
[3492] Kanz al-ʻUmmāl #4767.
[3493] Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 3:294; Kanz al-ʻUmmāl #4757.

ʹUmar—his patience until he was killed, and his gathering people over [a single] Qurʾān."[3494] However, according to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, ʹUthmān merely had ʹUmar's personal copy of the Qurʾān copied:

> Ḥudhayfah ibn Yamān came to ʹUthmān at the time when the people of Syria and the people of Iraq were waging war to conquer Armenia and Ādharbayjān. Ḥudhayfah was afraid of their differences in the recitation of the Qurʾān, so he said to ʹUthmān, "O Commander of the Faithful! Save this nation before they differ about the Book as the Jews and Christians did before." So ʹUthmān sent a message to Ḥafṣah saying, "Send us the manuscripts of the Qurʾān so that we may compile the Qurʾānic materials in perfect copies and return the manuscripts to you." Ḥafṣah sent it to ʹUthmān. ʹUthmān then ordered Zayd ibn Thābit, ʹAbd Allāh ibn Zubayr, Saʹīd ibn ʹĀṣ, and ʹAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Ḥārith ibn Hishām to rewrite the manuscripts in perfect copies. ʹUthmān said to the three Qurayshī men, "In case you disagree with Zayd ibn Thābit on any point in the Qurʾān, then write it in the dialect of the Quraysh, as the Qurʾān was revealed in their tongue." They did so, and when they had written many copies, ʹUthmān returned the original manuscripts to Ḥafṣah. ʹUthmān sent to every Muslim province one copy of what they had copied, and ordered that all the other Qurʾānic materials, whether written in fragmentary manuscripts or whole copies, be burnt. Zayd ibn Thābit added, "A verse from Sūrah Aḥzāb was missed by me when we copied the Qurʾān and I used to hear Allāh's Apostle reciting it. So we searched for it and found it with Khuzaymah ibn Thābit al-Anṣārī. [That verse read], 'Among the believers are men who have been true in their covenant with Allāh.'[3495]"[3496]

It is said that ʹUthmān ordered the compilation of the Qurʾān after he complained that, "You have all [fallen into] disagreement regarding the Qurʾān."[3497] In fact, the situation was so bad that, "A man would recite [the Qurʾān] and [another] man would say to his companion, 'You have become a disbeliever by what you recite!'"[3498] When ʹUthmān decided to compile the Qurʾān, he made a speech, in which he said,

> You have been taking the Qurʾān lightly in the past thirteen years and you have been quoting the recitation of Ubayy and the recitation of ʹAbd Allāh [ibn Masʹūd], and [it has come to the point that] a man says [to another], "By Allāh I do not adopt your recitation!" So I will send to every man among you who has anything of the Book of Allāh to bring it.[3499]

According to one account, ʹUthmān ordered Ubayy ibn Kaʹb to dictate, Zayd ibn Thābit to write, and Saʹīd ibn ʹĀṣ and ʹAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Ḥārith to record the symbols.[3500] According to another account, when ʹUthmān wanted to compile the Book, he said, "Hudhayl, dictate, and Thaqīf, write!"[3501] According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, ʹUthmān said, "In case you disagree with Zayd ibn Thābit regarding any dialectic Arabic utterance of the Qurʾān, then write it in the dialect of the Quraysh, for the Qurʾān was revealed in this

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3494. Kanz al-ʹUmmāl #4774.
3495. Qurʾān 33:23.
3496. Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #6.61.510.
3497. Kanz al-ʹUmmāl #4780.
3498. Kanz al-ʹUmmāl #4782.
3499. Kanz al-ʹUmmāl #4779.
3500. Kanz al-ʹUmmāl #4790. Similarly, Kanz al-ʹUmmāl #4789.
3501. Kanz al-ʹUmmāl #4783.

dialect."[3502] When the manuscript was completed, it was given to 'Uthmān. He looked at it and then said, "You have done [your task] perfectly and beautifully, but I do see something wrong that the Arab will fix with their tongue."[3503] He then found some errors in it and said, "If the one dictating was from the Hudhayl and the one writing was from the Thaqīf, I would not have found this in it."[3504]

After completing this task, 'Uthmān gathered everyone's personal copies of the Qur`ān by force and buried them in the mosque, between the Prophet's (ص) gravesite and the pulpit.[3505] According to other traditions, including one in Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, 'Uthmān burned the Qur`āns he thus gathered.[3506] In fact, when he was put under siege in his final days, one of the complaints was that he "set fire to the Book of Allāh,"[3507] and that "he tore apart the pages [of the Qur`ān]."[3508]

The Claim that Sālim Mawlā Abī Ḥudhayfah was the First to Compile the Qur`ān

According to Suyūṭī,

> Ibn Buraydah said: The first to compile the Qur`ān in one volume was Sālim mawlā Abī Ḥudhayfah. He swore not to wear his cloak [for going outside the house] until he collected it. He collected it and then they discussed what to name it. Some said, "We should name it al-Sifr." He said, "This is a Jewish name," and so they did not like it. Sālim then said, "I have seen something like it in Abyssinia which was called al-Muṣḥaf." So they all agreed to call it al-Muṣḥaf.[3509]

The Claim that the Qur`ān was Compiled Based on the Testimony of Witnesses

<u>What was Taken from Two Witnesses</u>

According to Sunnī traditions, the bulk of the Qur`ān was compiled based on the testimony of two witnesses:

1. 'Urwah said: When the people of Yamāmah were killed, Abū Bakr ordered 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb and Zayd ibn Thābit and told them, "Sit at the door of the mosque. Do not disregard anything that anyone brings you from the Qur`ān as long as there are two men to testify to its [being part of the Qur`ān] as proof."[3510]

2. Yaḥyā ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Ḥāṭib said: 'Umar decided to compile the Qur`ān, so he stood among the people and said, "Whoever has anything of the Qur`ān [that he heard] from the Messenger of Allāh should bring it to us." They had written it on papers, tablets, and palm leaves. It was such that nothing was accepted from anyone until two witnesses testified [that it was part of the

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[3502] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #6.61.507.

[3503] Kanz al-'Ummāl #4784-6.

[3504] Kanz al-'Ummāl #4787.

[3505] Kanz al-'Ummāl #4788.

[3506] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #6.61.510; Kanz al-'Ummāl #4777; 'Umdah al-Qārī 20:18 (several traditions); Maṣāḥif Ibn Abī Dāwūd #24, #32, #33, #57, #59, #64.

[3507] Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:281.

[3508] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:191.

[3509] Itqān 140, chapter 18.

[3510] Kanz al-'Ummāl #4756.

> Qur`ān]. [ʹUmar] was killed and all of this was with him. So ʹUthmān stood up and said, "Anyone who has something of the Book of Allāh, bring it to us." It was such that nothing was accepted from anyone until two witnesses testified [that it was part of the Qur`ān].[3511]

According to the second tradition, the compilation of the Qur`ān started before the caliphate of ʹUthmān but was completed by him.

What was Taken from One Witness

Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī has related the following three traditions from Zayd ibn Thābit:

1. "Abū Bakr sent for me and said, 'You used to write the divine revelations for Allāh's Messenger. So you should search for [the Qur`ān] and collect it.' I started searching for the Qur`ān until I found the last two verses of Sūrah Tawbah[3512] with Abū Khuzaymah al-Anṣārī and I could not find these verses with anybody other than him. [The verses read], 'Verily there has come unto you an apostle from amongst yourselves. It grieves him that you should receive any injury or difficulty...'[3513]"[3514]
2. "I started looking for the Qur`ān and collecting it from palm leaf stalks, thin white stones, and also from the men who knew it by heart, until I found the last verse of Sūrah Tawbah with Abū Khuzaymah al-Anṣārī, and I did not find it with anybody other them him."[3515]
3. "A verse from Sūrah Aḥzāb was missed by me when we copied the Qur`ān and I used to hear Allāh's Apostle reciting it. So we searched for it and found it with Khuzaymah ibn Thābit al-Anṣārī. [That verse read], 'Among the believers are men who have been true in their covenant with Allāh'[3516]."[3517]

The following are similar traditions in this regards:

1. ʹUbayd ibn ʹUmayr said: ʹUmar would not record anything in the Muṣḥaf until two men would testify. A man from the Anṣār took him the [following] two verses: "A messenger has come to you from among yourselves. He takes seriously what you grieve..." ʹUmar said, "I do not ask for any proof from him at all!"[3518]
2. Khuzaymah ibn Thābit said: I went to ʹUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb and Zayd ibn Thābit with the verse, "A messenger has come to you from among yourselves. He takes seriously what you grieve..." Zayd asked, "Who [will serve as the second] witness with you?" I said, "No, by Allāh, I do not know [of any other witness]." ʹUmar said, "I will bear witness to this along with him!"[3519]

[3511] Kanz al-ʹUmmāl #4759.
[3512] Qur`ān, sūrah 9, known both as Sūrah Barā`ah (Renunciation) and Sūrah Tawbah (Repentance).
[3513] Qur`ān 9:128-129.
[3514] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #6.61.511.
[3515] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #6.61.509.
[3516] Qur`ān 33:23.
[3517] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #6.61.510.
[3518] Kanz al-ʹUmmāl #4397.
[3519] Kanz al-ʹUmmāl #4764.

3. Layth ibn Sa´d said: The first to compile the Qur`ān was Abū Bakr and Zayd wrote it. The people gave Zayd ibn Thābit [what they had of the Qur`ān]. He would not record any verse unless it was witnessed by two just men. But he could not find the end of Sūrah Barā`ah with anyone but Khuzaymah ibn Thābit. He said, "Write it, [even though] the Messenger of Allāh has set the [minimum number of witnesses for] testimony to two witnesses," so he wrote it. But ´Umar gave him the verse of stoning (rajm), but he did not write it because [´Umar] was the sole witness."[3520]

Problems with These Traditions

When was the Qur`ān Compiled?

We have reviewed some of the traditions from Sunnī sources regarding the compilation of the Qur`ān. As can be seen, the traditions clearly differ as to whether it was compiled during the caliphate of Abū Bakr, ´Umar, or ´Uthmān. Some accounts assert that it was compiled in its entirety during the caliphate of Abū Bakr, some suggest that it was compiled during ´Umar's caliphate, and some state that when ´Uthmān became caliph the Qur`ān had not yet been compiled.

Why was It Compiled?

Some of these traditions indicate that the Qur`ān was compiled after the Battle of Yamāmah when many of the reciters of the Qur`ān were killed. However, the main reciters of the Qur`ān like ´Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib (ع), Ubayy ibn Ka´b, ´Abd Allāh ibn Mas´ūd, and the others were all alive and safe in Madīnah. Therefore, this reason is quite weak. In fact, it is not clear which of the key reciters of the Qur`ān died in that battle. Other traditions state that the reason for the Qur`ān's compilation was that differences in recitation were commonly encountered.

How was It Compiled?

These traditions indicate that the Qur`ān was compiled based on the testimony of two companions. However, what can guarantee the immunity of the Qur`ān had it been left up to the memory of the companions? In fact, we can see that some of the verses are claimed to have been recorded based only on the testimony of a single witness according to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī. One must wonder what would have happened to a verse had the only person who remembered it forgotten it or died. In that case, there may be dozens of other verses that were forgotten by the companions and thus never recorded, as is indicated by the following Sunnī tradition:

> ´Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb asked about a verse from the Book of Allāh. He was told, "It was with so-and-so, but he died on the Day of Yamāmah [and it is therefore lost forever]." [´Umar] said, "We are from Allāh!" and ordered the Qur`ān to be collected.[3521]

Had the Qur`ān been compiled based on what was brought by two witnesses as the Sunnī traditions claim, it would be weaker than many of the traditions we have today that have been transmitted from numerous companions. Two hypocrites could have easily claimed that something was part of the Qur`ān, and it would have been included in it. These traditions are weak from a rational point of view and also make little sense considering the fact that the Qur`ān had been compiled in its entirety by several of the companions during the lifetime of the Prophet (ص), as will be shown.

[3520] Itqān 141, chapter 18.
[3521] Itqān 139-140, chapter 18.

The Recording of the Qur`ān During the Lifetime of the Messenger of Allāh (ص)

There are several lines of evidence that the Qur`ān was written in its entirety during the Prophet's (ص) lifetime:

<u>Sūrah Barā`ah Proves that the Qur`ān was Compiled During the Prophet's Lifetime</u>

Ibn 'Abbās said,

> I asked 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān, "What made you take [Sūrah] Anfāl[3522] and Sūrah Barā`ah[3523] and put them next to one another and not write between them the phrase, 'In the name of Allāh, most gracious, most merciful'? And why [did you include Sūrah Barā`ah] along with the seven long[3524] [sūrahs]? What made you do this?" 'Uthmān replied, "The Messenger of Allāh, at the time of revelation, would have numbers assigned to everything that was revealed to him. Whenever something was revealed to him, he would call some of those who wrote for him. Then he would say, 'Put this in the sūrah in which it says such-and-such, and for which [new] verses have been revealed.' So he said, 'Put these verses in the sūrah in which is said such-and-such.' Anfāl was from the early days of what was revealed in Madīnah, while Barā`ah was among the last parts of the Qur`ān to be revealed. [Barā`ah's] story was similar to [Anfāl's] story, so I thought that [Barā`ah] was [part] of [Anfāl]. The Messenger of Allāh passed away and had yet not made it clear to us whether Barā`ah was part of Anfāl [or not]. So when this happened, I recited it between the two [sūrahs of Anfāl and Yūnus] and I did not write between them the phrase, 'In the name of Allāh, most gracious, most merciful.' Rather, I placed it among the seven long sūrahs."[3525]

This tradition explains the story as follows: Sūrah Barā`ah was revealed and the Messenger of Allāh (ص) dictated it to the recorders of revelation and told them to place it after the eighth sūrah, Sūrah Anfāl. The phrase "In the name of Allāh, most gracious, most merciful," which was revealed at the beginning of all the all the other sūrahs, was not revealed at the beginning of Sūrah Barā`ah. Therefore, confusion arose later on as to whether Sūrah Barā`ah was actually a separate sūrah of the Qur`ān lacking the introductory phrase, or whether it was a continuation of Sūrah Anfāl. The companions did their job, which was to record Sūrah Barā`ah after Sūrah Anfāl without the introductory phrase.

As such, the entire Qur`ān was recorded very accurately during the lifetime of the Prophet (ص) with no changes made to it later. Anyone who looks at Sūrah Barā`ah and

[3522] Qur`ān, sūrah 8.

[3523] Qur`ān, sūrah 9.

[3524] The long (ṭuwāl) sūrahs are said to include sūrahs 2-8, starting from Sūrah Baqarah and ending in Sūrah Anfāl, after which comes Sūrah Barā`ah. Of note, Sūrah Anfāl is much shorter than the preceding six sūrahs and can be considered a long sūrah only if the ninth sūrah is considered part of it.

[3525] Kanz al-'Ummāl #4770.

Sūrah Anfāl realizes that Sūrah Anfāl includes 75 verses and Sūrah Barā`ah includes 129 verses. The six long sūrahs preceding these contain more verses than either of these. However, if the two are put together, they would contain 204 verses, which is closer in number to the preceding sūrahs, such as Sūrah A´rāf, the seventh sūrah, which contains 206 verses.

It is clear that the Messenger of Allāh (ص) ordered Sūrah Barā`ah to be placed after Sūrah Anfāl and that is why they appear in the order in which they appear today with Sūrah Barā`ah lacking the introductory phrase. Therefore, the Messenger of Allāh (ص) had specified not only the exact position of verses in various sūrahs, but also the position of various sūrahs in the text of the Qur`ān, as well as the placement of the introductory phrase.

If one doubts that the Messenger of Allāh (ص) clarified the position of each verse in each sūrah, then the sūrahs we have today would simply be random compilations of verses. Had the Messenger of Allāh (ص) not specified exactly where specific verses were to be placed, the companions would have been in utter confusion in regards to the placement of verses in various sūrahs. For example, many of the sūrahs were revealed at various times. Had there been no clarification as to where the verses belonged, there would have been no way to know where to place them. Yet, there is no evidence that there was any disagreement over the exact placement of verses as would have arisen had the Qur`ān been put together piecemeal as suggested by some Sunnī traditions.

Traditions Naming the Compilers of the Qur`ān

The Shī´ah scholar Ibn Nadīm said, "The collectors of the Qur`ān during the time of the Prophet (ص) were ´Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib (ع), Sa´d ibn ´Ubayd ibn Nu´mān ibn ´Amr ibn Zayd, Abū Dardā` ´Uwaymir ibn Zayd, Mu´ādh ibn Jabal ibn Aws, Abū Zayd Thābit ibn Zayd ibn Nu´mān, Ubayy ibn Ka´b ibn Qays ibn Mālik, and ´Ubayd ibn Mu´āwīyah ibn Zayd ibn Thābit ibn Ḍaḥḥāk."[3526]

According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī,

1. "When the Prophet died, none had collected the Qur`ān but four persons: Abū Dardā`, Mu´ādh ibn Jabal, Zayd ibn Thābit, and Abū Zayd."[3527]

2. Narrated Qatādah: I asked Anas ibn Mālik, "Who collected the Qur`ān at the time of the Prophet?" He replied, "Four, all of whom were from the Anṣār—Ubayy ibn Ka´b, Mu´ādh ibn Jabal, Zayd ibn Thābit, and Abū Zayd."[3528]

3. The Prophet (ص) said, "Take the Qur`ān from four: ´Abd Allāh ibn Mas´ūd, Sālim, Mu´ādh, and Ubayy ibn Ka´b."[3529]

Many other similar traditions appear in Sunnī sources, including the following:

1. Muḥammad ibn Ka´b al-Quraẓī said, "Five of the Anṣār collected the Qur`ān at the time of the Messenger of Allāh (ص): Mu´ādh ibn Jabal, ´Ubādah ibn Ṣāmit, Ubayy ibn Ka´b, Abū Ayyūb, and Abū Dardā`."[3530]

[3526] Al-Fihrist of Ibn al-Nadīm 30.
[3527] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #6.61.526.
[3528] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #6.61.525.
[3529] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #6.61.521.

2. Sha´bī said, "Six of the Anṣār collected the Qur`ān at the time of the Messenger of Allāh (ص): Mu´ādh ibn Jabal, Ubayy ibn Ka´b, Zayd ibn Thābit, Abū Dardā`, Abū Zayd, and Sa´d ibn ´Ubayd."[3531]

3. Sha´bī said, "Six people collected the Qur`ān at the time of the Prophet (ص): Ubayy ibn Ka´b, Mu´ādh ibn Jabal, Abū Dardā`, Zayd ibn Thābit, Sa´d, and Abū Zayd."[3532]

4. According to Kanz al-´Ummāl, "´Abd Allāh ibn ´Abbās collected the Muḥkam (i.e. the Qur`ān) at the time of the Messenger of Allāh (ص)."[3533]

5. Muḥammad ibn Ka´b al-Quraẓī said, "Among those who collected the Qur`ān at the time of the Messenger of Allāh (ص) while he was alive were ´Uthmān ibn ´Affān, ´Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, and ´Abd Allāh ibn Mas´ūd among the Muhājirīn, as well as Sālim mawlā Abī Ḥudhayfah among the freedmen."[3534]

6. When ´Uthmān was under siege, he said, "I collected the Qur`ān during the Prophet's (ص) lifetime."[3535]

7. According to Suyūṭī, "[´Alī] was one who collected the Qur`ān [during the Prophet's (ص) lifetime] and who presented it to the Messenger of Allāh (ص)."[3536]

Traditions like these showing that the Qur`ān was collected in its entirety by a number of companions during the Prophet's (ص) lifetime are numerous and have even been related in Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī. Ibn Sa´d has related fifteen traditions in this regards,[3537] a few of which have been recounted here. What is clear is that the Qur`ān was collected in its entirety by several of the companions during the life of the Messenger of Allāh (ص). In fact, the Prophet (ص) made sure that the Qur`ān was recorded in its entirety during his lifetime. Zayd ibn Thābit said, "I was [the Prophet's] neighbor. When revelation was sent down to him, he would call for me, and I would come and write down the revelation."[3538] According to a tradition Ḥākim certified as authentic by the criteria of Bukhārī and Muslim, Zayd ibn Thābit also said, "We used to write the Qur`ān on parchments during the time of the Messenger of Allāh."[3539] These statements make it clear that the Prophet (ص) ensured that the entire Qur`ān was recorded in written form during his lifetime.

Overall, it appears that disparate verses and sūrahs were held by many of the companions, while a number of companions compiled the entire Qur`ān during the Prophet's (ص) lifetime. It therefore makes no sense that Abū Bakr, ´Umar, or ´Uthmān were the first to have collected the Qur`ān, especially since these traditions contradict each other greatly in many respects. Moreover, what would be the sense in collecting scattered leaflets and calling for witnesses to testify about specific verses when a handful

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[3530] Kanz al-´Ummāl #4765.
[3531] Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 2:355.
[3532] Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 2:355.
[3533] Kanz al-´Ummāl #4795.
[3534] Istī´āb 3:222 #1875 (´Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib); Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:200.
[3535] Tārīkh al-Khulafā` 144.
[3536] Tārīkh al-Khulafā` 149.
[3537] Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 2:355-8.
[3538] Dalā`il al-Nubuwwah of Bayhaqī 1:324.
[3539] Mustadrak Ḥākim #4217; Itqān 138, chapter 18.

of the companions had already compiled the Qur`ān in its entirety and were cited by the Prophet (ص) as the source of knowledge regarding the wording of the Qur`ān?

Furthermore, the Prophet (ص) said, "I leave for you two weighty items—the Book of Allāh and my offspring, my Ahl al-Bayt." How could the Messenger of Allāh (ص) leave us the Qur`ān had it not been recorded entirely during his lifetime? If the Qur`ān consisted merely of memories in the minds of the companions, the Prophet (ص) could not have claimed to have left it. Indeed, according to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, the Prophet (ص) told his companions that the Qur`ān is quickly lost to memory when he told them, "You must keep on reciting the Qur`ān because it escapes from the hearts of men faster than camels that are released from their tying ropes do."[3540] How then could the Prophet (ص) leave the Qur`ān in the memories of companions who would forget the Qur`ān faster than camels could flee?

The Qur`ān of ʹAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib and Imām Mahdī (ع)

There are a number of Sunnī traditions regarding ʹAlī's (ع) compilation of the Qur`ān immediately after the Prophet's (ص) death,[3541] making it clear that he was the first to compile the Qur`ān after the Prophet's (ص) death, even though he is never quite given credit for it in Sunnī sources, as those who invented the traditions regarding the compilation of the Qur`ān liked to reserve all virtues for the first three caliphs. In fact, according to ʹUmdah al-Qārī, "What [ʹAlī] meant by collecting it [upon the Prophet's (ص) death] was collecting it in his heart."[3542] One can see the absurdities some are willing to utter in order to diminish the accomplishments of ʹAlī (ع).

ʹAlī's (ع) Qur`ān was apparently compiled in the order in which the Qur`ān was revealed. According to Ibn Saʹd and Suyūṭī, "It is believed that ʹAlī recorded [his Qur`ān] based on its revelation."[3543] Suyūṭī said, "Some of the compilers compiled the Qur`ān in the order it was revealed. An example is the Muṣḥaf of ʹAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib, which first included Sūrah Iqra`,[3544] then Nūn,[3545] then Muzzammil,[3546] then Tabbat,[3547] then Takwīr,[3548] and in this order until the end of the Meccan and Medinese sūrahs."[3549] According to Suyūṭī,

> ʹIkrimah said, "After the pledge of allegiance to Abū Bakr, ʹAlī sat in his house [to compile the Qur`ān]..." Muḥammad ibn Sīrīn asked, "Was the collection of the Qur`ān according to the order of revelation [of the verses], with the first one [revealed appearing] first?" He replied, "[Yes]. If all of jinn and mankind were to come together to write the Qur`ān in this order, they would not be able to do so."[3550]

There is some evidence that the Qur`ān of ʹAlī (ع) also included some commentary or other annotations in addition to the verses of the Qur`ān, as Ibn Sīrīn said, "[ʹAlī ibn Abī

[3540] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #6.61.552. Similarly, Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #6.61.550-1.

[3541] Refer to chapter 48.

[3542] ʹUmdah al-Qārī 20:17.

[3543] Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 2:338; Tārīkh al-Khulafā` 164.

[3544] Qur`ān, sūrah 96.

[3545] Qur`ān, sūrah 68.

[3546] Qur`ān, sūrah 73.

[3547] Qur`ān, sūrah 111.

[3548] Qur`ān, sūrah 81.

[3549] Itqān 147, chapter 18.

[3550] Itqān 139, chapter 18.

Ṭālib] has recorded the nāsikh and mansūkh in his Muṣḥaf,"[3551] and as he said, "Had I found the Qur`ān of 'Alī, I would have found in it [much valuable] knowledge."[3552] As such, Ibn Sīrīn said, "I sought this book and wrote to Madīnah [in search of] it, but have not been able to get a hold of it."[3553] That was because the manuscript was held by the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) who knew better than to share it, lest it would befall the fate of the Qur`āns of other companions that were shredded, buried, and burned.

Of note, Shī'ah traditions in Uṣūl al-Kāfī claiming that the Qur`ān Imām Mahdī (ع) will bring will be different than the current Qur`ān apparently refer to the fact that 'Alī's (ع) compilation of the Qur`ān listed the verses in their order of revelation and contained words of commentary. As such, Imām Mahdī (ع) will not be bringing a Qur`ān different than the one commonly in use today, but rather 'Alī's (ع) specific compilation and commentary. Unfortunately, some propagandists use such traditions as proof that the Shī'ah believe in a Qur`ān other than the Qur`ān commonly present among Muslims, whereas the Shī'ah believe that these traditions do not support such a claim. Furthermore, the Shī'ah believe that Imām Mahdī will bring the totality of divinely-revealed books from all the prophets, as these books, according to Shī'ah traditions, were not lost, but rather inherited by those chosen by Allāh at each time, as the Qur`ān says, "Then We leave the Book as inheritance for those whom We have chosen from Our servants."[3554] As such, Imām Mahdī (ع) will bring divine books that will appear foreign not only to the Muslims but also to the followers of other religions. The enemies of the Shī'ah have also tried to create a commotion regarding the Muṣḥaf of Fāṭimah, even though no Shī'ah believes it to be a divinely-revealed book similar to the Qur`ān.[3555]

It should also be noted that the Shī'ah do not believe that all the traditions in al-Kāfī are authentic, and the position of this work vis-à-vis the Shī'ah cannot be compared to that of Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī and Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim vis-à-vis the Sunnīs. Al-Kāfī contains 16,197 traditions, of which 5,072 have chains that are authentic, 1,574 have chains that are of intermediate quality, and 9,480 have chains that are weak (ḍa'īf).[3556] Even those that are authentic require substantiation of their content to ensure that they are free from contradictions with the Qur`ān and evidence of textual corruption, obvious error, or taqīyyah. Indeed, Shī'ah traditions that suggest that the Qur`ān has been altered suffer overwhelmingly from weak chains of transmission and are therefore of little value.[3557]

Anti-Shī'ah propagandists often claim that the tradition attributed to the twelfth imām (ع) stating, "Al-Kāfī is sufficient for our Shī'ah," proves that everything in it is or ought to be held by the Shī'ah as true. This is truly fallacious, as one could say, "The food in the refrigerator is sufficient for us," yet there might be a rotten apple in it. Similarly, one might say, "This house is sufficient for our family," yet the house may be in need of major repair. With the possible exception of some extreme Akhbārīs—those who relied blindly on the text of traditions—the belief that everything in al-Kāfī is authentic cannot be reasonably attributed to the Shī'ah.

Anti-Shī'ah propagandists make a habit of pulling solitary (āḥād) and weak traditions from al-Kāfī and other Shī'ah compilations and, after much exaggeration, attribute beliefs

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3551. Itqān 139, chapter 18.
3552. Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 2:338; Tārīkh al-Khulafā` 164; Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 1:242.
3553. Itqān 139, chapter 18.
3554. Qur`ān 35:32.
3555. Refer to chapter 50.
3556. Akdhūbah al-Taḥrīf 85.
3557. Akdhūbah al-Taḥrīf 82-100.

to the Shī'ah that are foreign to them. As will be shown later in this chapter, an immense number of Sunnī traditions claim that the Qur`ān has been altered, even though most Sunnīs also believe that the Qur`ān remains unadulterated. As such, the claim of certain propagandists that the Shī'ah believe that the Qur`ān has been altered is disingenuous at best. It should also be noted that some Sunnī traditions have elevated traditions to a status higher than the Qur`ān when they claim that, "The Sunnah rules over (qāḍīyatun 'alā) the Qur`ān, while the Qur`ān does not rule over the Sunnah."[3558] Clearly, the Shī'ah reserve no such role for their traditions, but rather hold the Qur`ān to be the ultimate judge of the veracity of every tradition.

Conclusions Regarding the Compilation of the Qur`ān

It is clear that the Qur`ān was compiled in its entirety during the lifetime of the Messenger of Allāh (ص), under his direct supervision, as the Shī'ah believe. Not collecting it would have been negligence in preserving the Book of Allāh, for it was well-known to the Muslims, and above all the Prophet (ص), that the previous divine books had undergone change and alterations. The traditions establishing the collection of the Qur`ān during the Prophet's (ص) lifetime have reached the level of proof by multiplicity (tawātur), while opposing accounts are filled with contradictions amongst one another and were clearly invented by those trying to glorify the first three caliphs while vilifying the Prophet (ص) and his Ahl al-Bayt (ع). Indeed, it makes no sense for Zayd ibn Thābit, 'Umar, or 'Uthmān to compile the Qur`ān based on the testimony of two witnesses when 'Alī (ع), Zayd ibn Thābit, Ubayy ibn Ka'b, 'Abd Allāh ibn Mas'ūd and several other companions had collected the Qur`ān in its entirety during the lifetime of the Prophet (ص).

One might wonder why these traditions would be invented and spread so widely that it is now common knowledge among the Sunnīs that the first three caliphs were the ones who compiled the Qur`ān. We shall soon see how such traditions fell perfectly into Umayyad plan to reduce the status of the Prophet (ص), while at the same time praising and glorifying his companions, particularly the first three caliphs.[3559] These traditions indicate that the Prophet (ص) was careless about the integrity of the Qur`ān and its preservation, while Abū Bakr, 'Umar, and 'Uthmān showed the utmost of concern regarding its preservation for later generations. These traditions portrayed the caliphate as the protector of the Qur`ān, turning Mu'āwīyah and other Umayyad caliphs into sacred patrons of the Qur`ān serving alongside the first three caliphs, while the Prophet (ص) was portrayed as a simple messenger who merely brought some news and cared less what befell his message.

It is also apparent that in these traditions, as in others invented to please the Umayyad caliphate, no credit was ever given to 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib (ع). While Abū Bakr, 'Umar, and 'Uthmān were each credited with being the first to compile the Qur`ān, 'Alī (ع) had nothing to do with the Qur`ān's compilation. Indeed, his name does not appear in a single one of these prominent Sunnī accounts, even though Sunnī scholars have separately acknowledged the fact that 'Alī (ع) would not leave his house after the Prophet's (ص) death until he had compiled the Qur`ān,[3560] which he had diligently preserved on recorded scrolls or tablets.

[3558] Sunan Dāramī #587.
[3559] Refer to chapters 75 and 76.
[3560] Refer to chapter 48.

The Shī'ah Believe that the Qur`ān Has Not been Changed

One of the great lies occasionally appended to the Shī'ah is that they believe that the Qur`ān has been changed. However, this is not the belief of the Twelver Shī'ah by any means. There definitely are numerous traditions in both Shī'ah and Sunnī sources that indicate the Qur`ān has been altered, that verses were recited with different wordings than what appear in the Qur`ān, that portions of the Qur`ān were lost, etc. However, many of these traditions come through weak chains of transmission, and the rest are unitary (āḥād) traditions that do not bear much weight in matters of belief, particularly when they contradict the Qur`ān and are therefore invalid, since the Shī'ah believe that any tradition that contradicts the Qur`ān is worthless. The following verses of the Qur`ān are clear that the Qur`ān is protected from change and alterations:

> "We have revealed the Reminder (Qur`ān) and We most surely are its guardians."[3561]
>
> "Falsehood cannot approach it from in front of it or behind it, since it is a revelation from the wise, the praiseworthy."[3562]

As such, none of the great Shī'ah theologians or commentators on the Qur`ān have believed that the Qur`ān has been altered from its original revealed form. The following are the words of a few famous Shī'ah scholars denying the presence of alterations in the Qur`ān:[3563]

1. Shaykh Ṣadūq said, "The belief of us Shī'ah is that the Qur`ān that Allāh revealed to His Messenger Muḥammad (ص) is the same as the one in the hands of the people, and that it was not more than what it is now. Whoever appends to us the claim that the Qur`ān contained more than it does today is a liar."
2. Shaykh Ṭūsī said, "Talking about deletions from or additions to the Qur`ān is not befitting of its status. The Muslims have consensus that nothing has been added to the Qur`ān. However, in regards to deletions, what comes [to us] from the various schools (madhhabs) of the Muslims [leaves us with the conclusion] that this has not occurred. And in our (i.e. Shī'ah) school, the belief is the same... However, there are many traditions from the Sunnīs and Shī'ah indicating that many of the verses of the Qur`ān have been deleted and that some have been misplaced. All of these are singular traditions that bring no certainty. It is better to keep away from these traditions and not to busy ourselves with them, as these traditions are explainable, and in the case that they are proved correct, they bring no weakness to what is [currently] in the hands of the people as the Qur`ān, since the accuracy of the Qur`ān is clear and no one in the Muslim nation has any problem or complaint about that. The recitation of the Qur`ān [in its current form] by the Muslims is in itself a reason supporting this belief... And a tradition has been related from the Holy Prophet (ص) that no one has denied. That tradition is the following: He said, 'I leave for you two weighty items such that if you hold on to them you will not stray—the Book of Allāh and my offspring, my Ahl al-Bayt. The two will not separate until they come to me at the fount.' This tradition provides reasoning that the Qur`ān was present in the

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[3561] Qur`ān 15:9.
[3562] Qur`ān 41:42.
[3563] These are taken from Akdhūbah al-Taḥrīf 101-112.

hands of the Muslims and that it is protected at all times because it would not be acceptable for the Prophet (ص) to order [us] to hold onto something that was not available. [This is] the same as our ever-present ability to hold on to the Ahl al-Bayt (ع), who are individuals following whom is mandatory at all times. So now that the accuracy of the Qur`ān is agreed upon by the Muslims, it is befitting for us to busy ourselves in its interpretation and the clarification of its meaning, and to act according to it and to put aside other than it."

3. Shaykh Bahā`ī said, "They have differed as to whether or not additions and deletions have occurred in the Qur`ān. But the correct opinion is that the glorious Qur`ān is protected from additions and deletions."
4. Shaykh Muḥammad ibn Ḥasan al-Ḥurr al-'Āmilī, one of the great experts of tradition among the Shī'ah and the compiler of Wasā`il al-Shī'ah, a compilation of Shī'ah jurisprudential traditions, said, "One who studies and ponders history and traditions would know with certainty that the Qur`ān has been proved by the highest level of tawātur and by what has been related from thousands of the companions, and would also know that the Qur`ān was collected at the time of the Messenger of Allāh (ص)."
5. Shaykh Kāshif al-Ghitā` said, "There is no doubt that the Qur`ān has been protected from deletions by Allāh, as the Qur`ān and the opinions of the scholars of all times provide proof for this [fact]."
6. Sayyid Muḥsin Amīn 'Āmilī said in his book A'yān al-Shī'ah, "No one among the Imāmīyyah in the past or the present has said that anything has been added to or deleted from the Qur`ān. Rather, everyone has unanimity that nothing has been added to it, and those who are well-regarded believe that nothing has been deleted from it either. Whoever claims the opposite of this for the Imāmīyyah is a liar."
7. Āyatullāh Burūjirdī said, "The claim that the Qur`ān has been changed is invalid."

These are just a few clear statements from some of the most prominent Shī'ah scholars in regards to the protection of the Qur`ān from change. Rasūl Ja'farīyān has listed twenty-eight eminent Shī'ah scholars who have explicitly denied the possibility of any changes in the Qur`ān.[3564] There is no doubt that those who claim that the Shī'ah believe in alterations in the Qur`ān either are misinformed or are deliberately spreading lies about the Shī'ah. In fact, it is likely that they are poorly informed and simply quote traditions from Shī'ah sources that the Shī'ah do not hold to establish anything regarding alterations in the Qur`ān.

In fact, according to Shī'ah beliefs, the Qur`ān has had no opportunity to be changed. It was recorded in its entirety during the lifetime of the Messenger of Allāh (ص) and copies were made of it soon afterwards and sent to the various lands. Had there been any alterations in the Qur`ān, Muslims would have been divided into many sects based on the Qur`ān they believed to be the true one, just as they have divided into many sects in regards to which traditions they have believed to be more authentic or which companions they have chosen to follow.

[3564] Akdhūbah al-Taḥrīf 101-112.

Sunnī Traditions Regarding Alterations to the Qur`ān

It is accepted by almost all Muslims and their scholars that the Qur`ān has not been changed. However, many traditions indicate that the Qur`ān has been changed, and a large number of these traditions appear in the most prominent Sunnī books of tradition, including Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī and Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim. In order to show that prevalence of Sunnī traditions indicating changes in the Qur`ān, a few of these accounts will be cited:

ʹUmar Claimed that the Verse of Stoning was Lost from the Qur`ān

There is no verse in the Qur`ān indicating that an adulterer should be stoned. However, ʹUmar insisted that there was such a verse. According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī,

> ʹUmar said, "I am afraid that after a long time has passed, people may say, 'We do not find the verses of rajm (stoning) in the Holy Book,' and consequently they may go astray by leaving an obligation that Allāh has revealed. Lo! I confirm that the penalty of stoning be inflicted on him who commits illegal sexual intercourse if he is already married and the crime is proved."[3565]

According to another tradition in Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, ʹUmar said,

> I am afraid that after a long time has passed, somebody will say, "By Allāh, we do not find the verse of rajm (stoning) in Allāh's Book," and thus they will go astray by leaving an obligation which Allāh has revealed. And the punishment of stoning is to be inflicted on any married person who commits illegal sexual intercourse, if the required evidence is available.[3566]

Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī has also related that ʹUmar said in a Friday prayer sermon,

> No doubt, Allāh sent Muḥammad with the truth and revealed to him the Book (i.e. the Qur`ān), and among what was revealed was the verse of rajm (stoning adulterers to death).[3567]

According to Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim,

> ʹUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb sat on the pulpit of Allāh's Messenger and said, "Verily Allāh sent Muḥammad with the truth and He sent down the Book upon him, and the verse of stoning was included in what was sent down to him. We recited it, retained it in our memory, and understood it."[3568]

According to Mālik, ʹUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb said, "Stoning is in the Book of Allāh for those who commit adultery, men or women, when they are married and when there is clear proof."[3569]

ʹUmar Claimed that a Verse Prohibiting False Claims of Paternity was Lost

According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, ʹUmar said,

[3565] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #8.82.816.
[3566] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #8.82.817.
[3567] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #9.92.424.
[3568] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #17.4194-5.
[3569] Muwaṭṭa` Mālik #41.1.8.

> And then we used to recite among the verses in Allāh's Book, "O people! Do not claim to be the offspring of other than your fathers, as it is disbelief on your part that you claim to be the offspring of other than your real father."[3570]

Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī's Claim that Seventy Verses of Sūrah Aḥzāb were Lost

According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, Ḥudhayfah said, "I recited Sūrah Aḥzāb to the Prophet. I then forgot seventy verses of it that I never found [again]."[3571]

Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim's Claim that Entire Sūrahs are Missing

According to Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim,

> Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī sent for the reciters of Baṣrah. They came to him and they were three hundred in number. They recited the Qur`ān and he said, "You are the best among the inhabitants of Baṣrah, for you are the reciters among them. So continue to recite it. [But bear in mind] that your reciting for a long time may harden your hearts as were hardened the hearts of those before you. We used to recite a sūrah which resembled in length and severity [Sūrah] Barā`ah. I have, however, forgotten it with the exception of this which I remember out of it: 'If there were two valleys full of riches for the son of Adam, he would long for a third valley, and nothing would fill the stomach of the son of Adam but dust.'[3572] And we used to recite a sūrah which resembled one of the sūrahs of musabbiḥāt[3573], and I have forgotten it, but I remember [this much] out of it: 'O people who believe, why do you say that which you do not practice,'[3574] and, 'That is recorded on your necks as a witness [against you] and you would be asked about it on the Day of Judgment'[3575]."[3576]

Other Sunnī Traditions Claiming that Parts of the Qur`ān were Lost

Sufyān al-Thawrī said, "We were informed that a number of the companions of the Prophet (ص) who recited the Qur`ān were killed in the battle against Musaylimah, and therefore words of the Qur`ān were lost."[3577] Ibn 'Umar said, "None of you should say, 'I have obtained the entire Qur`ān.' Who [truly] knows what the entire Qur`ān is? Much of the Qur`ān has been lost. One should instead say, 'I have obtained what is apparent [of the Qur`ān].'"[3578]

The Qur`ān of 'Abd Allāh ibn Mas'ūd

The following is a handful of examples of distinctions that Sunnī traditions claim to have existed in the Qur`ān of 'Abd Allāh ibn Mas'ūd, one of the individuals from whom the Prophet (ص), according to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, ordered us to obtain the Qur`ān:[3579]

[3570] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #8.82.817. No such verse exists in the Qur`ān.
[3571] Tārīkh Bukhārī vol 4 #2659 (Sharīk al'Āmirī).
[3572] No such verse exists in the Qur`ān.
[3573] The musabbiḥāt are sūrahs that start with the praise of Allāh such as "yusabbiḥu lillāh," and "sabbaḥa lillāh".
[3574] Qur`ān 61:2.
[3575] This verse is similar to Qur`ān 17:13.
[3576] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #5.2286 (Arabic original #1050).
[3577] Tafsir al-Durr al-Manthūr, introduction to sūrah 33.
[3578] Itqān 544, chapter 47.
[3579] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #6.61.521.

1. ´Abd Allāh ibn Mas´ūd said: We recited at the time of the Messenger of Allāh (ص), "O Messenger, proclaim that which has been revealed down to you from your Lord—that ´Alī is the mawlā of the believers. If you do not do this, you have not proclaimed His messages. Allāh will protect you from the people."[3580] The phrase, "that ´Alī is the mawlā of the believers," does not appear in this verse of the Qur`ān.[3581] One can imagine that such a phrase was a word of commentary he placed alongside his Qur`ān. It is no surprise that, with comments like this in his Qur`ān, ´Uthmān was so insistent that Ibn Mas´ūd's Qur`ān be confiscated and burnt.

2. ´Abd Allāh ibn Mas´ūd recited, "Allāh does not do a 'namlah' of injustice,"[3582] whereas the Qur`ān uses the word "dharrah"[3583] instead of "namlah" in the verse to signify minuteness.

3. Ibn Mas´ūd recited, "Prostrate yourself and bow down with those who prostrate."[3584] The actual verse reads, "Prostrate yourself and bow down with those who bow down."[3585]

4. Ibn Mas´ūd recited, "His hands are basaṭān,"[3586] while the Qur`ān says, "His hands are mabsūṭatān."[3587] Both words mean "wide open."

5. Ibn Mas´ūd did not include the mu´awwidhatayn, which are the last two sūrahs, in his Qur`ān and said, "The two are not from the Book of Allāh."[3588]

The Qur`ān of Ubayy ibn Ka´b

Numerous peculiarities have been related regarding the Qur`ān of Ubayy ibn Ka´b. The following are a few examples:

1. Zirr ibn Ḥubaysh said: Ubayy ibn Ka´b asked me, "How many verses do you recite in Sūrah Aḥzāb?" I said, "Seventy-three or seventy-four." He said, "It is not like this! It was the size of Sūrah Baqarah or longer than it, and in it was the verse of rajm (stoning)." I said, "O Abū Mundhir, what is the verse of rajm?" He said, "When a man and woman commit adultery, stone them; a punishment from Allāh, and Allāh is high, wise."[3589]

2. Bajālah al-Tamīmī said: ´Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb found a Qur`ān being recited by a slave. In it was, "The Prophet is more of a walī to the believers than their own

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[3580] Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, verse 5:67.
[3581] Refer to Qur`ān 5:67.
[3582] Maṣāḥif Ibn Abī Dāwūd #134.
[3583] Qur`ān 4:40.
[3584] Maṣāḥif Ibn Abī Dāwūd #135.
[3585] Qur`ān 3:43.
[3586] Maṣāḥif Ibn Abī Dāwūd #137.
[3587] Qur`ān 5:64.
[3588] Fatḥ al-Bārī #4693 (several traditions); Majma´ al-Zawā`id #11562 (certifies the tradition as authentic), #11563; Itqān 153, chapter 19; Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, verse 113:1.
[3589] Mustadrak Ḥākim #8068 (certifies the tradition as authentic); Musnad Ḥanbal #21244-5; Sunan al-Kubrā Bayhaqī #16688; Kanz al-´Ummāl #4743; Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, introduction to sūrah 33.

selves, and he is their father."[3590] ʻUmar said, "Erase it, O slave!" He said, "But this is in the Qur`ān of Ubayy [ibn Kaʻb]."[3591]

3. Saʻīd ibn Jubayr recited, "And howevermuch you desire mutʻah (temporary marriage) from them until the designated time," and then said, "This is the recitation of Ubayy ibn Kaʻb."[3592] The phrase, "until the designated time," does not exist in the actual verse of the Qur`ān.[3593]

4. It has been related that Ubayy ibn Kaʻb's Qur`ān contained two sūrahs named al-Ḥafd and al-Khalʻ.[3594] Apparently, these sūrahs included the phrases, "Allāhumma innā nastaʻīnuka (O Allāh, [from] You [alone] we ask for help)," and "Allāhumma īyyāka naʻbudu (O Allāh, You [alone] we do worship)," respectively.[3595] These two sūrahs were supposedly taken by Umayyah ibn ʻAbd Allāh ibn Khālid to Khurāsān.[3596]

5. Ḥammād said, "I recited in the Qur`ān of Ubayy, 'Lilladhīna yaqsumūn.'"[3597] The actual verse is "ahum yaqsumūn."[3598]

<u>The Qur`ān of ʻAbd Allāh ibn ʻAbbās</u>[3599]

1. Ibn ʻAbbās recited, "It is no sin on them if they do not circumambulate them,"[3600] when the actual verse is, "It is no sin on them if they do circumambulate them."[3601]

2. He recited "Howevermuch you perform mutʻah (temporary marriage) with them for a designated time,"[3602] adding "for a designated time" to the actual Qur`ānic verse.[3603]

3. He recited, "And consult them in some affairs,"[3604] whereas the Qur`ān says, "And consult them in affairs."[3605]

4. He added the word "muḥaddith"[3606] after the word "nabī (prophet)" to verse 52 of Sūrah Ḥajj.[3607]

5. He used the word "al-sarāḥ (dismissal)"[3608] instead of "al-ṭalāq (divorce)" in verse 227 of Sūrah Baqarah.[3609]

[3590] The phrase, "and he is their father," is not in verse 33:6 of the Qur`ān.
[3591] Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, verse 33:6; Kanz al-ʻUmmāl #4746; Sunan al-Kubrā Bayhaqī #13197.
[3592] Maṣāḥif Ibn Abī Dāwūd #130.
[3593] Refer to Qur`ān 4:24.
[3594] Itqān 153, chapter 19.
[3595] Itqān 153, chapter 19.
[3596] Majmaʻ al-Zawā`id #11616 (certifies the tradition as authentic); Muʻjam al-Kabīr Ṭabarānī 1:293.
[3597] Maṣāḥif Ibn Abī Dāwūd #131.
[3598] Qur`ān 43:32.
[3599] Refer to Maṣāḥif Ibn Abī Dāwūd #155-186 for numerous other traditions of this type regarding the Qur`ān of Ibn ʻAbbās.
[3600] Maṣāḥif Ibn Abī Dāwūd #155.
[3601] Qur`ān 2:158.
[3602] Maṣāḥif Ibn Abī Dāwūd #178, #180-5.
[3603] Qur`ān 4:24.
[3604] Maṣāḥif Ibn Abī Dāwūd #167.
[3605] Qur`ān 3:159.
[3606] Maṣāḥif Ibn Abī Dāwūd #168.
[3607] Qur`ān 22:52.

´Umar and the Qur`ān

1. The non-existent verse of stoning that ´Umar repeatedly claimed was in the Qur`ān was addressed earlier in this chapter.

2. ´Umar's claim that a non-existing verse forbidding the association of oneself with other than one's own father was part of the Qur`ān was addressed earlier in this chapter.

3. ´Umar asked ´Abd al-Raḥmān ibn ´Awf: Have you found in what was revealed upon us [the verse], "If you fight like you fought the first time," for we do not find it? He replied, "That was deleted along with the rest of what was deleted from the Qur`ān."[3610]

4. According to ´Abd al-Razzāq, "´Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb wanted to write in the Qur`ān that the Messenger of Allāh (ص) whipped eighty times for drinking."[3611]

5. ´Umar said, "Had it not been that the people would say that ´Umar added to the Qur`ān what is not part of it, I would have written [the verse of rajm (stoning)] in it."[3612]

6. ´Umar said, "The Qur`ān is one thousand thousand (i.e. one million) and twenty-seven thousand letters."[3613] The actual number is not greater than one third of this.[3614] Suyūṭī said, "This can be explained by what has been abrogated of the Qur`ān."[3615] As such, Suyūṭī took abrogation to mean a permanent loss of a verse, as opposed to annulment of its commands.

7. Ibn Abī Dāwūd has related four traditions indicating that ´Umar recited, "The path of him upon whom You have bestowed grace, those who are not the object of Your wrath and those who are not astray."[3616] This is a mispronunciation of Sūrah Fātiḥah ("ṣirāṭa man an´amta ´alayhim" instead of "ṣirāṭ al-ladhīna an´amta ´alayhim" and "ghayr al-ḍāllīn" instead of "wa lā al-ḍāllīn").

8. It is related by six different chains of transmission that ´Umar pronounced "qayyām"[3617] instead of "qayyūm" in the second verse of Sūrah Āl-i ´Imrān.[3618]

9. The Qur`ān says, "The first pioneers of the Muhājirīn and Anṣār and those who followed them in kindness, Allāh is pleased with them, as they are with Him."[3619] However, ´Umar left out the second "and", thereby reciting it as, "The first pioneers of the Muhājirīn and the Anṣār who followed them in kindness, Allāh is

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3608. Maṣāḥif Ibn Abī Dāwūd #171.
3609. Qur`ān 2:227.
3610. Itqān 545, chapter 47; Kanz al-´Ummāl #4741.
3611. Muṣannaf ´Abd al-Razzāq #13548.
3612. Musnad Ḥanbal #156 #197; Kanz al-´Ummāl #13513, #13522.
3613. Kanz al-´Ummāl #2308, #2426. Similarly, Itqān 164, chapter 19, states that ´Umar said the Qur`ān has one thousand thousand (i.e. one million) letters.
3614. Akdhūbah al-Taḥrīf 56.
3615. Itqān 164, chapter 19.
3616. Maṣāḥif Ibn Abi Dāwūd #118-121.
3617. Maṣāḥif Ibn Abi Dāwūd #122-5, #127-8.
3618. Qur`ān 3:2.
3619. Qur`ān 9:100.

pleased with them, as they are with Him."[3620] The difference is that "the first pioneers" in ʿUmar's recitation only describes a group of the Muhājirīn and not any of the Anṣār. ʿUmar was apparently enraged when he heard people reciting the verse correctly:

> ʿUmar passed by a man who recited the verse, "The first pioneers of the Muhājirīn and Anṣār as well as those who followed them in kindness—Allāh is pleased with them, as they are with Him."[3621] ʿUmar stopped and said, "Stop!" When [the man] stopped [reciting], ʿUmar asked, "Who has recited this verse for you like this?" He replied, "Ubayy [ibn Kaʿb] has recited it for me [as such]." ...ʿUmar took him to Ubayy... and said, "O Abū Mundhir!" He said, "Yes?" [ʿUmar] said, "Tell me about this—do you recite this verse [like this]?" Ubayy said, "He is telling the truth. I have received this verse from the Messenger of Allāh (ص) as such." ʿUmar said, "You received it as such from the Messenger of Allāh?!" Ubayy said, "Yes. I received it from the Messenger of Allāh (ص)." He repeated this three times, and at the third time, as he was getting angry, [he said], "Yes, by Allāh, Allāh revealed it to Gabriel, and Gabriel revealed it to Muḥammad (ص). Neither ʿUmar nor his son were consulted in regards to it." ʿUmar left with his hands raised, while saying, "Allāh is greater! Allāh is greater!"[3622]

ʿUthmān and the Qurʾān

According to Suyūṭī,

> When ʿUthmān ibn ʿAffān intended to write the Qurʾān, he decided to remove the word "wa (and)" from the verse "and those who bury"[3623] of Sūrah Barāʾah. Ubayy said, "Leave it where it is, or I will put my sword on my shoulder [to fight you]." So they left it where it was.[3624]

ʿĀʾishah and the Qurʾān

According to Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, Abū Yūnus, the freed slave of ʿĀʾishah said,

> Āʾishah ordered me to transcribe a copy of the Qurʾān for her and said, "When you reach the verse, 'Guard the prayers and the middle prayer,'[3625] inform me." So when I reached it, I informed her and she gave me a dictation [as follows]: "Guard the prayers and the middle prayer and the afternoon prayer, and stand up truly obedient to Allāh." ʿĀʾishah said, "This is how I heard [it] from the Messenger of Allāh."[3626]

Of course, none of her additions appear in the Qurʾān. Ḥanbal related from ʿĀʾishah,

> The verses of rajm (stoning) and breast-feeding older [children] were revealed and were [recorded] on a sheet under my bed in my house. When the

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[3620] Tafsīr Ṭabarī, Tafsīr Zamakhsharī, and Tafsīr Qurṭubī, verse 9:100.

[3621] Qurʾān 9:100.

[3622] Mustadrak Ḥākim #5329; Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #4858.

[3623] Qurʾān 9:34.

[3624] Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, verse 9:34.

[3625] Qurʾān 2:238.

[3626] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #4.1316.

> Messenger of Allāh passed away and we were busy with preparing him [for burial], animals came in and ate it!"[3627]

This tradition is absurd not only for its claim that part of the Qur`ān was lost, but also because ʻĀ`ishah was not present during the preparations of the Prophet (ص) for burial.[3628]

Ḥamīdah bint Abī Yūnus said, "ʻĀ`ishah entrusted us with her property. In her Qur`ān was [written], "Allāh and His angels send blessings on the Prophet and those who pray in the first row'[3629]."[3630] Yet, the Qur`ān does not include the phrase, "and those who pray in the first row." According to Suyūṭī, ʻĀ`ishah also said, "Sūrah Aḥzāb was recited at the time of the Prophet as two hundred verses, but when ʻUthmān recorded the Qur`ān, he could not get a hold of any more of it than there is right now (i.e. seventy-three verses)."[3631] According to Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, she also claimed, "There was revealed in the Holy Qur`ān, 'ten clear sucklings and then five clear [sucklings]',"[3632] even though no such verse exists in the Qur`ān.

The Response of the Shīʻah to These Traditions

As is evident, there are many traditions in the most prominent Sunnī sources indicating that changes occurred in the Qur`ān. Such traditions are far more numerous than the few we have mentioned here. However, these traditions are all singular (āḥād) and weak as compared to the evidence indicating that the Qur`ān has not been altered in any way. Moreover, some of the traditions suggesting that certain phrases are missing from the Qur`ān may indeed refer to words of commentary found in the manuscripts held by specific individuals, rather than words that were actually part of the Qur`ān. It is very likely that the Qur`ān of ʻAlī (ع), Ibn Masʻūd, Ubayy ibn Kaʻb, and other companions contained words of commentary, and someone who saw these texts may have been led to think that the words of commentary were part of the verse. A good example was the entry in certain manuscripts of the Qur`ān stating, "O Messenger, proclaim that which has been revealed to you from your Lord—that ʻAlī is the mawlā of the believers. If you do not do this, you have not proclaimed His messages. Allāh will protect you from the people."[3633] Obviously, "that ʻAlī is the mawlā of the believers," is a comment on the verse and not part of the verse. The same is true regarding the verse of mutʻah (temporary marriage), where companions noted that it was for a designated period.

Indeed, some of the claims attributed to ʻAbd Allāh ibn Masʻūd and Ubayy ibn Kaʻb are somewhat dubious. The two sūrahs of Ubayy ibn Kaʻb are probably nothing but two supplications that he recorded at the end of his Qur`ān. The claim that the last two sūrahs were not part of the Qur`ān of Ibn Masʻūd also cannot be attributed to him with certainty. Also, many of the errors in pronunciation or phrasing may have arisen from weaknesses in the memory of the companions. The ability of the companions to memorize the verses was limited, and it is possible that many of the incorrect recitations arose from limitations of their memory. Claims of verses missing from the Qur`ān may also have been due to poor memory or the erroneous assumption that certain of the

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[3627] Musnad Ḥanbal #26359.
[3628] Refer to chapter 47.
[3629] This is a distortion of verse 33:56.
[3630] Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, verse 33:56; Itqān 544-5, chapter 47.
[3631] Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, introduction to sūrah 33; Itqān 544, chapter 47.
[3632] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #8.3422-3.
[3633] Refer to Ibn Masʻūd's Qur`ān earlier in this chapter.

Prophet's (ص) supplications or sayings were actually parts of the Qur`ān. As such, some of the companions, notably 'Umar and 'Ā`ishah, would think there were verses missing, when such verses never existed, or they mistook something they had heard from the Prophet (ص) for a verse of the Qur`ān and then could not find the verse. Instead of attributing the absence of a verse to their fading memories, they would attribute it to being lost from the Qur`ān. That is why the Prophet (ص) told his companions, "You must keep on reciting the Qur`ān because it escapes from the hearts of men faster than camels do."[3634]

The Shī'ah believe that the tradition of thaqalayn, according to which the Messenger of Allāh (ص) left us the Book of Allāh and his Ahl al-Bayt (ع), is proof of the authenticity and accuracy of the Qur`ān. Had the Qur`ān been changed or altered in any way, it would no longer be worthy of holding onto for guidance. Moreover, the imāms of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) have mandated the recitation of one whole sūrah in each of the first two rak'ahs of each of the five daily prayers after the recitation of Sūrah Fātiḥah. Had the sūrahs been changed in content, wording, or the order of verses, reciting a full sūrah would bear no significance in relation to the truly revealed Qur`ān. Furthermore, if the Qur`ān had been altered, it would have been senseless for the imāms of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) to order their Shī'ah to compare traditions with the Book of Allāh and to accept only those traditions that do not contradict it. As such, the Shī'ah scholars believe that the Qur`ān in our hands today is exactly what was revealed to the Messenger of Allāh (ص) in its entirety, with neither anything added to nor taken away from it. The Shī'ah scholars also believe that had there been any changes in the Qur`ān made during the reign of the first three caliphs, 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib (ع) would have undone those changes, for preserving the Qur`ān would have been equal to or greater in importance than fighting the enemies of Islām.

Nāsikh and Mansūkh

The Sunnī scholars have reached a major difficulty in dealing with traditions citing changes in the Qur`ān. If they admit that the traditions are correct, they have admitted that the Qur`ān has been altered. On the other hand, if they claim that the Qur`ān has not been altered since its revelation, they automatically invalidate these traditions and, by implication, works such as Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī and Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim as well as the words of some of their favorite companions. Admitting the invalidity of such traditions would be equivalent to admitting the incorrectness of what either one of the companions or one of their "trustworthy" transmitters of tradition have related. As a result, they claim that some verses, such as the verse of stoning (rajm), were revealed and then taken back by Allāh.[3635]

This claim is baseless. There is no proof that parts of the Qur`ān were actually taken back by Allāh. Had this been the case, there would have certainly been some convincing traditions in regards to that. According to 'Umar, the Qur`ān was one million and twenty-seven thousand letters, but we have only a third of that today. That means that, while Allāh took back two-thirds of what He revealed, we do not even have any proof of such an event. Some Sunnīs have gone even further by claiming that Allāh even erased the memory of such verses from the mind of the Prophet (ص).[3636] This claim is clearly absurd. How could it be that Allāh made the Prophet (ص) and every other companion forget the verse of stoning, yet fail to erase this memory from ʻUmar's mind?

[3634] 3634. Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #6.61.550.

[3635] 3635. For example, Tafsīr Ibn Kathīr and Tafsīr Ṭabarī, verse 2:106.

[3636] 3636. For example, Tafsīr Ibn Kathīr and Tafsīr Ṭabarī, verse 2:106.

As such, Sunnī scholars have tried to befuddle the concept of the abrogation of verses (naskh) to help explain these traditions. While naskh refers to the abrogation of the commands of a verse by a subsequently revealed verse, it does not imply that the abrogated verses were actually taken back by Allāh. As such, Ibn Masʻūd and his followers maintained that abrogation meant to "uphold the wording of a verse while changing its ruling."[3637] Indeed, abrogated verses can be clearly seen in the Qur`ān. The following is one obvious example:

> O you who believe, when you seek private counsel with the Messenger, spend something in charity before your private counsel. This is better for you and most conducive to purity [of conduct]. But if you find not [the wherewithal], Allāh is oft-forgiving, most merciful. Did you dislike giving away some charity before your private counsel [with the Prophet]? You did not do it, but Allāh has forgiven you...[3638]

"Bismillāh al-Raḥmān al-Raḥīm" is Part of the Qur`ān

Many Sunnīs believe that the verse, "In the name of Allāh, most gracious, most merciful," was not revealed at the beginning of every sūrah of the Qur`ān except the ninth sūrah which does not include this introductory phrase. As such, they do not recite this phrase in their recitations during prayer (ṣalāt). Such a claim is equivalent to saying that one hundred and thirteen phrases have been added to the Qur`ān by the companions. The problem is that if additions could be made to the Qur`ān, deletions could also be made. Under these circumstances, the Qur`ān loses its validity.

The Shīʻah scholars, following the imāms of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع), have believed that the phrase, "In the name of Allāh, most gracious, most merciful," was revealed at the beginning of every sūrah except Sūrah Barā`ah,[3639] and that this is why we do not find this phrase at the beginning of that sūrah. Had the companions added "Bismillāh al-raḥmān al-raḥīm" to the beginning of the other sūrahs, they would not have left it out from Sūrah Barā`ah. Furthermore, as will be discussed later,[3640] the verse "We have given you the seven oft-repeated [verses],"[3641] is a reference to Sūrah Fātiḥah,[3642] which contains seven verses. As such, this phrase constitutes an integral part and the first verse of each sūrah, except for the ninth sūrah which does not include it.

The Claim that the Qur`ān was Revealed upon Seven Letters

According to Sunnī traditions, the Qur`ān has been revealed in seven different ways. The following are three traditions from Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī and Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim in this regards:

1. Allāh's Apostle said, "This Qur`ān has been revealed to be recited in seven different ways, so recite of it whichever [way] is easier for you."[3643]

[3637] Tafsīr Ibn Kathīr and Tafsīr Ṭabarī, verse 2:106.

[3638] Qur`ān 58:12-13.

[3639] Qur`ān, sūrah 9.

[3640] Refer to chapter 87.

[3641] Qur`ān 15:87.

[3642] Qur`ān, sūrah 1.

[3643] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #6.61.514; Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #4.1782.

2. Allāh's Apostle said, "Gabriel recited the Qur`ān to me in one way. Then I requested him [to read it in another way], and continued asking him to recite it in other ways, and he recited it in several ways till he ultimately recited it in seven different ways."[3644]

3. The Prophet said, "Allāh has commanded you to recite the Qur`ān to your people in seven dialects, and in whichever dialect they would recite it, they would be right."[3645]

These traditions appear to be forgeries to explain some of the differences among various copies of the Qur`ān cited in Sunnī traditions. If the Qur`ān is truly revealed seven different ways, and we have only one way recorded now, it means that the other six ways were lost. If six-sevenths of the revealed Qur`ān could be lost, one would not be able to trust the remaining seventh either. It is possible, however, that this merely refers to differences in recitation style or dialect and not to anything fundamental to the Qur`ān itself.

Conclusions

The Shī´ah maintain that the Qur`ān we have today is the Qur`ān that was revealed to the Prophet (ص) with no changes. It was recorded by several companions in its entirety under the direct supervision of the Prophet (ص). Immediately upon the Prophet's (ص) death, ´Alī (ع) compiled his entire Qur`ān into a single volume but the nation showed no interest in it. Subsequently, the early caliphs, most notably ´Uthmān, made copies of the Qur`ān widely available. ´Uthmān also confiscated everyone's personal copies of the Qur`ān with the exception of ´Alī's (ع), burying and burning them, not for fear that the other copies of the Qur`ān were inaccurate, but for fear of what they contained in terms of commentary on its verses. Traditions suggesting changes in the Qur`ān are either weak or solitary (āḥād), pertain to the poor memories and inaccurate recollections of the companions and those who related their traditions, or refer to some aspect of the Qur`ān such as its interpretation. Any criticisms directed at the Shī´ah regarding their lack of belief in the validity and accuracy of the Qur`ān are ill-informed, as the Shī´ah do not lend credence to any traditions claiming that the Qur`ān has been altered, whether the traditions appear in Sunnī texts or in Shī´ah ones.

3644. Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #6.61.513.
3645. Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #4.1789.

Chapter 56
Abū Bakr and ʹUmar Banned the Recording and Transmission of Prophetic Traditions

The Necessity of Prophetic Traditions According to the Qur`ān

Islāmic law and beliefs come mainly from two sources—the Qur`ān and prophetic traditions, referred to as ḥadīth. While the Qur`ān is the unaltered word of Allāh, it does not explain the details of religious law in a manner that is plain to the reader. For example, the Qur`ān orders us to pray, yet it does not specify how to pray, what to say, or when to bow, prostrate, or sit in prayer. The Qur`ān tells us to pay zakāt, but its words do not specify the detailed laws regarding what we pay zakāt for, what the threshold is past which zakāt becomes obligatory, and how much zakāt must be paid for each item. The Qur`ān orders us to perform the ḥajj, but it does not explain all the detailed laws regarding its rituals. These laws come from the Sunnah of the Prophet (ص) which is related to us through traditions. These traditions are either related by the companions at large (most Sunnī traditions), or specifically through the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) (most Shīʹah traditions).

Verses Necessitating Obedience to the Prophet (ص)

There are numerous verses in the Qur`ān that mandate complete obedience to the Prophet (ص), and therefore necessitate following his Sunnah:

1. "Obey Allāh and obey His Messenger."[3646]
2. The prophets of Allāh said, "Fear Allāh and obey me (i.e. the prophets themselves)."[3647]
3. "Take whatever the Messenger gives you and keep away from whatever he forbids you."[3648]
4. "Whoever obeys the Messenger has indeed obeyed Allāh."[3649]
5. "Say, [O Prophet], 'If you love Allāh, obey me so Allāh will love you and forgive your sins.'"[3650]

[3646] Qur`ān 3:32, 3:132, 5:92, 8:1, 8:20, 8:46, 24:54, 47:33, 58:13, 64:12.

[3647] Qur`ān 26:108, 26:110, 26:126, 26:131, 26:144, 26:150, 26:163, 26:179, 43:63. Similarly, Qur`ān 71:3.

[3648] Qur`ān 59:7.

[3649] Qur`ān 4:80.

[3650] Qur`ān 3:31.

6. "The word of the believers when they are called towards Allāh and His Messenger is only, 'We listen and we obey.'"[3651]
7. "And whoever obeys Allāh and His Messenger will be entered into gardens below which rivers flow."[3652]
8. "And whoever obeys Allāh and His Messenger, they are with those upon whom Allāh has bestowed favor."[3653]
9. "Those who obey Allāh and His Messenger and who fear Allāh and who heed Him will be triumphant."[3654]
10. "Whoever obeys Allāh and His Messenger has surely attained the highest achievement."[3655]
11. "Say, 'Obey Allāh and the Messenger.'"[3656]
12. "Obey the Messenger so that you will receive mercy."[3657]
13. "Obey Allāh and obey the Messenger and beware [of evil]!"[3658]
14. "And obey Allāh and obey the Messenger so that you may be granted mercy."[3659]
15. "If you obey [the Messenger], you will be guided."[3660]

There are many other verses that order us to obey the Messenger of Allāh (ص) that are not mentioned here for the sake of brevity. Indeed, the Qur`ān explicitly states that the Prophet (ص) is a model for us to follow: "You indeed have a fine model in Allāh's Messenger."[3661]

Verses Forbidding Disagreement with the Prophet (ص)

1. "There is no choice for a believing man or a believing woman when Allāh and His Messenger have decided on a matter; whoever disobeys Allāh and His Messenger has wandered off into manifest error."[3662]
2. "Let those who oppose [the Prophet's] decisions beware lest some affliction befall them."[3663]

[3651] Qur`ān 24:51.
[3652] Qur`ān 4:13, 48:17.
[3653] Qur`ān 4:69.
[3654] Qur`ān 24:52.
[3655] Qur`ān 33:71.
[3656] Qur`ān 3:32.
[3657] Qur`ān 24:56.
[3658] Qur`ān 5:92.
[3659] Qur`ān 3:132.
[3660] Qur`ān 24:54.
[3661] Qur`ān 33:21.
[3662] Qur`ān 33:36.
[3663] Qur`ān 24:63.

3. "Yet, by your Lord, they will never believe until they make you judge concerning what they are quarrelling about amongst themselves; then they will find no inconvenience for themselves concerning whatever you have decided and they will accept it wholeheartedly."[3664]

The Prophet's (ص) Duty was to Explain the Qur`ān

1. "We sent you the Reminder (i.e. the Qur`ān) so that you may explain to mankind what was revealed to them, so that they may reflect."[3665]

2. "We have merely revealed the Book to you so that you may explain to them that about which they differ."[3666]

3. "We have revealed the Book to you by the truth so that you may decree among people in accordance with what Allāh has shown you."[3667]

4. "So judge among them in accordance with what Allāh has revealed."[3668]

The Words and Actions of Prophets and Imāms Stem from Divine Revelation

1. "He (i.e. the Prophet) does not speak from some whim; it is merely revelation revealed [to him]."[3669]

2. "We made them imāms who guide [others] by Our command and We inspired them to perform good deeds, to keep up prayer and to pay charity. They have been serving Us."[3670]

3. "And we have not sent any messenger except to be obeyed by the permission of Allāh."[3671]

We Must Refer all Matters to the Messenger (ص) and the Foremost in Authority

1. "O you who believe, obey Allāh and obey the Messenger and the foremost in authority among you. If you quarrel over anything, refer it to Allāh and the Messenger if you believe in Allāh and the Last Day. That will be better for you and finer in the long run."[3672]

2. "If they would only refer it to the Messenger and the foremost in authority among them, those who investigated the matter would have known it."[3673]

3. "And ask the People of Remembrance (Ahl al-Dhikr) if you do not know."[3674]

[3664] Qur`ān 4:65.
[3665] Qur`ān 16:44.
[3666] Qur`ān 16:64.
[3667] Qur`ān 4:105.
[3668] Qur`ān 5:48.
[3669] Qur`ān 53:3-4.
[3670] Qur`ān 21:73-74.
[3671] Qur`ān 4:64.
[3672] Qur`ān 4:59.
[3673] Qur`ān 4:83.
[3674] Qur`ān 16:43, 21:7.

Comments

The Qur`ān is divine revelation in which the exact wording is chosen by Allāh, while the actions and saying of the Prophet (ص) are divine revelation in which the Messenger of Allāh (ص) was granted leeway to choose the wording and form of presentation. As such, Ḥassān said, "Gabriel would bring down the Sunnah to the Prophet (ص), as he would bring down the Qur`ān to him."[3675] It is clear that true Islām could not survive without prophetic traditions that clarify the beliefs, practices, and laws of Islām. Yet, as will be evident, the recording and oral transmission of tradition were forbidden by Abū Bakr and ʿUmar, and those who continued to transmit them were subject to persecution by the caliphs. This persisted for some time, until the Umayyad caliph ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz allowed prophetic traditions to be recorded.

The Necessity of Prophetic Traditions According to Prophetic Traditions

Abū Dāwūd has related the following:

1. The Prophet (ص) said: Beware! I have been given the Qur`ān and something like it, yet the time is coming when a man replete on his couch will say, "Keep to the Qur`ān; what you find in it to be permissible treat as permissible, and what you find in it to be prohibited treat as prohibited."[3676]
2. The Prophet (ص) said: Let me not find one of you reclining on his couch when he hears something regarding me which I have commanded or forbidden, saying, "We do not know. What we found in Allāh's Book we have followed."[3677]
3. The Prophet (ص) said, "You must then follow my Sunnah and that of the rightly-guided caliphs. Hold to it and stick fast to it. Avoid novelties, for every novelty is an innovation, and every innovation is an error."[3678]

The first two traditions are explicit that there are laws that are to be found only in the Sunnah of the Prophet (ص) and not in the Qur`ān. The third tradition is referring to following the twelve righteous khalīfs the Prophet (ص) promised us,[3679] even though Sunnī scholars use this tradition to justify following the innovations of Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, and ʿUthmān instead of the laws of Islām.

The Prophet (ص) Ordered the Companions to Relate His Words to Others

According to Abū Dāwūd, Ibn Mājah, Tirmidhī, Ḥanbal, and Dāramī, the Prophet (ص) said,

> May Allāh make content a servant who hears my word, saves it, and then proclaims it [to one who has not heard it]. It may very well be that the carrier of [religious] knowledge is not knowledgeable [about religious law], but delivers it to one who is more knowledgeable than himself.[3680]

[3675] Sunan Dāramī #588.
[3676] Sunan Abū Dāwūd #4604.
[3677] Sunan Abū Dāwūd #4605.
[3678] Sunan Abū Dāwūd #4607.
[3679] Refer to chapter 45.
[3680] Sunan Abū Dāwūd #3660; Sunan Ibn Mājah #230-232, #236; Sunan Tirmidhī #2656-8; Musnad Ḥanbal #13374, #16784, #21630; Sunan Dāramī #227-9.

Similarly, Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī quotes the Prophet (ص) has having said,

> It is incumbent upon those who are present to inform those who are absent because those who are absent might comprehend [what I have said] better than the present audience.[3681]

The tradition, "Those present must inform those absent,"[3682] is absolutely mutawātir, as the Prophet (ص) said that in numerous situations, including at Ghadīr Khumm.[3683] The obligation to inform those absent is absolutely clear proof of the necessity of transmitting prophetic traditions.

Indeed, when Salmān asked the Prophet (ص) regarding his mentioning the importance of narrating forty traditions, the Prophet (ص) replied, "Whoever retains them for my nation will enter paradise and will be raised by Allāh among the prophets and the men of knowledge."[3684] He also said, "Whoever retains forty traditions for my nation from which they benefit, Allāh will raise him on the Day of Judgment as a knowledgeable jurist (faqīhan ʿāliman)."[3685] He also promised, "I will be an intercessor and a witness for anyone who retains forty traditions from [my] Sunnah for my nation."[3686] Clearly, Sunnī traditions claiming that the Prophet (ص) had banned his traditions from being recorded were invented later to justify the ban on transmitting and recording prophetic traditions that was imposed by the first three caliphs.

Sources of Innovations in Traditions

Unlike the Qur`ān, which is protected by Allāh from alterations,[3687] and the true Sunnah, which is kept intact by the imāms of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع), narrated prophetic traditions are not immune to corruption. Some traditions may have been altered unintentionally due to incorrect recollection and many have undoubtedly been lost to time. However, there are also many traditions that were intentionally invented and attributed to the Prophet (ص) for various reasons. ʿAllāmah Amīnī, after listing 700 known inventors of tradition, computed the number of traditions invented by 35 of them to reach the sum of 98,684.[3688] By adding the traditions of 6 individuals whose traditions have been abandoned, he reached the staggering number of 408,684 invented traditions.[3689] The following are several reasons for such innovations:

1. The introduction of concepts from the People of the Book and other religions into the Muslim nation by individuals such as Kaʿb al-Aḥbār and Tamīm al-Dārī, who are discussed later in this chapter.

[3681] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #1.3.67.

[3682] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #1.3.67, #1.3.104, #1.3.105, #2.26.795, #3.29.58, #5.59.589, #9.93.539; Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #7.3141, #16.4160-2; Sunan Tirmidhī #809; Sunan Ibn Mājah #234-5; Musnad Ḥanbal #2036, #16420, #16424, #20049, #20055, #20402-3, #20423, #20435, #20516, #20714, #23155, #23536, #27208, #27621; Mustadrak Ḥākim #4806, #5982; Fatḥ al-Bārī #1652, #1735, #6817, #6972.

[3683] Yanābīʿ al-Mawadah 3:369.

[3684] Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #29468.

[3685] Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #29486.

[3686] Jāmiʿ al-Ṣaghīr Suyūṭī #8636. Similarly, Jāmiʿ al-Ṣaghīr Suyūṭī #8637.

[3687] Refer to chapter 55.

[3688] Al-Ghadīr 5:209-275.

[3689] Al-Ghadīr 5:290-291.

2. The dissemination of false traditions by the zindīqs (heretics) such as Sayf ibn ʿUmar[3690], who tried to pass on their own concepts as those of the Prophet (ص).

3. The personal agendas of companions, their successors, and the generations after them. For example, ʿĀʾishah was always trying to prove that she was loved by the Prophet (ص) and that her father was the most special of mankind, while others would invent virtues for the caliphs in an attempt to cozy up to them and receive some worldly benefit.

4. Pressures from the caliphs to invent traditions that would support the legitimacy of their rule as well as their actions, judgments, and innovations.

5. The desire of various Islāmic sects to create traditions that would support their sectarian viewpoints.

Abū Bakr and ʿUmar Forbade the Recording of Prophetic Traditions

According to Dhahabī,

> [Abū Bakr] al-Ṣiddīq gathered the people after the death of their Prophet (ص) and said, "You relate traditions from the Messenger of Allāh in which you differ. The people after you will differ even more. So do not relate anything from the Messenger of Allāh. If anyone asks you, say, 'Between us and you is the Book of Allāh, so permit what it permits and forbid what it forbids.'"[3691]

Abū Bakr's words are internally inconsistent, for one who reads the Qurʾān would most certainly seek out prophetic traditions. The Qurʾān says, "We have sent down to you the Remembrance (Dhikr), so that you clarify for the people what is revealed to them."[3692] According to this verse, the Qurʾān required the Prophet (ص) to explain the verses of the Qurʾān to the believers. Ordering the Muslims not to relate anything from the Messenger of Allāh (ص) was a personal decision of Abū Bakr that contradicted the Qurʾān and Sunnah and would prevent the nation from properly understanding the Qurʾān itself. Abū Bakr, however, was correct in saying that people would differ more if the traditions were related, because if traditions contradicting his personal policies and the validity of his caliphate were related, some would take the side of the Qurʾān and Sunnah, while others would take the side of those in power. Problems would then arise for him as discontent with his illegitimate rule would further set into the hearts of Muslims. Obviously, Abū Bakr was among those the Prophet (ص) was referring to when he said:

> The time is coming when a man replete on his couch will say, "Keep to the Qurʾān; what you find in it to be permissible treat as permissible, and what you find in it to be prohibited treat as prohibited."[3693]

According to Tārīkh al-Khulafāʾ and Kanz al-ʿUmmāl,

> ʿUmar intended to record the traditions, so he asked Allāh about it (i.e. thought about it) for a month. He woke up [one day] intending to embark on it, [but]

[3690] Refer to chapter 74.
[3691] Tadhkirah al-Ḥuffāẓ #1 (Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq).
[3692] Qurʾān 16:44.
[3693] Sunan Abū Dāwūd #4604.

> then said, "I remembered a people who [lived] before you who wrote a book that they accepted, abandoning the Book of Allāh."[3694]

Indeed, according to Kanz al-'Ummāl, the companions of the Prophet (ص) specifically recommended that 'Umar record the Sunnah, but he refused to allow it.[3695] According to Ibn Sa'd, despite the ban on relaying prophetic traditions, "[Written] traditions became numerous during the time of 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, so he told the people to bring them to him. When they brought them to him, he ordered them to be burned."[3696] He also demanded that, "Anyone who possesses any of these [traditions] must destroy them [because] there is no book but the Book of Allāh."[3697] It appears based on these accounts that 'Umar pretended that he was going to compile all the prophetic traditions in order to entice all the companions to bring him what they possessed and he then burned them. One can see that he held such contempt for the words of the Prophet (ص) that he would burn them, as the act of burning one's words is considered an utmost insult in any culture.

In this way the transmission of traditions was disrupted during the caliphates of Abū Bakr and 'Umar. 'Umar even gave his governors in the various Muslim lands the task of making sure that prophetic traditions were not being spread. One of the specific duties his governors had to promise to uphold was to "minimize the transmission [of traditions] from the Messenger of Allāh (ص) [in the lands under their jurisdiction]."[3698] When 'Umar sent Qaraẓah ibn Ka'b and his companions to Iraq, he ordered them not to relate any traditions, and when Qaraẓah was asked to relate something from the Prophet (ص), he said, "'Umar has prohibited us from doing so."[3699] 'Umar even went further by beating those who narrated traditions. Abū Hurayrah said, "Had I related traditions during the time of 'Umar the way I do to you [now], he would have struck me with his whip."[3700] This is either because Abū Hurayrah, a companion of the Prophet (ص), was narrating lies and 'Umar would beat him for it, in which case the Shī'ah concept that not all companions can be trusted when it comes to prophetic traditions is proved to be true, or because 'Umar prevented the truth from being narrated, in which case the Shī'ah concept that 'Umar served as an obstruction to the propagation of the truth is proved to be true. In fact, 'Umar told Abū Hurayrah, "You will abandon [narrating] traditions from the Messenger of Allāh or I will exile you to the land of Daws (i.e. where Abū Hurayrah came from[3701]),"[3702] and he similarly threatened Ka'b by saying, "You will abandon [narrating] traditions from the Messenger of Allāh or I will exile you to the land of Qaradah (a location in Najd[3703])."[3704]

'Umar went as far as to imprison leading companions such as 'Abd Allāh Ibn Mas'ūd, Abū Dardā', and Abū Dharr in Madīnah because they were spreading prophetic traditions throughout the land.[3705] According to a tradition Ḥākim certified as authentic by the criteria of Bukhārī and Muslim, "The Commander of the Faithful ´Umar forbade the companions from relating numerous traditions from the Messenger of Allāh (ص)."[3706]

[3694] Tārīkh al-Khulafā' 125; Kanz al-'Ummāl #29474, #29480.
[3695] Kanz al-'Ummāl #29474.
[3696] Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 5:188.
[3697] This is a composite of the two traditions in Kanz al-'Ummāl #29475-6.
[3698] Tārīkh Damishq 44:277-8.
[3699] Tadhkirah al-Ḥuffāẓ #2 ('Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb).
[3700] Tadhkirah al-Ḥuffāẓ #2 ('Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb).
[3701] Mu'jam al-Buldān 3:88.
[3702] Kanz al-'Ummāl #29472.
[3703] Mu'jam al-Buldān 4:243.
[3704] Kanz al-'Ummāl #29472.
[3705] Mustadrak Ḥākim #374-5. Refer to chapter 58 for a discussion of 'Umar's imprisonment of companions in Madīnah.

´Umar's son ´Abd Allāh remained loyal to the concept of suppressing the Sunnah of the Prophet (ص), as he did not relate but one single tradition to a person who spent two years with him.[3707] Amazingly, Sunnī texts are filled with traditions from Ibn ´Umar, so it appears that he either later recanted his father's position, or that the traditions attributed to him were mostly forged.

As confusion over ritualistic issues arose due to the ban on prophetic traditions, ´Umar said, "Minimize the relation [of traditions] from the Messenger of Allāh, except in what you act upon (i.e. rules pertaining to rituals)."[3708] This would allow setting the Prophet (ص) as an example only for simple ritualistic deeds and not for more important matters of faith and other Islāmic sciences.

´Uthmān continued this policy towards prophetic traditions, saying, "It is not permissible for anyone to relate a tradition that he did not hear at the time of Abū Bakr and ´Umar."[3709] Indeed, this was the policy of the Umayyads, as the son of Abū Sufyān[3710] said in a speech, "O people! Minimize the relating [of traditions] from the Messenger of Allāh. And if you do relate [anything], relate [only] what was related during the time of ´Umar."[3711] Mu´āwīyah is similarly quoted as having said, "O people! Minimize the relating [of traditions] from the Messenger of Allāh... So tell only what you would tell during the time of ´Umar."[3712] As such, Muslims were only allowed to pass on traditions that would pass the censorship of ´Umar.

Interestingly, when the Prophet (ص) was asked, "Who are your caliphs?" he replied, "Those who come after me who relate my traditions and teach them to the people."[3713] This shows that Abū Bakr, ´Umar, and ´Uthmān were not the Prophet's (ص) legitimate caliphs, as they barred the transmission of his traditions instead of promoting it.

´Alī (ع) was the First to Record Prophetic Traditions

It is evident that ´Alī (ع) defied the ban on recording prophetic traditions, as he had a Ṣaḥīfah which included the Prophet's (ص) words. According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī,

> ´Alī said, "We did not write anything from the Prophet except the Qur`ān and what is written in this Ṣaḥīfah."[3714]

This tradition is rather explicit that the Ṣaḥīfah contained the words of the Prophet (ص). Other accounts regarding this Ṣaḥīfah have been discussed previously.[3715] In any case, it is rather clear that ´Alī (ع) believed in the permissibility of recording the Prophet's words and that he defied Abū Bakr, ´Umar, and ´Uthmān by maintaining possession of this

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3706. Mustadrak Ḥākim #375.
3707. Sunan Dārami #272.
3708. Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 8:115; Tārīkh Damishq 67:344.
3709. Kanz al-´Ummāl #29490.
3710. This presumably refers to Mu´āwiyah.
3711. Kanz al-´Ummāl #29473.
3712. Tārīkh Damishq 26:382.
3713. Kanz al-´Ummāl #29488.
3714. Sahīh Bukhārī #4.53.404.
3715. Refer to chapters 17 and 50.

Ṣaḥīfah. According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, another companion who had recorded the Prophet's (ص) traditions was ʻAbd Allāh ibn ʻAmr ibn ʻĀṣ.[3716]

The Prophet (ص) Ordered the Recording of His Words

The Sunnīs relate contradictory traditions in regards to the permissibility of recording traditions. The following are two traditions that they relate concerning its unlawfulness:

1. According to Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, the Prophet (ص) said, "Do not take down anything from me, and he who has taken down anything from me except the Qur`ān, he should efface that and narrate from me [orally], for there is no harm in it; and he who attributes any falsehood to me deliberately should in fact find his abode in hell-fire."[3717]

2. Abū Hurayrah said: We were sitting writing down what we heard from the Prophet. He came out towards us and said, "What is this that you are writing?" We said, "What we hear from you." He said, "Is there any book along with the Book of Allāh?" We said, "We have not heard [of any]." He said, "Write the Book of Allāh. Only the Book of Allāh. Is there any book other than the Book of Allāh? Only the Book of Allāh." We gathered what we had written in one place and then burned it with fire.[3718]

However, there are a number of Sunnī traditions that relate the opposite, claiming the permissibility of recording his words. The following are four examples from Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī:

1. The Prophet said, "Fighting in Mecca was not permitted for anyone before me, nor will it be permitted for anyone after me. [Fighting] in it was made legal for me for a few hours or so on that [one particular] day. No doubt, it is at this moment a sanctuary. It is not allowed to uproot its thorny shrubs or to uproot its trees or to pick up its fallen things except by a person who will look for its owner. And if somebody is killed, then his closest relative has the right to choose one of the two—blood money or retaliation by having the killer killed." In the meantime, a man from Yemen came and said, "O Allāh's Apostle! Get that written for me." The Prophet ordered his companions to write that for him.[3719]

2. Ibn ʻAbbās said: When the ailment of the Prophet became worse, he said, "Bring for me paper and I will write for you a statement after which you will not go astray."[3720] Indeed, the traditions stating that he ordered pen and paper to write a command at his deathbed are mutawātir and undisputed.[3721]

3. The Prophet said, "It is incumbent upon those who are present to inform those who are absent because those who are absent might comprehend [what I have said] better than the present audience."[3722]

[3716] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #1.3.113.
[3717] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #42.7147.
[3718] Musnad Ḥanbal #11107.
[3719] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #1.3.112.
[3720] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #1.3.114.
[3721] Refer to chapter 38.
[3722] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #1.3.67.

4. Narrated Abū Hurayrah: There is no one among the companions of the Prophet who has narrated more traditions than I, except for ʻAbd Allāh ibn ʻAmr [ibn ʻĀṣ] who used to write them while I never did the same.[3723]

5. ʻAlī said, "We did not write anything from the Prophet except the Qurʼān and what is written in this Ṣaḥīfah."[3724]

According to Musnad Ḥanbal, ʻAmr ibn Shuʻayb quoted his grandfather as saying, "O Messenger of Allāh, we hear from you traditions but do not memorize them. Shouldn't we write them?" He replied, "Yes, write them."[3725]

ʻUmar ibn ʻAbd al-ʻAzīz, the only pious individual among the Umayyads was not only the first caliph to return the lands of Fadak to the Ahl al-Bayt (ع),[3726] but also the first illegitimate caliph to allow the recording of prophetic traditions. According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī,

> ʻUmar ibn ʻAbd al-ʻAzīz wrote to Abū Bakr ibn Ḥazm, "Look for the knowledge of ḥadīth and get it written, as I am afraid that religious knowledge will vanish and the religious learned men will pass away. Do not accept anything save the traditions of the Prophet. Circulate knowledge and teach the ignorant, for knowledge does not vanish except when it is kept secretly."[3727]

This shows that traditions were kept secretly in defiance of the orders of Abū Bakr, ʻUmar, ʻUthmān, and the early Umayyad caliphs. This proves the fact that the companions and their successors (tābiʻīn) did not believe in the validity of what the caliphs had commanded in regards to the ban on transmitting and recording prophetic traditions. Indeed, even the Sunnīs know that it is allowed to record prophetic traditions and that Abū Bakr, ʻUmar, and ʻUthmān were wrong in preventing their recording and transmission. Otherwise, it would be forbidden for Sunnīs to compose books of tradition such as Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, and their many other works of prophetic tradition. Thus, either Abū Bakr, ʻUmar, ʻUthmān, and Muʻāwīyah were all mistaken, or all the Sunnī scholars since the time of ʻUmar ibn ʻAbd al-ʻAzīz who have allowed the compilation of traditions have been mistaken.

ʻUmar Forbade Qurʼānic Interpretation

ʻUmar not only banned relating and recording prophetic traditions, but also forbade Muslims from trying to understand the Qurʼān. We already addressed how he assaulted those who were discussing the meaning of the word "abb" in the Qurʼān.[3728] In addition, Suyūṭī said,

> Saʻīd ibn Manṣūr and Ibn Jarīr and Ibn Saʻd and ʻAbd ibn Ḥumayd and Ibn Mundhir and Ibn Mardawayh and Bayhaqī in Shuʻab al-Īmān and Khaṭīb [Baghdādī] and Ḥākim who certifies it as authentic have related from Anas that

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3723. Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #1.3.113.
3724. Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #4.53.404.
3725. Musnad Ḥanbal #7018.
3726. Refer to chapter 49.
3727. Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #1.3.98-9.
3728. Refer to chapter 52.

> ʹUmar said on the pulpit: "...Whatever you do not understand [from the Qur`ān], leave it for its Lord."[3729]

In this way ʹUmar tried to prevent the people from understanding the Book of Allāh, as he feared that its true meaning would undermine his authority and rule. Indeed, all Sunnī interpreters of the Qur`ān have defied ʹUmar. This defiance shows that ʹUmar's ban on Qur`ānic interpretation was his incorrect personal opinion which he erroneously imposed on the nation at large.

Reasons for the Forbidding of Prophetic Traditions

One must wonder why Abū Bakr and ʹUmar were so strictly opposed to the transmission of prophetic traditions and why they were so vehemently against any discussions regarding the Qur`ān and any insight into the meaning of its verses. This, however, is not unexpected given the fact that the Qur`ān and Sunnah were opposed to them on many critical issues. Had they allowed the transmission of traditions, companions such as ʹAlī (ع), Abū Dharr, Miqdād, Salmān, ʹAmmār, and many others would have freely spread traditions regarding the superiority of ʹAlī (ع) and regarding the conduct of Abū Bakr, ʹUmar, and their associates during the lifetime of the Prophet (ص). They would have been free to condemn the un-Islāmic acts of the caliphs and to clarify for the people what Islām truly was. Traditions such as the tradition of Ghadīr, thaqalayn, city of knowledge, the bird, kinsmen, and dozens of other traditions would have been on the tips of their tongues and would have left no opportunity for Abū Bakr and ʹUmar to claim succession to the Messenger of Allāh (ص). Furthermore, the caliphs would not have been free to innovate at will without being exposed by the contradictions between their innovations and the definite Sunnah of the Prophet (ص). For these and perhaps many other reasons, Abū Bakr and ʹUmar did not want the people to relate prophetic traditions.

Indeed, the Qur`ān, if simply recited without thought, is a harmless book to even the most malicious enemies of Islām. However, when the Qur`ān is discussed with the intent of comprehending its true meaning, its potential to guide becomes manifest. Abū Bakr and ʹUmar realized this and therefore forbade any discussions surrounding the meaning of its verses. Had the people been free to discuss the verses and seek their meaning, people would have asked questions such as,

> "Who are the Ahl al-Bayt who are thoroughly purified according to the Qur`ān?"
>
> "Who are the close relatives whom we must love?"
>
> "Who are the foremost in authority whom we must obey?"
>
> "Who are the Ahl al-Dhikr from whom we must ask what we do not know?"
>
> "Who are the purified ones who have contact with the inner meaning of the Qur`ān?"
>
> "Who is the walī of the believers who gave charity while bending in prayer?"
>
> "Who is the guide for the nation, as every group is said to have a guide?"

[3729] Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, verse 80:31. Refer to chapter 52 for further discussion of this topic.

> "Who is the imām after the Prophet's (ص) death that the Muslims would be called by on the Day of Judgment?"
>
> "To whom do the khums and fay` belong after the death of the Prophet (ص)?"
>
> "If other prophets left inheritance, how come Muḥammad (ص) did not?"

The first three caliphs knew that it was necessary for them to keep people away from the answers to such questions. In order to accomplish this, ʹUmar and ʹUthmān employed Jewish and Christian scholars to teach Islām instead of pious companions who would have spread the traditions of the Messenger of Allāh (ص). By making Jewish rabbis and Christian priests such as Kaʹb al-Aḥbār and Tamīm Dārī the teachers of Islām, ʹUmar opened the floodgates of misguidance. Jewish and Christian scholars were particularly helpful to the illegitimate caliphs, as Judaism and Christianity had been doctored enough and tailored perfectly to suit their illegitimate priests and rabbis. As such, the Qur`ān says, "They have taken as lords beside Allāh their rabbis and their priests."[3730] With the help of the Jews and Christians, ʹUmar and ʹUthmān and subsequent caliphs were able to establish a religion for the masses that would suit them, just as the Jewish and Christian clergy and monarchs created religions for their masses that have served them well in this world.

Kaʹb al-Aḥbār

In Arabic, the word "kaʹb" means "head". "Ḥibr" (plural aḥbār) refers to a Jewish scholar, and it is used with this meaning in several Qur`ānic verses.[3731] Kaʹb al-Aḥbār was the head rabbi of Yemen and was considered one of the preeminent Jewish scholars of Arabia. The following is what Dhahabī said in regards to him:

> He is Kaʹb ibn Mātiʹ al-Ḥimyarī, among the foremost in knowledge and among the great scholars of the People of the Book. He became Muslim during the time of Abū Bakr and came [to Madīnah] from Yemen during the rule of the Commander of the Faithful ʹUmar. The companions and others learned from him, and he learned the Book [of Allāh] and the Sunnah from the companions. He died during the caliphate of ʹUthmān and a group of the successors (tābiʹīn) related [traditions] from him in an unconnected (mursal) fashion (i.e. lacking the intermediary companion between Kaʹb and the Prophet [ص]). He has things [that appear] in Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī and other [works].[3732]

ʹUmar tried very hard to bring Kaʹb to Madīnah. According to Ibn ʹAsākir,

> ʹUmar asked Kaʹb, "What prevents you from residing in Madīnah, [which is] where the Messenger of Allāh emigrated to and the site of his grave?" He replied, "I have found in the Book of Allāh that has been revealed [to us] (i.e. the Jewish Scripture) that Shām (Syria-Palestine) is the treasure of Allāh on earth."[3733]

Through insistence, ʹUmar was eventually successful in recruiting him to Madīnah. There, Kaʹb tried hard to introduce Jewish concepts into Islām and to subjugate Islām to

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[3730] Qur`ān 9:31.

[3731] For example, Qur`ān 5:44, 5:63, 9:31, 9:34.

[3732] Tadhkirah al-Ḥuffāẓ #33 (Kaʹb al-Aḥbār).

[3733] Tārīkh Damishq 1:122.

Judaism. He spread many traditions in that regards, and anyone who reads Sunnī sources will run across numerous examples of his nonsensical traditions. The following are just a few instances:

1. "The most beloved of lands to Allāh is Shām and the most beloved [part] of Shām to Allāh is Jerusalem."[3734]
2. "Nine-tenths of merit (khayr) is in Shām and one-tenth is in the rest of the lands."[3735]
3. "Five cities are among the cities of paradise: Jerusalem, Ḥimṣ, Damascus, Jibrīn (a city near Jerusalem), and Ẓafār[3736] in Yemen."[3737]
4. "The Hour will not come until the Bayt al-Ḥarām [in Mecca] is taken to the Bayt al-Maqdis [in Jerusalem]."[3738]
5. "There is not a handswidth of the earth except that what occurs on it until the Day of Judgment is written in the Torah which Allāh revealed to His Prophet Moses."[3739]

According to Ṭabarī,

> One day when Ibn ʿAbbās was sitting, a man came to him and said, "Ibn ʿAbbās, I herd Kaʿb the rabbi tell a marvelous story about the sun and the moon." Ibn ʿAbbās who had been reclining sat up and asked what it was. The man said, "He suggested that on the Day of Judgment, the sun and the moon will be brought as if they were two hamstrung oxen, and flung into hell." Ibn ʿAbbās became contorted with anger and exclaimed three times, "Kaʿb is lying! Kaʿb is lying! Kaʿb is lying! This is something Jewish he wants to inject into Islām. Allāh is too majestic and noble to mete out punishment where there is obedience to Him. Have you not heard Allāh's word, 'And He subjected to you the sun and the moon, being constant,'[3740] referring to their constant obedience? How would He punish two servants that are praised for constant obedience? May Allāh curse that rabbi and his rabbinate! How insolent is he toward Allāh and what a tremendous fabrication he has told about these two servants that are obedient to Allāh."[3741]

Kaʿb's main influence on Sunnīsm, however, was perhaps not through his own traditions that the Sunnīs have retained, but rather through his protégé, Abū Hurayrah, who adopted his Jewish concepts and passed them off as the words of the Prophet (ص). This will be addressed later in our discussion on Abū Hurayrah.[3742]

Kaʿb al-Ahbār and the Caliphate

[3734] Tārīkh Damishq 1:122.
[3735] Tārīkh Damishq 1:159.
[3736] Ẓafār is the town in Ḥimyar, Yemen that Kaʿb was from.
[3737] Tārīkh Damishq 1:222.
[3738] Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, verse 2:127.
[3739] Istīʿāb 3:348 #2153 (Qays ibn Kharashah al-Qaysī).
[3740] Qurʾān 14:33.
[3741] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 1:233.
[3742] Refer to chapter 77.

Ka´b al-Aḥbār tried hard to get close to the caliphate in order to spread his Jewish beliefs more freely at a time when the transmission of prophetic traditions and discussions on Qur`ānic commentary were strictly prohibited. He would say, "Among the Children of Israel was a king; when we remember him, he reminds us of ´Umar, and when we remember ´Umar, he reminds us of that king."[3743] He also told ´Umar, "O Commander of the Faithful! By the One in Whose hands my life rests, we [Jews] find you in the Book of Allāh standing upon a gate among the gates of hell, preventing people from entering it. Once you die, people will not cease to be crammed into hell until the Day of Judgment."[3744] No wonder why ´Umar let this man speak freely while he banned the Prophet's (ص) companions from narrating prophetic traditions. At the same time he tolerated Ka´b's nonsense, he was beating the companions who were discussing the meaning of the word "abb" in the Qur`ān.[3745] Indeed, Ka´b was allowed to go so far as to check the supplications of the Muslims to make sure that they corresponded to what was in the Jewish Scripture.[3746] In fact, Sunnī traditions claim that Ka´b was so knowledgeable that he even predicted ´Umar would die a martyr,[3747] and predicted his death three days before its occurrence.[3748] According to Ṭabarī,

> Ka´b al-Aḥbār came to him and said, "Appoint your successor, Commander of the Faithful, for you are going to die in three days." [´Umar] asked him how he knew this. He replied, "I find it in Allāh's book, the Torah." ´Umar said, "Can you actually find [the name] ´Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb in the Torah?" [Ka´b] replied, "Indeed no, but I do find a complete description of you and also that your allotted life span has come to at end." [At that time] ´Umar was experiencing no sickness or pain. [On the] next day, Ka´b came to him and said, "One day gone and two to go, Commander of the Faithful!" Then he came to him on the day after that and said, "Two days gone, one and a night to go! You have got until tomorrow morning!"[3749]

Since Ka´b was not a prophet and since there is no apparent mention of ´Umar in the Jewish Scriptures, this account implies that either Ka´b was involved in the plot to kill ´Umar or that there was such an infatuation with Ka´b that such lies would be invented about his prophetic abilities.

Towards the end of his life, Ka´b emigrated to Syria, where he was well-received by Mu´āwīyah, who proclaimed, "Truly Ka´b is one of the [great] scholars (´ulamā`)!"[3750] He died in Ḥimṣ in the year 32 A.H. during the caliphate of ´Uthmān.[3751]

Tamīm al-Dārī

Tamīm ibn Aws was a devout Christian monk, who according to Ibn Ḥajar was "among the scholars of the People of the Book."[3752] He accepted Islām in the year 9 A.H.[3753] He remained in Madīnah during the caliphates of Abū Bakr, ´Umar, and ´Uthmān. According to Ibn Ḥajar, "'Umar glorified him frequently."[3754] He paid him a salary of 5,000 dirhams, equal to what he paid the companions who had fought at Badr.[3755] During 'Umar's caliphate, Tamīm would give a sermon every Friday prior to Friday prayers, and 'Uthmān had him giving sermons to the companions of the Prophet (ص) and the successors (tābi'īn) twice a week.[3756] During the caliphate of 'Umar, he became the first person to tell fictional stories in the mosque.[3757] According to Kanz al-'Ummāl,

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[3743] Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 3:353-4.
[3744] Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 3:332.
[3745] Refer to chapter 52.
[3746] Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 4:268.
[3747] Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 3:340, 3:342.
[3748] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 14:90.
[3749] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 14:90.
[3750] Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb vol 8 #795 (Ka´b ibn Māti´ al-Ḥimyarī).
[3751] Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb vol 8 #795 (Ka´b ibn Māti´ al-Ḥimyarī).
[3752] Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb vol 1 #951 (Tamim ibn Aws ibn Khārijah).
[3753] Iṣābah 1:207 #837 (Tamim ibn Aws); Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb vol 1 #951 (Tamim ibn Aws ibn Khārijah).

> Stories were not told during the time of the Messenger of Allāh (ص) or Abū Bakr or [in the early part of the caliphate of] 'Umar. The first to tell stories was Tamīm al-Dārī who asked 'Umar permission to do so, and he gave it to him. So he would tell stories standing [at the pulpit].[3758]

Needless to say, 'Alī (ع) never approved of these story tellers. According to Kanz al-'Ummāl,

> 'Alī entered the mosque when the voice of a story-teller [could be heard]. When he saw him, he became quiet. 'Alī said, "Who is this?" [He was told], "The story-teller." 'Alī said, "Truly I have heard the Messenger of Allāh (ص) say, 'After me there will be story-tellers. Allāh will not look at them [with mercy on the Day of Judgment].'"[3759]

In fact, one of the first actions of 'Alī (ع) after becoming caliph was evicting the story-tellers from the Prophet's Mosque. As such, upon the death of 'Uthmān, Tamīm al-Dārī fled to Palestine, where he spent the rest of his life and where he is now buried.[3760]

Even during the lifetime of the Prophet (ص), Tamīm was a known liar and, according to numerous Sunnī sources, the verse, "But if it becomes known that these two were guilty of the sin [of perjury], let two others stand forth in their places [as witnesses],"[3761] was revealed when he and his companion provided false testimony during the Prophet's (ص) lifetime about what a Muslim had left behind in inheritance.[3762] He even later admitted to having testified falsely.[3763] As such, the Qur`ān explicitly told the Muslims not to trust this man. Nevertheless, 'Umar and 'Uthmān allowed this man say what he wanted on the pulpit of the Prophet's Mosque. Despite his rather public role, little is related from Tamīm al-Dārī perhaps because what he said consisted primarily of words of fiction. According to Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim,

> [Tamīm said] that he had sailed in a ship along with thirty men of the Banū Lakhm and Banū Judhām and had been tossed by waves in the ocean for a month. Then these [waves] took them to a land within the ocean at the time of sunset. They sat in a small side-boat and entered that island. There was a beast with long thick hair [and because of this] they could not distinguish his face from his back. They said, "Woe to you, who can you be?" Thereupon it

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[3754] Iṣābah 1:207 #837 (Tamīm ibn Aws).
[3755] Futūḥ al-Buldān 556 #1033. Refer to chapter 58 for a discussion of 'Umar's method for distributing wealth.
[3756] Tārīkh Damishq 11:81.
[3757] Iṣābah 1:207, #837 (Tamīm ibn Aws).
[3758] Kanz al-'Ummāl #29454. Similarly, Kanz al-'Ummāl #29445-7.
[3759] Kanz al-'Ummāl #29452.
[3760] Iṣābah 1:207 #837 (Tamīm ibn Aws).
[3761] Qur`ān 5:107.
[3762] Sunan Tirmidhī #3059; Iṣābah 1:207 #837 (Tamīm ibn Aws); Tafsīr Ṭabarī, Tafsīr Zamakhsharī, Tafsīr Rāzī, Tafsīr Qurṭubī, Tafsīr Bayḍāwī, Tafsīr Ibn Kathīr, Tafsīr Shawkānī, and Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, verse 5:107.
[3763] Tafsīr Rāzī, verse 5:107.

> said, "I am Jassāsah." They said, "What is Jassāsah?" and it said, "O people, go to this person in the monastery as he is very much eager to know about you." [Tamīm] said: When it named a person for us we were afraid of it lest it should be a devil. Then we hurriedly went on till we came to that monastery and found a well-built person there with his hands tied to his neck and having iron shackles between his two legs up to the ankles. We said, "Woe be upon you, who are you?" And he said, "You would soon come to know about me, but tell me who are you." We said, "We are people from Arabia [and then told him the story just narrated]..." [He said], "I am Dajjāl and will be soon permitted to get out and so I shall get out and travel in the land and I will not spare any town where I would not stay for forty nights except Mecca and Madīnah, as these two [places] are prohibited [areas] for me and I would not make an attempt to enter either one of these two. An angel with a sword in his hand would confront me and would bar my way and there would be angels to guard every passage leading to it."[3764]

This tradition is complete nonsense and apparently refers to the stories Tamīm would say after the Prophet's (ص) death, rather than anything the Holy Prophet (ص) would relate from him as the Sunnīs claim. Where is this hairy beast named al-Jassāsah whose face and buttock are indistinguishable and which speaks perfect Arabic? It is obvious that this is the type of story that Tamīm al-Dārī would tell people in the Masjid al-Nabī and these absurd fantasies would turn into prophetic traditions. It appears that Tamīm has not related prophetic traditions because he lacked in meaningful companionship, and, in accordance with the policy of the caliphate, he never relayed anything the Prophet (ص) had said. Rather, he would waste the time of the Prophet's (ص) oppressed companions with nonsensical fictional tales.

The Qur`ān chastises those who follow the priests and rabbis when it says, "They have taken their rabbis (aḥbār) and their monks (ruhbān) as lords besides Allāh."[3765] The truth is that the caliphs forced rabbis (Ka´b al-Aḥbār) and monks (Tamīm al-Dārī) upon the Muslim nation, who were compelled to listen to their false claims based on abrogated and adulterated religions, while these same caliphs suppressed the noble Sunnah of the Prophet (ص) and the meanings of the glorious verses of the Qur`ān.

3764. Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #41.7028.
3765. Qur`ān 9:31.

Chapter 57
The Qualities and Knowledge of ´Umar

Historically, ´Umar served as the central figure in the early caliphate. Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd said,

> ´Umar was the one who solidified the pledge of allegiance to Abū Bakr and who humiliated its opponents. He broke the sword of Zubayr after he stripped it away. He shoved the chest of Miqdād. He trampled Sa´d ibn ´Ubādah in the Saqīfah and said, "Kill Sa´d! May Allāh kill Sa´d!" He scornfully crushed Ḥubāb ibn Mundhir who said on the day of Saqīfah, "I am the pillar on which the camel with a skin disease rubs itself to satisfy the itching (i.e. I am a noble), and I am as a high class palm tree!" He threatened those among the Banū Hāshim who remained in the house of Fāṭimah and expelled them from it. Had it not been for him, Abū Bakr would have never consolidated his rule.[3766]

After the death of Abū Bakr, ´Umar ruled with a firm grip for a decade, giving him the ability to significantly impact subsequent Islāmic history as well as the development of the Islām practiced by the masses.

´Umar's Personality

´Umar's personality was difficult to bear because he was very stern and condescending. Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd said, "In the nature of ´Umar and his words was clear harshness and self-importance."[3767] Ṭabarī described ´Umar's personality as such: "When ´Umar spoke, he made [people] hear; when he walked, he moved quickly; when he beat [someone], he brought pain."[3768] He also had a very condescending attitude towards his subjects, as he said, "The Arabs are like a tractable camel that follows its leader."[3769] According to Ṭabarī,

> Some Muslims had a word with ´Abd al-Raḥmān ibn ´Awf and said, "Speak to ´Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, for he has inspired so much fear in us that indeed we cannot look him in the face." ´Abd al-Raḥmān ibn ´Awf mentioned this to ´Umar and he said, "Did they really say this?! I [thought I] was indeed lenient with them to such an extent that I was afraid of Allāh."[3770]

[3766] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 1:174.
[3767] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 1:183.
[3768] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 14:120.
[3769] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 14:103.
[3770] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 14:112.

Someone went to ´Umar and told him, "People dislike you and despise you." He asked why. The man replied, "Because of your tongue and your cane."[3771] Another man told him, "[The Syrians] dislike your being in power and are fearful of your evil (sharr)."[3772]

´Umar's personality was so unbearable that, according to ´Ā`ishah, "´Alī disliked that ´Umar should come [to him]..., for he knew ´Umar's rudeness."[3773] Indeed, even Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī and Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim admit that ´Alī (ع) "disliked the presence of ´Umar."[3774] This phrase has alternatively been translated into English as "[´Alī] disliked that ´Umar should come [to him],"[3775] and "[´Alī was] disapproving of the presence of ´Umar."[3776]

´Umar's Title of al-Fārūq

Sunnīs routinely refer to ´Umar as al-Fārūq, or the divider. However, according to Ṭabarī, Ibn Shihāb said, "We heard that the People of the Book were the first to call ´Umar al-Fārūq. The Muslims did relate this in their reports, but we have never heard that the Messenger of Allāh made any such reference."[3777] It is clear that this title was not bestowed by the Prophet (ص) but rather by the Jews and Christians who had a penchant for him as he had for them.[3778]

The Knowledge of ´Umar

In the rest of this chapter, the knowledge of ´Umar will be examined. The next two chapters will then examine some of his innovations in Islām, a good number of which have survived to this day in Sunnī jurisprudence. Subsequently, some of his legal verdicts will be reviewed. In our brief discussion, ´Umar's ignorance of Islām, tendency to innovate, inability to judge according to the Qur`ān and Sunnah, and partiality in judgment will become evident. ´Allāmah Amīnī documented one hundred instances of ´Umar's ignorance of or opposition to the Book of Allāh and Sunnah of the Prophet (ص) that have been related in Sunnī sources,[3779] and his listing is by no means considered complete. Indeed, a thorough examination of ´Umar's errors and innovations would require a dedicated encyclopedic work, which to this date has unfortunately not been compiled.

´Umar's Knowledge of Sūrah Baqarah

´Umar's limited knowledge of the Qur`ān was previously addressed in terms of the words abb and kalālah.[3780] It is clear that ´Umar was very slow to learn the Qur`ān. According to Qurṭubī, Sūrah Baqarah contains, "One thousand orders, one thousand forbiddances, one thousand commands, and one thousand stories."[3781] Qurṭubī also said, "´Umar learned its jurisprudential knowledge (fiqh) and [other] content in twelve years."[3782] This establishes ´Umar's limited of knowledge of the Qur`ān and his lack of aptitude in learning it. In fact, if he took twelve years to learn the content of one sūrah, he would not have lived enough to learn even the basic jurisprudence contained in the Qur`ān. As such, he definitely lacked sufficient knowledge to issue religious edicts or to sit in the position of a judge.

[3771] Imāmah wa Sīyāsah 29.
[3772] Imāmah wa Sīyāsah 29.
[3773] Tārikh Ṭabari 9:197.
[3774] Ṣaḥih Bukhārī Arabic original #3998; Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim Arabic original #1758.
[3775] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.59.546.
[3776] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #19.4352. Note that the phrase is actually not translated as part of the text of the tradition as it appears in the Arabic original, but is placecd parenthetically by the translator, perhaps as an editing error.
[3777] Tārikh Ṭabari 14:96.
[3778] Refer to chapter 56 for a discussion of ´Umar's affinity for Ka´b al-Aḥbār and Tamim al-Dārī.
[3779] Al-Ghadīr 6:83-325.
[3780] Refer to chapter 52.
[3781] Tafsīr Qurṭubī, introduction to sūrah 2.
[3782] Tafsīr Qurṭubī, introduction to sūrah 2.

This alludes to another issue, which is the fact that the Qur`ān was not widely memorized by the companions, except for a handful, and complete copies of it were scarce. Furthermore, there were no indexes or other methods for looking up verses. As such, when companions made rulings, they would base it purely on what would come to their mind at the moment, and it was therefore easy for them to rule in opposition to the Qur`ān. The same can be said of the Sunnah, as they may have very well been unaware of certain of the Prophet's (ص) rulings, and there were no widely-available legal texts or compilations of traditions to refer to. As such, it was easy for them to rule in opposition to the sharī´ah (divine law), which is why their opinions would so commonly contradict the Qur`ān and Sunnah.

´Umar Asked Salmān if He was a King or a Caliph

According to Ṭabarī,

> ´Umar said to [Salmān], "Am I a king or a caliph?" Salmān replied, "If you collect from Muslim territory one dirham—or less or more—then you put it to use other than for what it is by right intended, you are a king, not a caliph." ´Umar wept.[3783]

´Umar's Position as Caliph

´Umar gave a speech in which he said,

> Whoever wishes to ask something about the Qur`ān should go to Ubayy ibn Ka´b. Whoever wishes to ask something about the mandatory rituals (farā`iḍ) should go to Zayd ibn Thābit. Whoever wishes to ask something about Islāmic jurisprudence (fiqh) should go to Mu´ādh ibn Jabal. Whoever wishes to ask about property (māl) should come to me, for I am its treasurer, as Allāh, the oft-high has made me its treasurer (khāzin) and divider (qāsim).[3784]

This shows the type of imāmate and caliphate that ´Umar considered himself to hold. He had limited knowledge of the Qur`ān or Sunnah and had to refer to others whenever any matter came up. He would often make incorrect judgments, going as far as ordering people to be killed, only to be corrected by others. If he himself had to question others in all matters before being able to make a decision that would be consistent with the Qur`ān and Sunnah, why did he not give up his power to those who could make such decisions in accordance to the Qur`ān and Sunnah? Indeed, the reason he told people to refer to Ubayy, Zayd, and Mu´ādh was not because they were the most knowledgeable, but rather because they were his friends and associates and because none of them had any viable claim to the caliphate. Had he told people to follow ´Alī (ع), he would have been inviting them to the imāmate of ´Alī (ع), which was his greatest fear.

[3783] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 14:118. Similarly, Tārīkh al-Khulafā` 126.

[3784] Sunan al-Kubrā Bayhaqī #11969; Mustadrak Ḥākim #5187, #5191 (certifies the tradition as authentic by the criteria of Bukhārī and Muslim); Kanz al-´Ummāl #11638; Majma´ al-Zawā`id #567.

Patrolling at Nighttime

According to Ṭabarī, "ʿUmar reportedly would himself patrol at night, seeking out the Muslims' dwellings and personally finding out how they were faring."[3785] It is widely narrated that,

> ʿUmar used to search at night. [One night] he climbed a wall and saw a woman and a man with wine. ʿUmar said, "O enemy of Allāh! Do you think that Allāh would cover for you when you are performing a sin?" The man said, "O Commander of the Faithful, do not rush [to judgment] in regards to me. If I disobeyed Allāh in one matter, you disobeyed Him in three. Allāh says, 'Do not spy,'[3786] and you just spied. Allāh says, 'Enter the houses from their doors,'[3787] and you climbed the wall. And you entered without permission, [even though] Allāh says, 'Do not enter a house other than your own until you ask permission and salute its inhabitants.'[3788]" Umar said, "Is there any virtue in you for me to forgive you?" He said, "Yes." So ʿUmar forgave him and left, leaving him alone.[3789]

If ʿUmar knew the Qurʾān, he most certainly would not need a drunk to teach him these three verses. Amazingly, the verse "Enter the houses from their doors,"[3790] is in Sūrah Baqarah, so it appears that ʿUmar had not yet learned its thousand rules by the time he became caliph.

The Exile of Naṣr ibn Ḥajjāj

According to Tārīkh Damishq,

> One day ʿUmar was patrolling Madīnah at night and passed by a woman in a house who was reciting [the poem], "Is there any way of getting wine to drink? / Is there any way of getting Naṣr ibn Ḥajjāj?" [She said this because Naṣr] was a handsome man. ʿUmar said, "No way while I am alive!" When he woke up in the morning, he sent for Naṣr ibn Ḥajjāj and said, "Leave Madīnah," so he went to Baṣrah.[3791]

Of course, exiling Naṣr for something that someone else said was completely unjust, as the Qurʾān says, "No burdened soul will bear another's burden,"[3792] which means that no one is punished for another's sin in Islām. Furthermore, according to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, "Allāh's Apostle ordered that an unmarried man who committed illegal sexual intercourse be scourged one hundred lashes and sent into exile for one year."[3793] As such, exile is a punishment for fornication, and it would be absurd to inflict an innocent man with a

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3785. Tārīkh Ṭabarī 14:108.
3786. Qurʾān 49:12.
3787. Qurʾān 2:189.
3788. Qurʾān 24:27.
3789. Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, verse 49:12; Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #8827; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 1:182, 12:17-18. Similarly, Sunan al-Kubrā Bayhaqī #17403; Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #8824; Iṣābah 1:607 #2754 (Rabīʿah ibn Umayyah ibn Khalaf); Sīrah Ḥalabīyyah 3:322.
3790. Qurʾān 2:189.
3791. Tārīkh Damishq 62:22.
3792. Qurʾān 6:164, 17:15, 35:18, 39:7, 53:38.
3793. Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #3.48.817. Similarly, Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #3.49.860, #9.89.303; Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #17.4192, #17.4209.

punishment befitting a fornicator merely because a woman expressed some desire for him.

´Umar Sought Out People's Sins

In Islām one does not seek out the sins of others. If a judge is brought forth witnesses, he will judge based on that, but he would not act based on rumors, as ´Umar did:

> A man went to ´Umar and said, "So and so is not sober." ´Umar entered upon him and said, "I find the smell of wine! Are you engaged in this?" The man said, "O son of al-Khaṭṭāb! Why are you doing this? Has Allāh not prohibited you from spying?" ´Umar recognized [his error] so he freed him and left.[3794]

The Qurˋān asks, "Do you order people towards good while you forget yourselves and you read the Book? Why don't you use reason?"[3795] Clearly, ´Umar was so obsessed with the conduct of others that he would forget to examine his own personal conduct.

´Umar's Ruling on the Dower of Women

According to numerous Sunnī sources,

> [´Umar said], "If I hear that a woman's dower surpasses that of the wives of the Prophet, I will take it away from her." A woman told him, "Is the Book of Allāh more fitting to be followed or your word?" He replied, "Of course, the Book of Allāh." She said, "Allāh, the oft-high, said, 'Even if you have given them a whole treasure (qinṭār[3796]) for dower, take not the least bit back. Would you take it by slander and a manifest error?'[3797]" ´Umar said, "Everyone knows more about Islāmic jurisprudence than ´Umar, even house-bound women," and repeated this two or three times.[3798] He then added, "Do you not wonder about an imām who errs and a woman who is right and who considers herself better than your imām and proved herself to be so."[3799]

Umar Asserted that a Claim to Belief Amounts to Disbelief

´Umar said, "Whoever says, 'I am knowledgeable,' is ignorant (jāhil), and whoever says, 'I am a believer,' is a disbeliever (kāfir)."[3800] In contrast to ´Umar's statement, the Qurˋān says that believers say, "We believe (āmannā) in what You have revealed and follow the Messenger."[3801] Obviously ´Umar was so low in belief and knowledge that he was threatened with anyone claiming to have belief or knowledge. In fact, it appears likely that he was threatened by the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) and their Shī´ah who rightly claimed to have both belief and knowledge, so ʿUmar created such a lie to undercut their claims and to indirectly accuse them of ignorance and disbelief.

[3794] Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, verse 49:12. A number of similar incidents are listed in this tafsīr under this verse.

[3795] Qurˋān 2:44.

[3796] 1 qinṭār ≈ 100 pounds (Tārīkh Tabarī 15:23, footnote #40). In this verse, the word qinṭār can be taken literally as, "Even if you have given them a hundred pounds [of gold] for dower," or more figuratively as, "Even if you have given them a whole treasure for dower."

[3797] Qurˋān 4:20.

[3798] Sunan al-Kubrā Bayhaqī #14114; Majma´ al-Zawāˋid #7502; Fayḍ al-Qadīr #1187; Kanz al-´Ummāl #45796, #45798; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 1:182, 12:17; Tafsīr Ibn Kathīr, Tafsīr Rāzī, Tafsīr Shawkānī, Tafsīr Nīsābūrī, and Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, verse 4:20.

[3799] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 1:182, 12:17.

[3800] Kanz al-´Ummāl #1730.

[3801] Qurˋān 3:53.

ʿUmar Banned the Name Muḥammad

According to ʿUmdah al-Qārī,

> ʿUmar wrote to the people of Kūfah, "None of you can give anyone the name of the Prophet." He also ordered a group of people in Madīnah to change the names of their sons who had been named Muḥammad until a group of the companions told him that the Prophet (ص) had given them permission to do this. He then left them alone.[3802]

ʿUmar wanted to ban the use of the name Muḥammad, even though the Prophet (ص) said, "Whoever has three sons and does not name one of them Muḥammad is ignorant."[3803] Moreover, Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim has related a number of traditions according to which the Prophet (ص) said regarding naming a child, "Give him my name, but do not give him my kunyah."[3804] This shows how an unknowledgeable caliph can easily try to change the Sunnah of the Prophet (ص). Of note, the Prophet (ص) made an exception for ʿAlī's (ع) future son, telling ʿAlī (ع) to name his first son born after the Prophet's (ص) death Muḥammad and to give him the kunyah Abū al-Qāsim. As such, his son Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah shared the Prophet's (ص) name and kunyah.[3805]

ʿUmar Banned the Kunyah Abū ʿĪsā (Father of Jesus)

The Messenger of Allāh (ص) gave Mughīrah ibn Shuʿbah the kunyah Abū ʿĪsā (father of Jesus). Despite the fact that a group of companions testified to this effect, ʿUmar changed Mughīrah's kunyah to Abū ʿAbd Allāh and referred to him as such until he died.[3806] In fact, according to Abū Dāwūd and Ibn Athīr, ʿUmar's own son also adopted the kunyah Abū ʿĪsā, and ʿUmar was infuriated when he found out, forcing him to change it as well.[3807] He even struck him with his hand-whip because of his kunyah.[3808] According to Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, when ʿUmar heard some people referring to "Abū ʿĪsā," he asked,

> "Who is Abū ʿĪsā?" They replied, "Your son, ʿUbayd Allāh." ʿUmar [told him], "Woe unto you! You have adopted the kunyah Abū ʿĪsā?!" He then called for him and said, "Have you adopted the kunyah Abū ʿĪsā?" He then warned him, frightened him, grabbed his hand and bit it, and then beat him. He then said, "Woe unto you! Does Jesus (ʿĪsā) have a father? Don't you know that the Arabs adopts kunyahs [such as] Abū Salamah, Abū Ḥanẓalah, Abū ʿUrfuṭah, and Abū Murrah?"[3809]

It is not clear from whom ʿUmar learned that biting constitutes a proper punishment in Islām. According to another tradition in Kanz al-ʿUmmāl, it was his son ʿAbd Allāh, not

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[3802] ʿUmdah al-Qārī 15:39.

[3803] Majmaʿ al-Zawāʾid #12843; Jāmiʿ al-Ṣaghīr Suyūṭī #9084.

[3804] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #25.5316-22.

[3805] Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 5:91-2 (several traditions).

[3806] Sunan Abū Dāwūd #4963; Sunan al-Kubrā Bayhaqī #19115; Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #45976; Istīʿāb 4:8 #2512 (Mughīrah ibn Shuʿbah); Iṣābah 3:1880 #8182 (Mughīrah Ibn Shuʿbah).

[3807] Sunan Abū Dāwūd #4963; Usd al-Ghābah 3:175 #3473 (ʿUbayd Allāh Ibn ʿUmar).

[3808] Usd al-Ghābah 3:175 #3473 (ʿUbayd Allāh ibn ʿUmar).

[3809] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 6:343.

ʹUbayd Allāh, who adopted the kunyah Abū ʹĪsā, thereby enraging ʹUmar, who said, "Does Jesus have a father?! This is not among the kunyahs the Arabs adopt. Arabs only choose kunyahs such as Abū Shajarah, Abū Salamah, and Abū Qatādah."[3810] Of note, Ibn Ḥajar believed that Abū ʹĪsā was the kunyah of ʹUmar's other son, ʹAbd al-Raḥmān al-Akbar. When ʹUmar tried to change it, he said, "By Allāh, the Messenger of Allāh (ص) gave me that kunyah."[3811]

ʹUmar was Unsure About Whether to Count Divorces Before Islām

ʹUmar was asked about a man who divorced his wife twice during the Days of Ignorance and once in the days of Islām. He said, "I neither allow you to nor forbid you from [marrying her again]." ʹAbd al-Raḥmān said, "But I tell you that your divorces during polytheism are worth nothing."[3812] This shows how ʹUmar's lack of knowledge left him paralyzed and in need of the guidance of his associates who were fundamentally no more knowledgeable than he was.

ʹUmar was Unsure About the Laws of Bathing (Ghusl) After Intercourse

According to a tradition related by Ḥanbal, Haythamī, and Ṭabarānī, ʹUmar accosted and insulted Zayd ibn Thābit for giving an answer regarding whether bathing (ghusl) was necessary or not after intercourse in which ejaculation did not occur. ʹUmar accused Zayd of giving out verdicts based on his own opinion, but Zayd responded that he had merely related a tradition from Ubayy ibn Kaʹb regarding what they used to do at the time of the Prophet (ص). ʹUmar gathered the companions and they all said that bathing was not required, because at the time of the Prophet (ص) they used to engage in intercourse as such without bathing. The only ones who dissented were ʹAlī (ع) and Muʹādh. ʹUmar did not take their word on the matter, so ʹAlī (ع) suggested that he ask the Prophet's (ص) wives. ʹUmar asked his daughter Ḥafṣah and she did not know the answer, so he asked ʹĀʾishah and she agreed with ʹAlī (ع), saying that penetration to the site of circumcision mandates bathing (ghusl) regardless of whether or not ejaculation occurs.[3813]

This tradition shows how ʹUmar banned discussions about Islāmic law in his own absence; how, when his ignorance was revealed, he would ask the companions for knowledge that he did not have; how freely the companions would give verdicts without any real knowledge, based merely on their own guesses; how the companions erred both during the lifetime of the Prophet (ص) and afterwards; how following the customs of the companions would lead one to error; how only ʹAlī (ع) consistently knew the truth; how ʹUmar would reject the truth that ʹAlī (ع) would inform him of; and how he would rely on the verdicts of the Prophet's (ص) wives over those of his Ahl al-Bayt (ع). This is a perfect example of how following the verdicts of the majority of the companions could lead one astray, whereas following ʹAlī (ع) would lead to guidance.

ʹUmar was Unsure How to Treat Religious Minorities

3810. Kanz al-ʹUmmāl #45984.
3811. Iṣābah 2:1179 #5175 (ʹAbd al-Raḥmān al-Akbar ibn ʹUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb).
3812. Kanz al-ʹUmmāl #27905.
3813. Musnad Ḥanbal #21134; Majmaʹ al-Zawāʾid #1439; Muʹjam al-Kabīr Ṭabarānī 5:42-3.

According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī and many other Sunnī sources, ʻUmar was not aware of how to treat the Zoroastrians (Majūs) until ʻAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʻAwf told him to deal with them as the People of the Book.[3814] According to Mālik,

> ʻUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb mentioned the Magians and said, "I do not know what to do about them." ʻAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʻAwf said, "I bear witness that I heard the Messenger of Allāh say, 'Follow the same sunnah with them that you follow with the People of the Book.'"[3815]

According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, "ʻUmar did not take the jizyah from the Magian infidels until ʻAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʻAwf testified that Allāh's Apostle had taken jizyah from the Magians of Hajar."[3816]

Even if one claims that the only knowledge one needs to become a caliph is knowledge of matters essential to ruling, it is obvious that knowing how to treat the Zoroastrians would be essential for one intent on conquering surrounding lands. What would ʻUmar have done had ʻAbd al-Raḥmān not known what to do? Indeed, ʻAbd al-Raḥmān only dared quote the Prophet (ص) because he was a close associate of ʻUmar fully devoted to supporting his caliphate.

ʻUmar Banned Tayammum

One of the simplest of Islāmic laws is the law of tayammum, according to which, if water cannot be found for ablution (wuḍūʾ) or bathing (ghusl), one can use clean dirt instead. The Qurʾān is very clear about tayammum, where it says, "If you find no water, then take for yourselves clean soil, and rub with it your faces and hands,"[3817] as well as when it says, "When you do not find water [for wuḍūʾ], then perform tayammum with clean earth, and rub therewith your faces and hands; Allāh does not want to put you in any difficulty, but rather wishes to purify you."[3818] Verses clearer than these are, indeed, hard to come by in the Qurʾān. The following tradition in Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī typifies ʻUmar's ignorance and readiness to contradict the Book of Allāh and the Sunnah of the Prophet (ص):

> Aʻmash narrated: Shaqīq said: While I was sitting with ʻAbd Allāh [ibn ʻUmar] and Abū Mūsā al-Ashʻarī, the latter asked the former, "If a person becomes junub (sexually impure) and does not find water for one month, can he perform tayammum and offer his prayer?" [He replied in the negative.] Abū Mūsā said, "What do you say about this verse from Sūrah Māʾidah: 'When you do not find water then perform tayammum with clean earth'[3819]?"
>
> ʻAbd Allāh [ibn ʻUmar] replied, "If we allowed it, then they would probably perform tayammum with clean earth even if water were available but cold." I (Aʻmash) said to Shaqīq, "You then disliked to perform tayammum because of this?"

[3814] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #4.53.384; Sunan Tirmidhī #1586; Sunan Abū Dāwūd #3044; Muwaṭṭaʾ Mālik #17.24.43; Musnad Ḥanbal #1657; Sunan al-Kubrā Bayhaqī #16899, #18432; Sunan Dārami #2501.

[3815] Muwaṭṭaʾ Mālik #17.24.43.

[3816] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #4.63.384.

[3817] Qurʾān 4:43.

[3818] Qurʾān 5:6.

[3819] Qurʾān 5:6.

> Shaqīq said: Yes [because] Abū Mūsā said [to Ibn ʿUmar], "Haven't you heard the statement of ʿAmmār to ʿUmar that, 'I was sent out by Allāh's Apostle for some job and I became junub and could not find water, so I rolled myself over the dust like an animal does, and when I told the Prophet of that he said, 'Like this would have been sufficient.' The Prophet lightly stroked the earth with his hand once and blew it off, then passed his [left] hand over the back of his right hand and his [right] hand over the back of his left hand and then passed them over his face.'" So ʿAbd Allāh [ibn ʿUmar] said to Abū Mūsā, "Don't you know that ʿUmar was not satisfied with ʿAmmār's statement?"[3820]

This tradition which shows that ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar rejected the tayammum because his father did so establishes several facts: (1) ʿUmar was either completely ignorant of the verses of the Qurʾān regarding tayammum or knew about them but commanded against them. (2) ʿUmar either did not know the Sunnah of the Prophet (ص) regarding tayammum or knew about it but ruled against it nevertheless. (3) ʿUmar did not agree to act in accordance with the Prophet's (ص) Sunnah when he was informed of it by ʿAmmār. (4) Others (e.g. Shaqīq) followed ʿUmar's ruling instead of the Book of Allāh and the Sunnah of His Messenger (ص). (5) ʿUmar's son defended his father's ruling despite its clear contradiction with the Qurʾān and Sunnah. (6) ʿUmar's son was so arrogant that he thought he and ʿUmar were the ones in charge of making Islāmic laws, not Allāh and His Prophet (ص) when he said, "If we allowed it then they would probably perform tayammum with clean earth even if water were available but cold." This shows that, (i) he thought that he and his father were the ones to allow or disallow things, not Allāh and His Messenger (ص); (ii) he assumed that Muslims did not want to perform ablutions with water and would look for excuses to use dirt instead; and (iii) he disallowed Allāh's laws for some theoretical reason, based on the likes of which every law of Islām could be nullified; (iv) he did not answer the question at hand, which was regarding someone who could not find water for a month, not one with only cold water available to him. (7) According to Ibn ʿUmar, ʿUmar was not satisfied with ʿAmmār's statement without any explanation why.[3821] Since ʿAmmār's statement was based on the Book of Allāh and the Sunnah of the Prophet (ص), this shows that ʿUmar was not satisfied with the Qurʾān and Sunnah. The Sunnah of the Prophet (ص) is made clear in the following tradition in Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī:

> ʿImrān ibn Ḥuṣayn al-Khuzāʿī said: Allāh's Apostle saw a person sitting aloof and not praying with the people. He asked him, "O so and so! What prevented you from offering the prayer with the people?" He replied, "O Allāh's Apostle! I am sexually impure (junub) and there is no water." The Prophet said, "Perform tayammum with clean earth and that will be sufficient for you."[3822]

This is the ruling of the Prophet (ص), whereas when Ibn ʿUmar was asked, "What is your opinion if somebody becomes sexually impure and no water is available?" he responded, "Do not pray until water is found."[3823] If this edict, which is in direct opposition to the Qurʾān and Sunnah, is based on ijtihād, it proves that the ijtihād of the companions is liable to lead one astray, even when it comes to the most concrete of Islām's laws that are clearly established by the Qurʾān and Sunnah. Clearly, it is impermissible to follow any jurisprudence that is based on the verdicts and opinions of companions such as these who would freely oppose the Qur`ān and Sunnah, either out of ignorance or due to their rejection of the precepts of Islām.

[3820] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #1.7.343. Similarly, Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #1.7.341-2; Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #3.716.

[3821] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #1.7.341-3.

[3822] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #1.7.344.

[3823] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #1.7.342.

ʹUmar's Inattention to Prayer

According to Bayhaqī and others,

> ʹUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb prayed maghrib. He did not recite anything in the first rakʹah. When it got to the second rakʹah, he recited the Fātiḥah al-Kitāb and a sūrah twice. When he completed his prayers and gave the taslīm, he performed two prostrations of forgetfulness (sajdah sahw).[3824]

According to Bayhaqī,

> Abū Salamah ibn ʹAbd al-Raḥmān said: ʹUmar prayed the evening (maghrib) [prayer] with the people but did not recite [anything] in it. When he was done, he was told, "You did not recite [anything]!" He asked, "How were the bendings (rukūʹ) and prostrations?" They replied, "Good." He said, "In that case, there is nothing to worry about."[3825] Abū Salamah (the narrator) [added], "I narrated this [tradition] in Madīnah and to the family of ʹUmar, and no one denied it."[3826]

One can see that the following verses of the Qur`ān pertain to ʹUmar: "Woe unto those who pray but who are inattentive to their prayers (sāhūn)."[3827] ʹUmar's types of errors are referred to as sahw, which refers to inattention, negligence, and absent-mindedness. The Qur`ān refers to those like ʹUmar who commit sahw during their prayers as the sāhūn and warns them rather sternly for being inattentive to their prayers.

ʹUmar Admitted that He was the Least Knowledgeable of All Muslims

No one can summarize the status of ʹUmar's knowledge better than ʹUmar did when he said, "Everyone knows more about Islāmic jurisprudence (afqah) than ʹUmar."[3828] It is amazing that a man who admitted this would occupy the position of judge, caliph, and leader of the nation.

ʹUmar's lack of knowledge was compounded by his ban on prophetic traditions, his ban on discussing the meaning of the Qur`ān, and his harsh character that discouraged others from guiding him. Indeed, according to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, when ʹUmar was afflicted and became desperate, he asked the companions, "Who amongst you remembers the statement of Allāh's Apostle about afflictions?" Ḥudhayfah said, "I know it as the Prophet said it." ʹUmar, remembering that he had banned prophetic traditions, said, "No doubt, you are bold."[3829]

Yet, whenever ʹUmar was completely dumbfounded and truly needed to find the answer, he would refer to ʹAlī (ع). He did this so often that he said, "Were it not for ʹAlī, ʹUmar

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3824. Sunan al-Kubrā Bayhaqī #3798; Kanz al-ʹUmmāl #22255. Similarly, Fatḥ al-Bārī #1162.
3825. Sunan al-Kubrā Bayhaqī #3678, #3793-4.
3826. Sunan al-Kubrā Bayhaqī #3793.
3827. Qur`ān 107:4-5.
3828. Sunan al-Kubrā Bayhaqī #14114; Majmaʹ al-Zawā`id #7502; Fayḍ al-Qadīr #1187; Kanz al-ʹUmmāl #45796, #45798; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 1:182, 12:208, 17:171, 17:182; Tafsīr Ibn Kathir, Tafsīr Rāzī, Tafsīr Shawkānī, Tafsīr Nīsābūrī, and Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, verse 4:20.
3829. Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #2.24.516.

would have perished."[3830] According to a widely narrated tradition, Sa'īd ibn Musayyab said, "'Umar used to seek refuge with Allāh from a difficulty for which Abū al-Ḥasan was not present."[3831] According to another widely narrated tradition, 'Umar admitted that, "'Alī is the best judge among us."[3832] He also said, "May Allāh not settle me in any land in which Abū al-Ḥasan is not present,"[3833] and he told 'Alī (ع), "May Allāh not keep me [alive] after you, O 'Alī,"[3834] and "I seek refuge with Allāh from living in a tribe among whom you are not present, O Abū al-Ḥasan."[3835]

'Umar Alluded to His Hypocrisy

'Umar was afraid that Allāh would reveal something regarding his true beliefs and intentions according to the following tradition in Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī:

> Allāh's Apostle was proceeding at night on one of his journeys and 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb was going along with him. 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb asked him [about something], but Allāh's Apostle did not answer him. 'Umar asked him again, but he did not answer him. He asked him again [for the third time], but he did not answer him. On that, 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb addressed himself saying, "May your mother be bereaved of you, O 'Umar, for you have asked Allāh's Apostle thrice, yet he has not answered you." 'Umar said: Then I made my camel run fast and took it in front of the other Muslims, and *I was afraid that something might have been revealed in my connection.* I had hardly waited for a moment when I heard somebody calling me. I said, "I was afraid that something might have been revealed about me." Then I came to Allāh's Apostle and greeted him. He said, "Tonight there has been revealed to me a sūrah which is dearer to me than [all the world] on which the sun rises," and then he recited, "Verily! We have granted you [O Muḥammad] a manifest victory."[3836,3837]

This shows that 'Umar lived in constant fear that what he held in his heart would be revealed in the Qur`ān and thereby become public knowledge. The Qur`ān says, "The hypocrites are afraid lest a sūrah be revealed about them, showing what is in their hearts."[3838] Obviously, 'Umar knew what was in his own heart, which is why he had concern about verses being revealed about him. This is also why he asked Ḥudhayfah ibn Yamān, who knew the identities of a group of the leading hypocrites, "I make you swear by Allāh, am I among the group (qawm)?"[3839]

[3830] Istī'āb 3:206 #1875 ('Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib); Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:161; Fayḍ al-Qadīr #5594; Dhakhā`ir al-'Uqbā 82; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 1:18, 1:141, 12:179, 12:205, 12:205-6; Manāqib Khwārazmī #65; Tafsīr Rāzī, verses 17:73-5; Tafsīr Nīsābūrī, verse 46:15.

[3831] Faḍā`il Ḥanbal #1100; Kanz al-'Ummāl #29509; Istī'āb 3:206 #1875 ('Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib); Iṣābah 2:1296 #5690 ('Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib); Usd al-Ghābah 3:288 #3789 ('Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib); Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 2:339; Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:161; Fayḍ al-Qadīr #5594; Dhakhā`ir al-'Uqbā 82; Tārīkh al-Khulafā` 152-3; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:397.

[3832] Musnad Ḥanbal #21122-4; Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 2:339-340 (several traditions); Istī'āb 3:205, 3:207 #1875 ('Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib); Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:397; Tārīkh al-Khulafā` 152; Tārīkh Damishq 42:402-404 (seven traditions); Kanz al-'Ummāl #4807; Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:167.

[3833] Fayḍ al-Qadīr #5594.

[3834] Fayḍ al-Qadīr #5594; Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:166.

[3835] Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:166.

[3836] Qur`ān 48:1.

[3837] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.59.494.

[3838] Qur`ān 9:64.

[3839] Kanz al-'Ummāl #1622. Refer to chapter 61 for a discussion of the band of hypocrites whose identities the Prophet (ص) disclosed to Ḥudhayfah.

Chapter 58
The Innovations of ´Umar

´Umar introduced numerous innovations to Islām and many of his innovations have survived to this day. Suyūṭī summarized some of his innovations under the title "´Umar's firsts":

> He was the first to be called Commander of the Faithful, the first to record dates from the emigration (hijrah), the first to create a treasury, the first to make it tradition to stand [in congregation] during [non-obligatory prayers in] the month of Ramaḍān, the first to patrol by night, the first to punish for defamation, the first to whip eighty times for [drinking] intoxicants, the first to forbid mut´ah [marriage and ḥajj], ...the first to make the people perform the burial prayer with [exactly] four takbīrs, the first to adopt a registry..."[3840]

According to Ibn Sa´d,

> ´Umar was the first to be called by the title Commander of the Faithful. He was the first to record dates... based on the Prophet's (ص) emigration from Mecca to Madīnah. He was the first to compile the Qur`ān in one volume. He was the first to make it Sunnah for people to stand in congregation [for non-obligatory prayers] during Ramaḍān... He was the first to whip for drinking eighty times... He was the first to patrol Madīnah by night and the first to carry a hand-whip and to punish by it. It is said that the hand-whip of ´Umar was more dreaded than your sword...[3841]

´Umar innovated to the point that even Abū Ḥanīfah did not blindly follow his deeds. When he was taken a tradition citing what ´Umar had said on a subject, Abū Ḥanīfah said, "This is the word of Satan!"[3842]

´Umar was the First to Call Himself the Commander of the Faithful

According to Ṭabarī, "The first person to be called Commander of the Faithful was ´Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb. Then this practice continued and the caliphs have used [the title] to this day."[3843] Some traditions claim that Mughīrah ibn Shu´bah was the first to append this title to him,[3844] but the more famous account is the one that has been related by Suyūṭī, Ḥākim, Ṭabarānī, and others:

[3840] Tārīkh al-Khulafā` 123-4.
[3841] Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 3:281-2.
[3842] Tārīkh Baghdād #7297 (Nu´mān ibn Thābit Abū Hanīfah).
[3843] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 14:113.
[3844] Tārīkh Damishq 44:9.

> Abū Bakr used to write, "from the caliph of the Messenger of Allāh," and ʹUmar used to write, "from the caliph of the caliph of the Messenger of Allāh," until ʹUmar wrote to the governor of Iraq to send him two men so he could question them about Iraq and its people. Labīd ibn Rabīʹah and ʹAdī ibn Ḥātim were sent to him. They came to Madīnah, entered the mosque, and found ʹAmr ibn ʹĀṣ. They said, "Give us permission [to see] the Commander of the Faithful (Amīr al-Muʾminīn)." ʹAmr said, "You two, by Allāh, are correct about his title." ʹAmr entered upon [ʹUmar] and said, "Peace be upon you, O Commander of the Faithful." ʹUmar asked, "Why did you use this title?" He explained to him, saying, "You are the commander, and we are the believers," so the custom [of referring to caliphs by that title] was set from that day on.[3845]

It is clear that the title pleased ʹUmar. According to Ṭabarī,

> When ʹUmar assumed power, he was addressed, "O caliph of the caliph of the Messenger of Allāh." ʹUmar said, "This is too long winded. When another caliph comes along, they will say, 'O caliph of the caliph of the caliph of the Messenger of Allāh!' But you are the faithful and I am your commander." So he was called Commander of the Faithful.[3846]

ʹUmar was the First to Carry a Whip

According to Ṭabarī, "He was the first to carry a whip and to use it."[3847] Ṭabarī also said, "[ʹUmar] assailed [Saʹd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ] with his whip, saying, 'You come here showing no respect for Allāh's authority on earth! I want to teach you that Allāh's authority will show you no respect!'"[3848] According to Ibn Saʹd, "[ʹUmar] was the first to carry a hand-whip and to punish by it. It is said that the hand-whip of ʹUmar was more dreaded than your sword."[3849] In fact, the hand-whip of ʹUmar was said to be not only more dreaded than a typical sword, but even more dreaded than the sword of Ḥajjāj.[3850]

ʹUmar was the First to Alter the Call to Prayer (Adhān)

According to Mālik,

> The muʾadhdhin came to ʹUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb to call him to the morning prayer and found him sleeping, so he said, "Prayer is better than sleep," and ʹUmar ordered him to put that in the adhān for the morning [prayers].[3851]

Innovations with respect to the call to prayer are addressed in greater detail in chapter 86.

ʹUmar was the First to Have Tarāwīḥ Prayers Offered in Congregation

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[3845] Tārīkh al-Khulafāʾ 124-5; Mustadrak Ḥākim #4480; Muʹjam al-Kabīr Ṭabarānī 1:64; Kanz al-ʹUmmāl #35802; Tārīkh Damishq 44:260-1.

[3846] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 14:114. Similarly, Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:154 and Tārīkh al-Khulafāʾ 125.

[3847] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 14:115.

[3848] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 14:120.

[3849] Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 3:282.

[3850] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 1:181. Refer to chapter 85 for a discussion of Ḥajjāj.

[3851] Muwaṭṭaʾ Mālik #3.1.8.

Tarāwīḥ prayers refer to optional prayers performed during the month of Ramaḍān. Since the time of ʻUmar, Sunnīs have been praying tarāwīḥ in congregation, even though this is a clear innovation that was expressly prohibited by the Prophet (ص). According to Ṭabarī, in the year 14 A.H., "[ʻUmar became] the first to assemble people to one imām to lead them in the special Ramaḍān prayers (tarāwīḥ). He sent out written instructions to the provinces to carry this out."[3852] Ibn Saʻd said, "He was the first to make it Sunnah for people to stand in congregation [for tarāwīḥ prayers]. He wrote letters to the [various] lands [instructing them to] do so [as well]."[3853] The following tradition in Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī shows that the Prophet (ص) forbade this prayer from being performed in congregation:

> Allāh's Apostle made a small room [with a palm leaf mat]. Allāh's Apostle came out [of his house] and prayed in it. Some men came and joined him in his prayer. Then again the next night they came for the prayer, but Allāh's Apostle delayed and did not come out to them. So they raised their voices and knocked the door with small stones [to draw his attention]. He came out to them in a state of anger, saying, "You are still insisting [on your deed (i.e. performing optional prayers in congregation in the mosque) so I thought that this prayer might become obligatory on you. So you people offer this prayer at your homes, for the best prayer of a person is the one which he offers at home, except the compulsory prayer [which is best offered in congregation]."[3854]

This shows that the Prophet (ص) prohibited optional prayers[3855] from being performed in congregation, and that the companions were so tactless and rude that they would raise their voices by the Prophet's (ص) house and hit his door with small stones, an act so annoying that it harassed the Prophet (ص), which is equivalent to harassing Allāh.[3856] The Qurʼān says, "It is not permissible for you to harass the Messenger of Allāh,"[3857] "For those who harass the Messenger of Allāh will be a great torment,"[3858] and "Allāh curses those who harass Allāh and His Messenger in this world and in the hereafter, and will prepare a humiliating punishment for them."[3859] All those who pray tarāwīḥ in congregation are clearly following a bidʻah (innovation) instead of the Prophet's (ص) Sunnah. The following tradition in Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī recounts ʻUmar's innovation in this regards:

> Allāh's Apostle said, "Whoever prayed at night the whole month of Ramaḍān out of sincere faith and hoping for a reward from Allāh, then all his previous sins will be forgiven." Ibn Shihāb (a narrator) said: Allāh's Apostle died and the people continued observing that (i.e. optional prayers offered individually, not in congregation), and it remained as it was during the caliphate of Abū Bakr and in the early days of ʻUmar's caliphate. ʻAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʻAbd al-Qārī said: I went out in the company of ʻUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb one night in Ramaḍān to the mosque and found the people praying in different groups, a man praying alone, or a man praying with a little group behind him. So ʻUmar said, "In my opinion I would better collect these [people] under the leadership of one reciter (i.e. let

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[3852] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 14:114-5.

[3853] Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 3:281.

[3854] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #8.73.134.

[3855] The exception to this is the prayer for rain (istisqāʼ) which is optional but which can be performed in congregation. According to Shīʻah jurisprudence, the ʻīd prayers, which are mandatory during the presence of the imām but optional during the occultation of the twelfth imām, may also be offered in congregation.

[3856] Refer to chapter 22.

[3857] Qurʼān 33:53.

[3858] Qurʼān 9:61.

[3859] Qurʼān 33:57.

> them pray in congregation)!" So, he made up his mind to congregate them behind Ubayy ibn Ka'b. Then on another night I went again in his company and the people were praying behind their reciter. On that, 'Umar remarked, "What an excellent bid'ah (i.e. innovation in religion) this is!"[3860]

'Umar's arrogance is obvious in his statement, "What an excellent innovation (bid'ah) this is!" when the Prophet (ص) said, "Every innovation (bid'ah) is an act of misguidance, and every act of misguidance is in the fire."[3861] 'Umar clearly admitted that he was among those companions the Prophet (ص) promised would create innovations in Islām and who would therefore, according to numerous traditions, be sent away from the Fount of Kawthar into the fire.[3862] In fact, 'Umar's duty was to inform those who were performing their tarāwīḥ prayers in small groups that what they were doing was against the Prophet's (ص) Sunnah, and most definitely not to create a blatant innovation that clearly opposed the Prophet's (ص) Sunnah.

'Umar Fixed the Number of Takbīrs for the Prayer for the Dead to Four

During the lifetime of the Messenger of Allāh (ص), the prayers for the dead consisted of four, five, six, or even seven takbīrs according to the status in faith and service of the person who had died.[3863] Yet, during his caliphate, 'Umar permitted only four takbīrs. Abū Wā'il said,

> They would say seven, five, six, or four takbīrs at the time of the Messenger of Allāh (ص). 'Umar gathered all the companions of the Messenger of Allāh (ص), and each man informed him of what they had seen [of the variations in the number of takbīrs]. 'Umar made them [pray with only] four takbīrs."[3864]

In fact, 'Umar said, "This was done [with] four and five [takbīrs during the time of the Prophet], but [from now on] we will have consensus on four takbīrs on the dead."[3865] However, consensus is formed neither by force nor by the declaration of a caliph. In fact, 'Umar's innovation did not stop the companions from performing four, five, or six takbīrs as they wished.[3866] 'Alī (ع) performed six takbīrs for those present at Badr, five for the other companions, and four for the rest of people.[3867] According to Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim,

> Zayd [ibn Arqam] used to recite four takbīrs in our funerals and he recited five takbīrs in one funeral. I asked him the reason [for this variation], to which he replied, "The Messenger of Allāh recited as such."[3868]

'Umar Chopped Down the Tree of Riḍwān

After the death of the Prophet (ص), the people would go to the tree under which the pledge of allegiance of Riḍwān had been offered and pray by it. 'Umar said, "I see, O people, that you have returned to [worshipping the idol of] ʿUzzā! Today, I would not reward anyone who returns to something like it in any way other than death by the sword the way an apostate is killed," and he then ordered the tree to be cut down.[3869] Nāfiʿ said, "The people prayed by the tree under which the pledge of allegiance of Riḍwān had been given to the Messenger of Allāh. News of this reached ʿUmar so he threatened them and ordered [the tree] to be cut down."[3870]

[3860] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #3.32.227.

[3861] Sunan Nasā'ī #1578; Sunan al-Kubrā Nasā'ī #1786, #5892; Jāmi' al-Ṣaghīr Suyūṭī #1604; Kanz al-'Ummāl #30405; Mu'jam al-Kabīr Ṭabarānī 9:97.

[3862] Refer to chapter 36.

[3863] Sunan al-Kubrā Bayhaqī #6738; Fatḥ al-Bārī #1265; Sunan Ibn Mājah #1503.

[3864] Sunan al-Kubrā Bayhaqī #6738; Fatḥ al-Bārī #1265. Similarly, Kanz al-'Ummāl #42827.

[3865] Sunan al-Kubrā Bayhaqī #6737.

[3866] Fatḥ al-Bārī #1265; Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #4.2089; Sunan Abū Dāwūd #3197; Sunan Ibn Mājah #1505; Musnad Ḥanbal #19291, #19339.

[3867] Sunan al-Kubrā Bayhaqī #6735.

[3868] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #4.2089.

ʿUmar's mistake was that the people praying there were not praying to the tree but to Allāh by the tree. They did not believe that it had any power on its own to bring good or to repel evil. This error of ʿUmar is now used to destroy every remnant of Islāmic history and heritage in Muslim lands under the control of the Wahhābīs. Amazingly enough, ʿUmar cut down the Tree of Riḍwān so that people would not pray to Allāh by it, yet allowed Abū Bakr's body to be buried in the Prophet's Mosque where people offer obligatory prayers five times a day, and he then asked for his own body to be buried there as well so that generations of Muslims from their time until the rise of Imām Mahdī may pray by their gravesite.

ʿUmar Buried Abū Bakr's Body in the Prophet's Mosque and Asked for His Own Body to be Buried There as Well

After the death of Abū Bakr, ʿUmar had him buried in the Prophet's Mosque and, at the time of his own impending death, he had his son ʿAbd Allāh ask ʿĀʾishah for permission for him to be buried there as well.[3871] We have previously discussed the illegitimacy of burying Abū Bakr and ʿUmar in the Prophet's Mosque.[3872] In summary, if the Prophet (ص) did not leave inheritance, ʿĀʾishah would have never inherited any space to bury anyone in, and if the Prophet (ص) did leave inheritance, she would have inherited one ninth of one eighth of the house, barely enough space to bury a squirrel. Therefore, ʿUmar's errors were: (1) expropriating the property of others without any legitimate cause; (2) disregarding Allāh's order in the Qurʾān: "Do not enter the houses of the Prophet unless you are given permission";[3873] and (3) raising the sound of picks and shovels at the gravesite of the Prophet (ص), when creating noise by the Prophet (ص) is forbidden.[3874] In case Wahhābīs assert that the Prophet (ص) cannot hear what happens at his gravesite after his death, the Prophet (ص) said otherwise when he said, "Whoever sends ṣalawāt upon me by my grave, I will hear it, and whoever sends ṣalawāt upon me from far away, I will be informed of it."[3875] Clearly, he hears what happens at his grave and he is informed of what happens elsewhere even after his death.

Others argue that since the Qurʾān says to the wives of the Prophet (ص), "Stay in your homes,"[3876] the houses must have belonged to them. They are, however, wrong because had the wives of the Prophet (ص) committed a flagrant act of misconduct, they would have been kicked out of the mosque and it would become impermissible for them to live there, as the Qurʾān says, "Neither should you expel them from their houses nor should they leave unless they commit manifest lewdness."[3877] If the wives were the actual owners of those houses, they would not lose their property rights by performing a sinful act. As such, they had no individual property rights to the houses of the Prophet (ص) in which they resided. Accordingly, when they died, their personal heirs did not come to possess their houses in the Prophet's Mosque, as would have been the case if those properties belonged to them. Furthermore, Abū Bakr and ʿUmar did not ask ʿĀʾishah for proof that the property had been granted to her during the lifetime of the Prophet (ص) as they demanded from Fāṭimah (ع) in regards to Fadak.

[3869] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 1:178.

[3870] Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 2:100; Fatḥ al-Bārī #3932; Sīrah Ḥalabīyyah 2:717; ʿUmdah al-Qārī 19:178-9; Tafsīr Shawkānī and Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, verse 48:18.

[3871] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 14:92.

[3872] Refer to chapter 49.

[3873] Qurʾān 33:53.

[3874] Qurʾān 49:2.

[3875] Jāmiʿ al-Ṣaghīr Suyūṭī #8812.

[3876] Qurʾān 33:33.

[3877] Qurʾān 65:1.

If the Prophet's (ص) house, like his other property, became charitable property upon his death, then it would belong to the needy Muslims and ʿĀʾishah's permission would be worthless; conversely, if the Prophet's (ص) house was inherited, then ʿĀʾishah would own only a tiny fraction thereof, and they would need the permission of all the other heirs of the Prophet (ص), including his other wives and his offspring who were legally entitled to their shares of the property. According to a Shīʿah account, Abū Ḥanīfah was stumped by these issues:

> One day Faḍḍāl ibn Ḥasan passed by a gathering in which Abū Ḥanīfah was sitting with a large crowd of his students, busy teaching. Faḍḍāl told his friend, "By Allāh! I will not leave this place until I embarrass Abū Ḥanīfah and disprove his beliefs." Faḍḍāl went up to them and greeted them and then said, "O Abū Ḥanīfah, I have a brother who says that the best of people after the Messenger (ص) was ʿAlī, but I say that the best of people after the Messenger (ص) was Abū Bakr and after him ʿUmar. Give me an argument that I can use as proof against him." Abū Ḥanīfah looked down and thought for a long time, then raised his head and said, "Suffices for their glory and pride that they are the cohabitants of the Prophet in his grave. What proof is clearer than this?" Faḍḍāl said, "I told my brother this but he said that that location belonged to the Prophet (ص) and that Abū Bakr and ʿUmar were oppressors for taking as their burial sites a location to which they had no rights. And if the property belonged to them and they had granted it to the Prophet (ص), then they erred in breaking their vow and taking back the property they had already given away."
>
> Abū Ḥanīfah looked down and thought for a long while, then raised his head and said, "They are buried in that house in return for the dowers of their daughters." Faḍḍāl said, "My brother said that the wives of the Prophet (ص) did not become permissible (ḥalāl) for him until he paid their dowers, as Allāh has said, 'We have made permissible unto you your wives to whom you have paid their dowers.'[3878]"
>
> Abū Ḥanīfah said, "They are buried in that house because their daughters inherited it." Faḍḍāl said, "My brother said that the Messenger of Allāh (ص), when he died, had nine wives, and that the totality of them would receive one eighth of the house. Therefore, each wife would receive one portion out of nine portions carved out of an eighth of the property, and that would not even be a handswidth. So how would they bury a cadaver that large in such a space? Similarly, they did not give Fāṭimah any inheritance, saying that the Prophet (ص) did not leave inheritance, so how is it that ʿĀʾishah and Ḥafṣah received inheritance?" When word got to this, Abū Ḥanīfah said, "Kick out this man who is a Rāfiḍīte himself and who has no brother!"[3879]

3878. Qurʾān 33:50.
3879. Ḥaqq al-Yaqīn 258-9.

ʻUmar Illegitimately Expanded the Prophet's Mosque and Altered the Masjid al-Ḥarām

ʻUmar expanded the Masjid al-Ḥarām from their sizes at the time of the Messenger of Allāh (ص). The houses of those who were not willing to sell them were confiscated and destroyed.[3880] He acted similarly with respect to the Masjid al-Nabī in Madīnah.[3881] This was a clear innovation, as it is illegitimate to add forcibly confiscated property to a mosque. In fact, ʻAbbās vehemently opposed ʻUmar's innovation.[3882] According to Ḥākim,

> ʻUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb said to ʻAbbās ibn ʻAbd al-Muṭṭalib, "I heard the Messenger of Allāh say, 'Expand the mosque,' and your house is next to the mosque. So give it to us so that we can append it to the mosque, and we will give you a bigger [house in return]." He said, "I won't do it." [ʻUmar] said, "I will take it from you by force then." [ʻAbbās] said, "That is not [permissible] for you. Why don't you appoint someone to judge between you and I based on the truth?" [ʻUmar] asked, "And who would do that?" He replied, "Ḥudhayfah ibn Yamān." They went to Ḥudhayfah and told him [the story]. Ḥudhayfah said, "I have news about this [matter from the Prophet (ص)]." [ʻUmar] said, "And what is that?" He replied, "When the Prophet David intended to add to the Bayt al-Maqdis, there was an orphan's house next to the mosque. He asked him for it, but he refused [to hand it over]. David was going to take it away from him, but Allāh, the great and glorious, revealed to him that houses [taken by] injustice are prohibited from [being turned into or added to] His houses (i.e. mosques). So [David] left it [alone]."[3883]

Ubayy ibn Kaʻb also told ʻUmar a very similar tradition in support of ʻAbbās.[3884] Yet ʻUmar kept pressuring ʻAbbās until he took his house away and added it to the mosque anyways.

With respect to the Masjid al-Ḥarām, Ṭabarī said, "He demolished the properties of those who refused to sell their homes and he deposited the compensation thereof in the treasury, where it remained until they came and collected it."[3885] It is clear that ʻUmar confiscated these properties by force, against the wishes of their rightful owners. As such, his additions to the Masjid al-Ḥarām were illegitimate, as is clear from the traditions that Ḥudhayfah and Kaʻb cited to him. Any properties illegitimately added to a mosque do not legitimately become part of it, and any rituals offered in parts of the Masjid al-Ḥarām or the Masjid al-Nabī that were added to them illegitimately would not be valid because any ritual offered in usurped property without the consent of its rightful owner is invalid.

According to the Shīʻah scholar Majlisī, ʻUmar went even further in these renovations:

[3880] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 13:109; Futūḥ al-Buldān 53 #159.

[3881] Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, verses 17:1-8; Sunan al-Kubrā Bayhaqī #11146, #11717; Mustadrak Ḥākim #5428.

[3882] Mustadrak Ḥākim #5428; Sunan al-Kubrā Bayhaqī #11717; Tadhkirah al-Ḥuffāẓ #2 (ʻUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb); Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, verses 17:1-8.

[3883] Mustadrak Ḥākim #5428.

[3884] Sunan al-Kubrā Bayhaqī #11717. This is also referred to in Tadhkirah al-Ḥuffāẓ #2 (ʻUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb).

[3885] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 13:109.

> It has been related from the Ahl al-Bayt through sound chains of transmission that the Station of Abraham (ع) during his lifetime and afterwards was connected to the wall of the Ka´bah until the pagans of Quraysh moved it during the Days of Ignorance and moved it to the place in which it currently exists. When the Prophet (ص) conquered Mecca, he moved the station to where it was during the lifetime of Abraham (ع). It remained there continuously until ´Umar usurped the caliphate and asked for someone who knew where the station used to be during the Days of Ignorance. Another hypocrite told him that he had taken and retained the measurements of its [exact] location. ´Umar asked for the measurements, located the position where the station lay during the Days of Ignorance, and moved the station to the same spot where it had been during the Days of Ignorance. It has remained there until today. Ḥaḍrat Ṣāḥib al-Amr (Imām Mahdī) (ع) will return it to its original location. Indeed, this event is among the famous, indeed mutawātir, events.[3886]

Suyūṭī summarized these events by saying, "He razed the Prophet's Mosque and added to it and expanded it and covered its ground with pebbles... And he is the one who moved the Station of Abraham to where it is today, as it was connected to the House [of Ka´bah at the time of the Prophet (ص)]."[3887]

´Umar Forbade Crying for the Dead

´Umar was the first to ban crying for the dead and even misquoted a prophetic tradition in this regards, thereby creating an excuse for the Wahhābīs today to prevent Muslims from crying for their martyrs. According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, "´Umar used to beat with a stick and throw stones at and put dust over the faces of those who used to wail (cry, bakā) over the dead."[3888] Note that the word "bakā" which means "cry" has been translated into "wail" by the translators of Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī. Yet, the same word bakā appears throughout the traditions describing events in which the Prophet (ص) cried for the dead which were discussed previously in chapter 11. According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī,

> When ´Umar was stabbed, Ṣuhayb started crying, "O my brother!" ´Umar said, "Don't you know that the Prophet said, 'The deceased is tortured for the weeping of the living?'"[3889]

However, even ´Ā`ishah and Ibn ´Abbās said that ´Umar was misrepresenting what the Prophet (ص) had said and even ´Umar's son tacitly agreed. According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī and Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, ´Abd Allāh ibn ´Ubayd Allāh said,

> One of the daughters of ´Uthmān died in Mecca. We went to attend her funeral procession. Ibn ´Umar and Ibn ´Abbās were also present. I sat in between them. ´Abd Allāh ibn ´Umar said to ´Amr ibn ´Uthmān, "Will you not prohibit crying as Allāh's Apostle has said, 'The dead person is tortured by the crying of his relatives'?" Ibn ´Abbās said, "´Umar used to say so." ...Ibn ´Abbās [then] added: When ´Umar died, I told this to ´Ā`ishah and she said, "May Allāh be merciful to ´Umar. By Allāh, Allāh's Apostle did not say that a believer is punished by the weeping of his relatives. Rather, he said, 'Allāh increases the punishment of a non-believer because of the weeping of his relatives.'" ´Ā`ishah

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[3886] Ḥaqq al-Yaqīn 241.
[3887] Tārīkh al-Khulafā` 124.
[3888] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #2.23.391.
[3889] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #2.23.377.

> further added, "The Qur`ān is sufficient for you [to clear up this point], as Allāh has stated, 'No burdened soul will bear another's burden.'[3890]" Ibn ´Abbās then said, "Only Allāh makes one laugh or cry." Ibn ´Umar did not say anything after that.[3891]

This shows how ´Umar's misquotations of the Prophet (ص) contradicted the Qur`ān, which clearly states that none will bear the burdens of another's sin. If a dead person is tortured because of the wrongful acts of the living, that would constitute punishing the wrong person and placing the burden of the sins of the living onto the dead.

´Umar Forbade Eating Meat

When ´Umar found a man buying meat two or three days in a row, he beat him with his whip, and he then went on the pulpit and said, "Meat and wine are ruinous to religion and a waste of money."[3892] This clearly contradicts the verse, "Say, 'Who has forbidden the beautiful [bounties] of Allāh that He has produced for His servants, and the pure things [that He has provided] for sustenance?' Say, 'These are, in the life of this world, for those who believe, [and] solely for them on the Day of Judgment.'"[3893]

´Umar Initially Forbade and then Allowed the Ḥajj of the Prophet's (ص) Wives

According to Ibn Sa´d, "´Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb forbade the wives of the Prophet (ص) from performing the ḥajj and ´umrah."[3894] However, in his last year, ´Umar allowed them to perform the ḥajj. According to Ibn Sa´d,

> When it was the ḥajj in which ´Umar participated in the year 23, which was also ´Umar's last ḥajj, the wives of the Prophet (ص) sent to him asking for permission to leave [Madīnah on the pilgrimage]. He gave them permission and ordered preparations [to be made for] them. They were carried in howdahs covered in green. He sent with them ´Abd al-Raḥmān ibn ´Awf and ´Uthmān ibn ´Affān. ´Uthmān went ahead of the group and would not permit anyone to get close to them, and ´Abd al-Raḥmān traveled behind them and would not permit anyone to get close to them. They would stop with ´Umar at every stopping station.[3895]

All the wives of the Prophet (ص) participated in this ḥajj except for Zaynab bint Jaḥsh and Sawdah bint Zam´ah.[3896] The two said, "No animal will carry us after [the death of] the Messenger of Allāh (ص)."[3897] Sawdah said, "I have performed the ḥajj and ´umrah, so now I sit in my house as Allāh has ordered me to,"[3898] directly referring to the verse telling the wives of the Prophet (ص), "Stay in your homes!"[3899] The two also refused to attend the pilgrimage because the Messenger of Allāh (ص) had told his wives in the Farewell Pilgrimage, "This is the [final] ḥajj, [and] after this will appear restriction [to your homes]."[3900] He also told them, "Whichever one of you fears Allāh and does not perform clear acts of misconduct (fāḥishatin mubayyinah) and who binds herself to her house will be my wife in the hereafter."[3901] Obviously, the belief that all of the Prophet's (ص) wives will be his wives in the hereafter is not true, as the Prophet (ص) attached conditions to which of his wives in this world would also be his wives in the hereafter. If they were to commit flagrant sins or run off from their homes on misguided endeavors, they would not be guaranteed to be his wives in the hereafter.

[3890] Qur`ān 35:18. Also refer to Qur`ān 6:164, 17:15, 39:7, and 53:38.
[3891] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #2.23.375. Similarly, Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #4.2022.
[3892] Kanz al-´Ummāl #13797.
[3893] Qur`ān 7:32.
[3894] Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 8:208.
[3895] Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 8:208-9.
[3896] Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 8:208-9 (several traditions).
[3897] Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 8:208.
[3898] Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 8:208.
[3899] Qur`ān 33:33.

This event also shows how arbitrarily ʿUmar would come up with rules. He first forbade them from performing the ḥajj, then allowed them to do so, even though the Prophet (ص) had clearly forbidden it and two of his wives attested to that fact. In either case, ʿUmar erred. If the ḥajj of the wives was Islāmically permitted, he erred by forbidding it for so many years, and if it was forbidden, he erred by allowing it at the end of his life. Indeed, he removed the wives of the Prophet (ص) from their homes against the explicit order of the Qurʾān to the Prophet's (ص) wives: "Stay in your homes!"[3902] This set a precedent by which ʿĀʾishah no longer felt bound to the house to which the Qurʾān had confined her, emboldening her to take a more public role, and thereby leading to the Battle of Jamal and the death of thousands of Muslims as well as all the other discord that ensued.

ʿUmar Changed the Laws Pertaining to Three Divorces

According to Islāmic law, if a man divorces a woman three times, each time returning to her during her waiting period (ʿiddah), after the third divorce he cannot marry her again unless she is married to another man, the marriage is consummated, and she has completed an ʿiddah after the termination of the subsequent marriage. This gives the marriage three chances to work. Moreover, each divorce must wait until the woman passes one monthly cycle after the last intercourse.[3903] According to the Sunnah of the Prophet (ص), if a man divorces a woman three times in one setting, it only counts as one single divorce. However, ʿUmar changed this law and said that if a man divorces a woman three times in one setting, she would be permanently forbidden from being his wife unless she were to marry and have intercourse with another man first. Several traditions in this regards appear in Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, including the following:

> Ibn ʿAbbās reported that the [pronouncement] of three divorces during the lifetime of Allāh's Messenger and that of Abū Bakr and two years of the caliphate of ʿUmar [was treated] as one. But ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb said, "Verily the people have begun to hasten in the matter in which they are required to observe respite. So we better impose this upon them, and he imposed it upon them."[3904]

In fact, there are numerous authentic traditions showing that concurrent divorces were counted as only one during the lifetime of the Prophet (ص) and that ʿUmar changed this, purportedly to reduce the number of divorces.[3905] Yet, ʿUmar's action was a mistake, because even if he reduced the number of divorces, he irrevocably dissolved many marriages that would have worked out, and he deprived numerous husbands of the right to return to their wives. This is another example of how many Muslims have followed the innovations of ʿUmar as opposed to the Sunnah of the Prophet (ص). As a result of this innovation, many Muslim families have been wrecked and continued to be wrecked to this day. Of course, such Muslim families are culpable as well, for they choose to follow the laws of ʿUmar instead of the laws of Islām. Indeed, according to the Qurʾān, creating separation between spouses is an act inspired by Satan: "[They] learned from [the devils] the means to sow discord between man and wife."[3906] ʿUmar's statement also reflects his arrogance, as he intended to change the Sunnah of the Prophet (ص) because he saw problems with it that he figured he could fix since he apparently knew better than Allāh and His Messenger (ص).

[3900] Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 8:208 (two accounts).
[3901] Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 8:208.
[3902] Qurʾān 33:33.
[3903] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #7.63.178-9, #7.63.184, #7.63.249.
[3904] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #9.3491.
[3905] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #9.3491-3; Sunan Abū Dāwūd #2200; Sunan Nasāʾī #3406; Mustadrak Ḥākim #2792 (certifies the tradition as authentic), #2793 (certifies the tradition as authentic by the criteria of Bukhārī and Muslim); Sunan al-Kubrā Bayhaqī #14749-51.

ʿUmar Changed the Method of Distribution of Public Wealth

One of the greatest innovations of ʿUmar which was in direct conflict with the Sunnah of the Prophet (ص) was his unequal distribution of the wealth of the Bayt al-Māl (treasury). Indeed, ʿUmar was the first to gather wealth in the treasury. Suyūṭī said, "The first to adopt a treasury was ʿUmar, as the Prophet (ص) did not have a treasury and neither did Abū Bakr."[3907] During the lifetime of the Prophet (ص), wealth was divided equally among Muslims. Abū Bakr started to take three dirhams a day from the treasury to compensate himself for his services as caliph.[3908] ʿUmar, however, came up with a graded system of handing out the nation's wealth. Accordingly, Suyūṭī said that ʿUmar was the first to "hand out wealth according to one's record [in Islām]."[3909] According to Ṭabarī, Balādhurī, and Suyūṭī,

> ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb sought the advice of the Muslims on the matter of establishing state registers. ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib advised him to distribute all the wealth that accrued to him every year, without keeping any. ʿUthmān ibn ʿAffān remarked on the large amount of wealth that was coming to the people in ample quantities. He said, "If they are not subjected to an official census... I am afraid things will get out of hand." ...ʿUmar summoned... [the] genealogists of the Quraysh, telling them to register people according to their ranks.[3910]

ʿUmar's system for distributing wealth is summarized as follows:[3911]

ʿAbbās ibn ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib	12,000 dirhams
ʿĀʾishah	12,000 dirhams
Most of the other wives of the Prophet (ص)	10,000 dirhams
Juwayrīyah, Ṣafiyyah, and Maymūnah	6,000 dirhams[3912]
The Muhājirīn present at Badr	5,000 dirhams
Ḥasan (ع), Ḥusayn (ع), Abū Dharr, Salmān, Bilāl	5,000 dirhams
ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar	5,000 dirhams
Abū Sufyān and Muʿāwīyah	5,000 dirhams
Tamīm al-Dārī	5,000 dirhams

[3906] Qurʾān 2:102.

[3907] Tārīkh al-Khulafāʾ 73.

[3908] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 17:224.

[3909] Tārīkh al-Khulafāʾ 119.

[3910] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 14:115-6; Futūḥ al-Buldān 549 #1019; Tārīkh al-Khulafāʾ 129-30.

[3911] This is based on the accounts in Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 12:214-215; Tārīkh Ṭabarī 12:201-3; Futūḥ al-Buldān 548-566 #1017-1067; and Tārīkh Yaʿqūbī 2:153. Note that slight differences exist among the various accounts.

[3912] After the wives complained about unequal treatment, ʿUmar gave Juwayrīyah, Ṣafiyyah, and Maymūnah 10,000 dirhams each as well (Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 12:214).

The Anṣār present at Badr	4,000 dirhams
Those present in battles between Uḥud and Ḥudaybīyyah	4,000 dirhams
Those present in battles after Ḥudaybīyyah	3,000 dirhams
Those present in battles after the death of the Prophet (ص)	1,000-2,500 dirhams
The wives of those present at Badr	500 dirhams
The wives of those present after Badr until Ḥudaybīyyah	400 dirhams
The wives of those present after Ḥudaybīyyah	300 dirhams
The wives of those present at Qādisīyyah	200 dirhams

As noted above, ʿUmar even set aside 5,000 dirhams specifically for Tamīm al-Dārī,[3913] his favorite story-teller,[3914] so that he would be compensated for his entertainment as though he had fought at Badr.

This division of wealth created great class differences among the Muslims which did not exist at the time of the Messenger of Allāh (ص) and during the caliphate of Abū Bakr. Even ʿĀʾishah complained about the new caste system, saying, "The Prophet would treat us [wives] equally."[3915] This action of ʿUmar set a precedent that allowed ʿUthmān to divide the wealth even more unequally, resulting in a general insurrection leading to his execution. It also caused much trouble for the caliphate of ʿAlī (ع), as he sought to restore the customs of Islām by dividing the wealth of the treasury equally. Not surprisingly, the companions who had become rather wealthy from this system (e.g. ʿĀʾishah, Ṭalḥah, and Zubayr) rejected the Sunnah of the Prophet (ص) and rebelled against ʿAlī (ع), turning themselves into apostates.[3916] The thousands of Muslim lives lost during the battles that plagued ʿAlī's (ع) caliphate may be considered the result of this innovation. Indeed, ʿUmar realized his mistake by the end of his life and said, "Had I known in the beginning what I know now, I would have taken the excess wealth of the rich and distributed it among the poor Emigrants."[3917] It is noteworthy that he would give the excess wealth to the poor Emigrants only and not to the Anṣār or the Muslims in general. This was clearly due to his tribal prejudice.

Of note, ʿUmar also took freely from the Bayt al-Māl himself. According to Suyūṭī, "Some time passed during which ʿUmar did not take anything from the Bayt al-Māl. But a time came when he became needy... so he took from it," purportedly with the permission of the companions.[3918] According to Muḥibb Ṭabarī, when the companions told ʿUmar that he may take personal possession of property from the Bayt al-Māl as he pleased, ʿAlī (ع) was so obviously quiet that ʿUmar said, "What's with you, O ʿAlī, that you won't speak?" ʿAlī (ع) replied, "The people have given you their advice." ʿUmar said, "You should give your advice [as well]." ʿAlī (ع) said, "I think that you should divide it [among the deserving Muslims]," so ʿUmar did so.[3919] This shows how the companions were lined up to tell the caliph that he may usurp public properties as he pleased. ʿAlī (ع), though isolated and oppressed, succeeded in guiding ʿUmar to right conduct this one time.

ʿUmar Instituted Discriminatory Policies Against the Persians

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[3913] Futūḥ al-Buldān 556 #1033.

[3914] Refer to chapter 56.

[3915] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 12:214.

[3916] The Prophet (ص) told his Ahl al-Bayt (ع), "I am at war with whoever is at war with you" (refer to chapter 22). As such, rising in war against ʿAlī (ع) was equivalent to raising a sword against the Messenger of Allāh (ص).

[3917] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 14:141.

[3918] Tārīkh al-Khulafāʾ 127-8.

[3919] Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:165-6.

According to Mālik, "'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb refused to let anyone inherit from the non-Arabs except for one who was born among the Arabs."[3920] As such, he would forcibly expropriate the wealth of non-Arab Muslims. Furthermore, with very rare exceptions, 'Umar would not allow any Persians to enter Madīnah, except as slaves.[3921] Such innovations were clearly against the basic tenets of Islām. The Messenger of Allāh (ص) said, "There is no superiority of the Arab over the non-Arab, of the non-Arab over the Arab, of the Black over the Red, or the Red over the Black except by piety."[3922] The Qur`ān also says, "O mankind! We created for from a male and female and made you into nations and tribes so that you may know one another. Verily, the most honorable of you in the sight of Allāh is the most pious of you."[3923] 'Umar's actions in this regards were out of pure racism, which has no place in Islām.

There may be good reason for 'Umar to hate Persians so much. According to Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, the Prophet (ص) said, "If the religion (dīn) were at the [star of] Pleiades, even then a person from Persia would have taken hold of it," or "one amongst the Persian descent would have surely found it."[3924] According to another tradition in Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim,

> Sūrah Jumu'ah[3925] was revealed to [the Prophet] and when he recited [the verse], "Others from amongst them who have not yet joined them,"[3926] a person amongst the [companions] said, "Allāh's Messenger! [Who are they?]" Allāh's Apostle made no reply, until he questioned him once, twice, and thrice. There was amongst us Salmān the Persian. The Apostle of Allāh placed his hand on Salmān and then said, "Even if faith were near the Pleiades, a man from amongst these (i.e. the Persians) would surely find it."[3927]

'Umar was threatened by the Persians who would seek out the true religion and find out that the true religion was not to be found with him but with 'Alī (ع), so he tried everything he could to humiliate and disenfranchise the Persians. He pushed hard to ensure that they would not convert to Islām, as conversion would create rights equal to those of the Arabs according to Islāmic law. According to Ṭabarī, "['Umar ordered that] pressure to accept Islām was to be exerted by the Arab tribesmen only on those tribesmen living in the [Arabian] Peninsula itself,"[3928] and that the jizyah for non-Muslims was to be set as "the same as the alms tax paid by Muslims."[3929] As such, he left no motive for the Persians to convert to Islām, and even by the end of the Umayyad dynasty less than ten percent of Persians had accepted Islām.[3930] He even created Kūfah to segregate the Arabs from the Persians living in Madā`in, claiming that Madā`in was not suitable for camels and that Arabs would not thrive in such a land.[3931] His orders to establish Baṣrah were likely similarly motivated.[3932] Clearly, he was worried that urban life alongside Persians would make his troops lose their Arab traits. Instead of encouraging his troops to interact further with the Persians for the sake of spreading

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[3920] Muwatta` Mālik #27.12.14.

[3921] Murūj al-Dhahab 2:329.

[3922] Musnad Ḥanbal #23536; Kanz al-'Ummāl #3044, #5652, #5655; Majma' al-Zawā`id #5622 (certifies the tradition as authentic); Mu'jam al-Kabīr Ṭabarānī 18:13; Tafsir al-Durr al-Manthūr, verse 49:13.

[3923] Qur`ān 49:13.

[3924] Ṣaḥīh Muslim #31.6177.

[3925] Qur`ān, sūrah 62.

[3926] Qur`ān 62:3.

[3927] Ṣaḥīh Muslim #31.6178.

[3928] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 13:62.

[3929] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 13:62; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 1:437.

[3930] Albert Hourani, A History of the Arab Peoples, New York:Grand Central Publishing, 1991, p. 46.

[3931] Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 1:437; Tārīkh Ṭabarī 13:64.

[3932] Refer to Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 1:437-8 and Tārīkh Ṭabarī 12:161-5 for accounts of the establishment of Baṣrah.

Islām, he made sure that they would remain racially segregated. Even on his deathbed, ʹUmar said, "I command to the caliph after my death the Arabs—for they are the very substance of Islām."[3933]

Another reason why ʹUmar hated the Persians was because the Prophet (ص) had foretold that Imām Mahdī, who would return power to the Ahl al-Bayt (ع), would do so with an army of people from the east, which was taken as a reference to the Persians. According to Ibn Mājah, ʹAbd Allāh said,

> We were with the Messenger of Allāh (ص) when a group of the Banū Hāshim came. When the Prophet (ص) saw them, he bent [forward] and his eyes became filled with tears and his color changed... He said, "Allāh has chosen for us Ahl al-Bayt the hereafter over this world. My Ahl al-Bayt will be subjected to calamities, expulsions, and exiles until a group comes from the east carrying black banners, asking for justice but being denied it. They will fight and be helped until they achieve that which they seek. They will not accept [power] until they turn it over to a man from my Ahl al-Bayt who will fill [the earth] with justice, as it was filled with tyranny. Whoever among you is present [at that time] must go to them, even if [you have to] crawl over ice and snow [to join them]."[3934]

ʹUmar Confined the Prophet's (ص) Companions to Madīnah

In order to prevent the spread of prophetic traditions and Islām's teachings to other lands, ʹUmar and subsequently ʹUthmān confined the companions of the Prophet (ص) to Madīnah. ʹAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʹAwf said,

> ʹUmar did not die until he sent for the companions of the Messenger of Allāh and gathered them from all the distant lands. ʹAbd Allāh ibn Ḥudhāfah, Abū Dardāʾ, Abū Dharr, and ʹUqbah ibn ʹĀmir [were brought back]. He said, "What are these traditions that you have spread from the Messenger of Allāh in the lands?" They asked, "Do you forbid us [from doing so]?" He said, "No, [but] stay with me. No, by Allāh, do not leave me. We are more knowledgeable [as to what] to take from you and what to refute." So they did not separate from him until he died.[3935]

According to Ḥākim,

> ʹUmar told Ibn Masʹūd, Abū Dardāʾ, and Abū Dharr, "What is this relaying of traditions from the Messenger of Allāh?!" He then imprisoned them (ḥabasahum) in Madīnah.[3936]

According to Dhahabī,

> ʹUmar imprisoned (ḥabasa) the three [companions] Ibn Masʹūd, Abū Dardāʾ and Abū Masʹūd al-Anṣārī, and said, "You have [related] too many traditions from the Messenger of Allāh."[3937]

[3933] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 14:92.
[3934] Sunan Ibn Mājah #4082.
[3935] Kanz al-ʹUmmāl #29479.
[3936] Mustadrak Ḥākim #374, #375 (certifies the tradition as authentic by the criteria of Bukhārī and Muslim).
[3937] Tadhkirah al-Ḥuffāẓ #2 (ʹUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb).

When ʿUmar was confronted about why he put the likes of Yazīd ibn Abī Sufyān, Saʿīd ibn ʿĀṣ, and Muʿāwīyah ibn Abī Sufyān in power instead of the close companions of the Prophet (ص), he said, "I am afraid that they will spread through the land and spread corruption (fasād) in it."[3938]

ʿUthmān continued in ʿUmar's footsteps in this regards. When Zubayr asked permission to go to battle, ʿUthmān said, "No, I will not give you permission because I fear that the companions of the Messenger of Allāh will disperse among the people and bring about their misguidance."[3939] If ʿUmar and ʿUthmān were concerned about the accuracy of the traditions of the companions, it is not clear why the Sunnīs believe that anything the companions said was definitely true. Of course, it is almost inconceivable that the likes of Abū Dharr, Ibn Masʿūd, and Abū Dardā` were spreading lies. ʿUmar, and ʿUthmān were not interested in correcting them but rather in suppressing their efforts to spread a message that was contrary to what the caliphs were imposing on the nation. Despite the dogged efforts of Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, and ʿUthmān to suppress the Prophet's (ص) Sunnah,[3940] it has persisted thanks to the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) and their loyal followers. As the Qur`ān says, "Their intention is to extinguish Allāh's light with their mouths, but Allāh will complete His light, even though the disbelievers may detest [it]."[3941]

ʿUmar Prohibited the Mutʿah of Ḥajj

The ḥajj al-tamattuʿ, also known as the mutʿah of ḥajj, refers to the practice of performing an ʿumrah pilgrimage during the ḥajj season and then entering the ḥajj.[3942] This was practiced during the lifetime of the Prophet (ص) in accordance with the verse, "And complete the ḥajj and the ʿumrah for Allāh... whoever wishes to perform tamattuʿ by [commencing with] the ʿumrah [and them proceeding] to the ḥajj..."[3943] According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, ʿUmar banned Muslims from following the Qur`ān and the Sunnah of the Prophet (ص) in regards to ḥajj al-tamattuʿ:

> Narrated ʿImrān: We performed ḥajj al-tamattuʿ in the lifetime of Allāh's Apostle and then the Qur`ān was revealed [endorsing ḥajj al-tamattuʿ], and somebody (i.e. ʿUmar) said what he wished [regarding ḥajj al-tamattuʿ] according to his own opinion.[3944]

ʿUthmān continued the innovation of ʿUmar:

> ʿUthmān prohibited mutʿah [of ḥajj], whereas ʿAlī ordered [people] to perform it. He said, "Why would you want to prohibit something that the Messenger of Allāh (ص) performed [himself]?"[3945]

Indeed, ʿUmar and ʿUthmān were resurrecting the traditions of the Days of Ignorance, as Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī says, "The people [of the pre-Islāmic period] used to think that to perform ʿumrah during the months of ḥajj was one of the major sins on earth."[3946] As such, those holding onto the customs of the Days of Ignorance did not like the concept of performing the ʹumrah and ḥajj together and liked to ban ḥajj al-tamattuʹ. The banning of the mutʹah of ḥajj by ʹUmar occurred concurrently with his banning the mutʹah of marriage, which is the subject of the next chapter.

[3938] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 9:30.
[3939] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 20:20.
[3940] Refer to chapter 56.
[3941] Qur`ān 61:8.
[3942] Fatḥ al-Bārī #1485.
[3943] Qur`ān 2:196.
[3944] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #2.26.642.
[3945] Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #12486. Similarly, Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #12488.
[3946] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #2.26.635.

Chapter 59
´Umar's Prohibition of Temporary (Mut´ah) Marriage

The Prophet (ص) Permitted His Companions to Perform Mut´ah Marriage

One of ´Umar's innovations was the banning of temporary marriage, which had been clearly allowed by the Prophet (ص) as well as the Qur`ān, and which had been practiced by the companions until ´Umar forbade it. The following is a number of Sunnī traditions, many of which are from Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, regarding the permissibility of temporary marriage during the lifetime of the Prophet (ص):

1. ´Abd Allāh [ibn Mas´ūd] reported: We were on an expedition with Allāh's Messenger and we had no women with us. We said, "Should we not have ourselves castrated?" He forbade us from doing so. He then granted us permission to contract temporary marriage for a stipulated period, giving her a garment [as dower]. ´Abd Allāh then recited the verse, "You who believe, do not make unlawful the good things which Allāh has made lawful for you, and do not transgress. Allāh does not like the transgressors."[3947,3948]

2. Jābir ibn ´Abd Allāh and Salamah ibn Akwa´ said: There came to us the proclaimer of Allāh's Messenger [who] said, "Allāh's Messenger has granted you permission to contract temporary marriage with women."[3949]

3. Salamah ibn Akwa´ and Jābir ibn ´Abd Allāh reported that, "Allāh's Messenger came to us and permitted us to contract temporary marriage."[3950]

4. ´Aṭā` reported that Jābir ibn ´Abd Allāh came to perform ´umrah, and we came to his abode, and the people asked him about different things, and then they made a mention of temporary marriage, whereupon he said, "Yes, we had been benefiting ourselves by this temporary marriage during the lifetime of the holy Prophet and during the time of Abū Bakr and ´Umar."[3951] The tradition of Ḥanbal adds the phrase, "Until the end of the caliphate of ´Umar."[3952]

5. Jābir ibn ´Abd Allāh said, "We contracted temporary marriage, giving a handful of dates or flour as dower, during the lifetime of Allāh's Messenger and during

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[3947] Qur`ān 5:87.
[3948] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #8.3243-5; Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #6.60.139; Musnad Ḥanbal #3986; Sunan al-Kubrā Bayhaqī #13242.
[3949] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #8.3246; Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #7.62.52; Musnad Ḥanbal #16551.
[3950] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #8.3247.
[3951] Ṣahiḥ Muslim #8.3248.
[3952] Musnad Ḥanbal #15115.

the time of Abū Bakr, until ʻUmar forbade it in the case of ʻAmr ibn Ḥurayth."[3953]

6. Abū Naḍrah reported: While I was in the company of Jābir ibn ʻAbd Allāh, a person came to him and said that Ibn ʻAbbās and Zubayr differed on the two types of mutʻah (mutʻah of ḥajj and mutʻah of marriage), whereupon Jābir said, "We used to do these two during the lifetime of Allāh's Messenger. ʻUmar than forbade us to do them, so we did not revert to them."[3954]

7. Jābir ibn ʻAbd Allāh said, "We performed the two mutʻahs at the time of the Prophet (ص)—the mutʻah of ḥajj and the mutʻah of marriage. ʻUmar prohibited them so we stopped [performing] them."[3955]

8. ʻImrān ibn Ḥuṣayn said: The verse of mutʻah was revealed in the Book of Allāh, the revered and oft-high. We acted upon it with the Messenger of Allāh (ص). No verse was revealed that abrogated it, and the Messenger of Allāh (ص) did not prohibit it until he died.[3956]

9. Ibn ʻAbbās said, "By my life, mutʻah was practiced during the lifetime of the leader of the pious (i.e. Allāh's Messenger)."[3957]

10. Muslim al-Qurashī said, We visited Asmāʼ the daughter Abū Bakr and asked her about the mutʻah of women. She said, "We used to perform it at the time of the Messenger of Allāh."[3958]

11. Abū Saʻīd al-Khudrī said, "We would perform mutʻah at the time of the Messenger of Allāh (ص) with clothes [as dower]."[3959]

12. Khawlah bint Ḥakīm came to ʻUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb and said, "Rabīʻah ibn Umayyah entered temporary marriage with a woman and she got pregnant by him." ʻUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb went out in dismay, dragging his cloak, saying, "This temporary marriage, had I come across it, I would have ordered stoning and done away with it!"[3960]

The Verse of Mutʻah Marriage in the Qurʼān

The Qurʼān says,

> Lawful for you are those other than the ones [mentioned as unlawful], so that you may seek them with your property, desiring chastity not debauchery. So howevermuch you seek mutʻah from them, give them their obligatory rewards (ujūr). There is no blame on you in regards to what you agree upon after the obligation.[3961]

3953. Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #8.3249.
3954. Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #8.3250; Sunan al-Kubrā Bayhaqī #13947.
3955. Musnad Ḥanbal #14877, #14959.
3956. Musnad Ḥanbal #19921.
3957. Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #8.3261.
3958. Musnad Ṭayālisī #1637.
3959. Musnad Ḥanbal #11181.
3960. Muwaṭṭaʼ Mālik #28.18.42; Sunan al-Kubrā Bayhaqī #13950.
3961. Qurʼān 4:24.

This verse of the Qur`ān was revealed about mut´ah marriage. Mut´ah, as a word, means enjoyment or benefit. When referring to marriage, mut´ah specifically refers to a type of marriage in which there is a designated period of time, at the end of which the marriage automatically ends. According to Rāghib, "The mut´ah of marriage is when a man sets as the conditions [for marriage] a specified property to grant her [as dower] and a designated period. When the period [of time] is over, he leaves her without [the need for] divorce."[3962] The traditions that have passed and those to come make it clear that the companions of the Prophet (ص) understood mut´ah to mean such a marriage and that this was permitted by the Qur`ān and the Prophet (ص) and continued to be practiced until it was forbidden by ´Umar. In fact, it is clear that this verse refers to mut´ah marriage for several reasons, among them the following:

1. The verse starts with "famā," and in this sentence, famā grammatically means "howevermuch". In this verse, the word famā places a limit on the marriage discussed in the rest of the verse. It would be meaningless to set such a limit on permanent marriage contracts because in such marriages the amount (i.e. duration) of enjoyment of the marriage has no impact whatsoever on the contract of marriage.

2. The word "istamta´tum" is derived from the same root as mut´ah and means "to seek mut´ah". The word istamta´tum involves mut´ah in its very definition and thus the verse refers to mut´ah marriage.

3. The Qur`ān orders us to give the women with whom one enters mut´ah marriage their rewards or "ujūr". Ujūr is the plural of ajr, which means a wage for a temporary service performed. What is given to a worker for his work is his ajr. Since ajr is given for specifically designated services or for services performed during a fixed period of time, its use in the verse makes it clear that it is given to the temporary wives in return for a fixed benefit.

The following are a few of the many traditions in Tafsīr Ṭabarī that make it clear that the cited verse was understood by the companions and successors (tābi´īn) to refer to mut´ah marriage:[3963]

1. Mujāhid, [in regards to the verse] "so howevermuch you derive mut´ah from them," said, "This refers to the marriage of mut´ah."

2. Saddī [recited], "So howevermuch you derive mut´ah from them until a designated time,[3964] give them their obligatory reward. And there is no blame on you in regards to what you agree upon after the obligation." [He then said], "This is mut´ah—a man marries a woman upon a condition of a designated period of time, two [witnesses] bear witness, she is married with the permission of her guardian (walī), and when the period terminates, [the man] has no rights to her, she is free from him, and it is upon her to clear herself from what is in her womb [by maintaining a waiting period (´iddah)]. There is no inheritance between them, as neither of them inherits from his [or her] companion."

[3962] Mufradāt al-Qur`ān 461 (m-t-´, mut´ah).

[3963] Refer to Tafsīr Ṭabarī, verse 4:24. Note that many of these same traditions also appear in other Sunnī commentaries.

[3964] Of note, the phrase "until a designated period" is not in the actual verse of the Qur`ān.

3. Yaḥyā ibn ʿĪsā related from Nuṣayr ibn Abī Ashʿath that Ḥabīb ibn Abī Thābit related from his father: Ibn ʿAbbās gave me a scroll and said, "This is according to the recitation of Ubayy [ibn Kaʿb]." Yaḥyā (the narrator) said: I saw the tablet with Nuṣayr. In it [was written], "So howevermuch you derive mutʿah from them until a designated time."

4. Abū Naḍrah said: I asked Ibn ʿAbbās about the mutʿah of women. He said, "Do you not recite Sūrah Nisāʾ[3965]?" I said, "Yes." He said, "Do you not then recite in it, 'So howevermuch you derive mutʿah from them until a designated time'?" I said, "No! If I recited it as such, I would not have asked you." He said, "It is as such."

5. Abū Naḍrah said: I recited this verse, "So howevermuch you derive mutʿah from them," to Ibn ʿAbbās. Ibn ʿAbbās said, "until a designated time." I said, "I do not recite it as such!" He said three times, "By Allāh, Allāh revealed it as such!"

6. ʿUmayr said: Ibn ʿAbbās recited, "So howevermuch you derive mutʿah from them until a designated time."

7. Abū Isḥāq said: Ibn ʿAbbās recited, "So howevermuch you derive mutʿah from them until a designated time."

8. Qatādah said: In the recitation of Ubayy ibn Kaʿb was, "So howevermuch you derive mutʿah from them until a designated time."

9. Saʿīd ibn Jubayr recited, "So howevermuch you derive mutʿah from them until a designated time, give them their obligatory reward."

The following are a number of other traditions in this regards from other sources:

1. ʿAṭāʾ [said]: Ibn ʿAbbās recited, "So howevermuch you derive mutʿah from them until the appointed time, give them their rewards."[3966]

2. Ibn ʿAbbās said: They used to recite this verse, "So howevermuch you derive mutʿah from them, give them their obligatory rewards."[3967]

3. Shuʿbah said: I asked [Ḥakam] regarding the verse, "and the chaste women except those whom your right hands posses," until the part [that reads], "so howevermuch you derive mutʿah from them." [I asked], "Is it abrogated or not?" He replied, "No." Ḥakam [then] said, "ʿAlī said, 'Had ʿUmar not prohibited mutʿah, no one would perform adultery but the wretched.'"[3968]

4. ʿAlī (ع) said, "Was it not for [the fact] that ʿUmar forbade mutʿah, no one would perform adultery but the wretched."[3969] The same statement has also been related from Ibn ʿAbbās.[3970] In a similar statement, ʿAlī (ع) said, "Were it

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[3965] Qurʾān, sūrah 4.
[3966] Muṣannaf ʿAbd al-Razzāq #14022.
[3967] Sunan al-Kubrā Bayhaqī #13946.
[3968] Tafsīr Ṭabarī, verse 4:24.
[3969] Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, Tafsīr Ṭabarī, Tafsīr Rāzī, Tafsīr Nīsābūrī, Tafsīr Thaʿlabī, Tafsīr Māwardī, Tafsīr Abū Ḥayyān, and Tafsīr Ibn ʿĀdil, verse 4:24.
[3970] Tafsīr Qurṭubī and Tafsīr Samarqandī, verse 4:24.

not for ʹUmar's preceding opinion, I would have commanded [people to engage in] mutʹah and then no one would commit adultery but the wretched."[3971]

Prominent Sunnī scholars have made the following comments:

1. Nawawī said in his commentary on Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, "The recitation of Ibn Masʹūd is, 'So howevermuch you derive mutʹah from them until the appointed time.'"[3972]
2. Zamakhsharī said, "[It has been related] from Ibn ʹAbbās that [this verse] is solid (muḥkam), meaning that it has not been abrogated, and that he used to recite, 'So howevermuch you derive mutʹah from them until the designated time.'"[3973]
3. Ibn Kathīr said, "Ibn ʹAbbās, Ubayy ibn Kaʹb, Saʹīd ibn Jubayr, and Saddī recited, 'So howevermuch you derive mutʹah from them until the designated time, so give them their obligatory rewards.' Mujāhid said, 'This was revealed in [regards to] the marriage of mutʹah.'"[3974]

It is appropriate at this point to consider the fact that some of these traditions add the phrase "until a designated time" to the verse, even though this phrase is not found in the Qurʹān. In this case it is most likely that the phrase was one of interpretation, clarification, or explanation that was mistaken by some to have been claimed to be part of the verse. Even supposing that these words were not intended for clarification, it still proves what the Shīʹah claim, that the companions believed that this verse refers to mutʹah marriage. Since this verse refers to mutʹah marriage, it is apparent that this type of marriage is allowed in the Qurʹān. The only way for someone to claim that a Qurʹānic verse is abrogated is to claim that another verse of the Qurʹān has replaced it with a new command. However, in the case of mutʹah marriage, no such abrogating verse exists. The verses that are sometimes cited to claim that mutʹah marriage was abrogated were all revealed prior to the verse of mutʹah marriage and in no way directly address the issue of mutʹah. Verses pertaining to divorce, inheritance, etc. do not directly pertaining to mutʹah marriage and therefore cannot abrogate it, particularly because these verses were revealed prior to the verse of mutʹah. Thus, this verse is unabrogated and sound, as many of the companions maintained.

Furthermore, according to Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, the twenty-fourth verse of the fourth sūrah, which contains the permissibility of mutʹah marriage, was revealed at the Battle of Ḥunayn, which occurred after the conquest of Mecca.[3975] This places the revelation of this verse well after the purpoted forbiddance of mutʹah marriage at Khaybar and after the revelation of other verses pertaining to marriage and divorce, thereby severely weaking the argument that mutʹah was either abrogated or forbidden in a step-wise fashion as alcohol was.

The Prohibition of Mutʹah Marriage by ʹUmar

The following are several accounts of the prohibition of mutʹah marriage by ʹUmar:

[3971] Kanz al-ʹUmmāl #45728.

[3972] Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim of Nawawī 9:179.

[3973] Tafsīr Zamakhsharī, verse 4:24.

[3974] Tafsīr Ibn Kathīr, verse 4:24.

[3975] Ṣaḥiḥ Muslim #8.3432-4.

1. ´Umar said in his speech, "There were two mut´ahs at the time of the Messenger of Allāh that I prohibit and [the performers of which I] will punish—the mut´ah of ḥajj and the mut´ah of women."[3976] In some accounts he also said, "I will not be brought a man who married a woman for a designated time except that I will stone the two of them."[3977] Ḥanbal has only included the following part of ´Umar's speech: "There were two mut´ahs at the time of the Messenger of Allāh—the mut´ah of ḥajj and the mut´ah of women,"[3978] but he confirmed that ´Umar forbade the two types of mut´ah in another tradition.[3979]

2. ´Umar said, "There were two mut´ahs during the time of the Messenger of Allāh, and I prohibit them and will punish [those who perform] them. One is the mut´ah of women. There will not be any man who marries a woman for a designated period of time that I get my hands on except that I will make him disappear in stones. The second is the mut´ah of ḥajj. Separate your ḥajj from your ´umrah, for this will complete your ḥajj and your ´umrah."[3980]

3. According to Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, Abū Naḍrah reported: Ibn ´Abbās commanded the performance of the mut´ah [of pilgrimage], putting on iḥrām for ´umrah during the month of Dhū al-Ḥijjah, and after completing [the ´umrah], putting on iḥrām for ḥajj, but [´Abd Allāh] ibn Zubayr forbade us from doing so. I made a mention of this to Jābir ibn ´Abd Allāh and he said, "It is through me that this tradition has been circulated. We entered into the state of iḥrām [for the pilgrimage of] tamattu´ with the Messenger of Allāh. When ´Umar was installed as caliph, he said, 'Verily Allāh made permissible for His Messenger whatever He liked and as He liked. And [the commands] of the Holy Qur`ān have been revealed for every occasion. So accomplish ḥajj and ´umrah for Allāh as Allāh has commanded you; and confirm by [permanent marriage] the marriage of those women [with whom you have entered mut´ah marriage]. And any person who would come to me with a marriage of designated duration, I would stone him [to death].'" Qatādah narrated this tradition with the same chain of transmitters saying [that ´Umar also said], "Separate your ḥajj from [your] ´umrah, for that is the most complete ḥajj, and complete your ´umrah [at a different time]."[3981]

4. Yaḥyā ibn Aktham asked his teacher (shaykh) in Baṣrah, "To whom do you submit in regards to [allowing] the permissibility of mut´ah?" He replied, "To ´Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb." [Yaḥyā] asked, "How [is that] when ´Umar was the strictest of people [in regards to forbidding] it?" He said, "The correct account is that he rose upon his pulpit and said, 'Verily Allāh and the Messenger have made permissible (ḥalāl) for you the two mut´ahs, but I forbid them to you and will punish [anyone who performs] them.' So we have accepted his testimony [that Allāh and His Messenger (ص) allowed mut´ah], but we have not accepted his prohibition [of them]."[3982]

3976. Tafsīr Rāzī, verse 4:24; Kanz al-´Ummāl #45715, #45722; Tadhkirah al-Ḥuffāẓ #359 (Makkī ibn Ibrāhīm); Tārīkh Baghdād #7489 (Yaḥyā ibn Aktham); Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 1:182, 12:251, 12:252, 12:254, 16:265.
3977. Tafsīr Zamakhsharī, verse 4:24.
3978. Musnad Ḥanbal #369.
3979. Musnad Ḥanbal #14519.
3980. Sunan al-Kubrā Bayhaqī #13948.
3981. Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #7.2801.
3982. Muḥāḍirāt al-Udabā` of Rāghib 1:416.

5. ʹUmar said, "There were three things at the time of the Messenger of Allāh that I forbid and will punish for—the mutʹah of ḥajj, the mutʹah of women, and [saying] 'Rush to the best of deeds!' in the adhān."[3983]

6. Ibn ʹAbbās said, "Mutʹah was nothing but mercy from Allāh, the oft-high, by which He showed mercy to His servants. Had ʹUmar not forbidden mutʹah, no one would perform adultery but the wretched."[3984]

7. Jābir said, "They would perform mutʹah with women until ʹUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb forbade them [from doing so]."[3985]

8. ʹAlī (ع) said, "Had ʹUmar's opinion (raʾy) not passed before [my coming to power], I would have commanded mutʹah. Then none would commit adultery but the wretched."[3986]

9. Abū Saʹīd al-Khudrī and Jābir ibn ʹAbd Allāh said, "We performed mutʹah until half-way into the caliphate of ʹUmar when ʹUmar forbade the people from performing it."[3987]

The following is the analysis of some Sunnī scholars in this regards:

1. According to Suyūṭī, ʹUmar was the first to forbid mutʹah.[3988]

2. Qurṭubī said, "No one allowed the marriage of mutʹah except for ʹImrān ibn Ḥuṣayn, Ibn ʹAbbās, some of the companions, and a group of the Ahl al-Bayt."[3989]

3. Qurṭubī said, "The companions of Ibn ʹAbbās among the people of Mecca and Yemen all saw mutʹah as permissible (ḥalāl) in accordance with the school [of jurisprudence] (madhhab) of Ibn ʹAbbās."[3990]

4. Ibn Ḥazm said, "There remained intent upon its legality after the Messenger of Allāh (ص) a group of the predecessors (salaf), amongst them of the companions Asmāʾ bint Abī Bakr al-Ṣiddīq, Jābir ibn ʹAbd Allāh, Ibn Masʹūd, Ibn ʹAbbās, Muʹāwīyah ibn Abī Sufyān, ʹAmr ibn Ḥurayth, Abū Saʹīd al-Khudrī, and Salamah and Maʹbad the two sons of Umayyah ibn Khalaf. Jābir ibn ʹAbd Allāh has related [its legality] from all the companions at the time of the Messenger of Allāh (ص), at the time of Abū Bakr, and at the time of ʹUmar until towards the end of the caliphate of ʹUmar. There is dispute as to whether Ibn Zubayr considered it permissible, and there is uncertainty in regards to ʹAlī. And [it has been related] that ʹUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb only prohibited it when two just [witnesses] did not witness it but permitted it in the presence of two just witnesses. And among the successors [who accepted the legality of mutʹah

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[3983] Al-Ghadīr 6:213 quotes this from al-Mustabīn of Ṭabarī.
[3984] Tafisr Qurṭubī, verse 4:24.
[3985] Kanz al-ʹUmmāl #45719.
[3986] Kanz al-ʹUmmāl #45728.
[3987] ʹUmdah al-Qāri 17:246.
[3988] Tārikh al-Khulafāʾ 123-4.
[3989] Tafsīr Qurṭubī, verse 4:24.
[3990] Tafsīr Qurṭubī, verse 4:24.

> marriage] were Ṭāwūs, ʻAṭā`, Saʻīd ibn Jubayr, and the rest of the jurists (fuqahā`) of Mecca."[3991]

The Story of ʻAmr ibn Ḥurayth

According to Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, Jābir ibn ʻAbd Allāh said, "We contracted temporary marriage... until ʻUmar forbade it in the case of ʻAmr ibn Ḥurayth."[3992] According to Saʻīd ibn Musayyab, "Ibn Ḥurayth and the son of so-and-so performed mutʻah during the time of Abū Bakr and ʻUmar and each of them had a child from mutʻah."[3993] Jābir ibn ʻAbd Allāh said, "ʻAmr entered Kūfah and performed mutʻah with a freed woman. ʻAmr got her pregnant. [ʻUmar] asked him about it, and he confessed to it. So that was when ʻUmar forbade it."[3994] Jābir shed further light on the matter in the following account:

> We used to perform mutʻah at the time of the Messenger of Allāh (ص), Abū Bakr, and ʻUmar until it was at the end of the caliphate of ʻUmar and ʻAmr ibn Ḥurayth performed mutʻah with a woman. The woman got pregnant and ʻUmar found out about this. So he called for her and asked her [if they had performed mutʻah], and she replied, "Yes." He [then] asked, "Who witnessed [this]?" She replied, "My mother," as well as the mother of her [previous] master (walī). He asked, "Why didn't you [take as witness someone] other than the two of them?" He [then said], "I am afraid that this will be another form of debauchery."[3995]

Clearly, if the issue was over the number or characteristics of witnesses, there was no reason for ʻUmar to ban mutʻah marriage. Rather, he should have ascertained what the proper requirements were for witnessing a mutʻah marriage. Furthermore, if mutʻah had been banned by the Prophet (ص) as some later Muslims have claimed, ʻUmar should have inflicted the Islāmic punishment (ḥadd) on them, instead of saying, "There were two mutʻahs at the time of the Messenger of Allāh that I prohibit."

The Argument About Mutʻah Marriage Among the Companions

According to Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim,

> ʻUrwah ibn Zubayr reported that ʻAbd Allāh ibn Zubayr stood up [and delivered an address] in Mecca saying, "Allāh has made blind the hearts of some people as He has deprived them of eyesight because they give religious verdict in favor of temporary marriage, while he was alluding to a person (i.e. Ibn ʻAbbās)." Ibn ʻAbbās called him and said, "You are an uncouth person, devoid of sense. By my life, mutʻah was practiced during the lifetime of the leader of the pious (Allāh's Messenger)." Ibn Zubayr said to him, "Just do it yourselves, and, by Allāh, if you do that, I will stone you with your stones."[3996]

The zeal with which Ibn Zubayr denounced mutʻah marriage is evident in this tradition, as it shows that he attributed the blindness of Ibn ʻAbbās to his belief in mutʻah marriage, even though it is clear that Ibn ʻAbbās was on the side of the Qur`ān and

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[3991] Al-Muḥallā of Ibn Ḥazm 9:519-20.
[3992] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #8.3249.
[3993] Kanz al-ʻUmmāl #45712.
[3994] Fatḥ al-Bārī #4827.
[3995] Muṣannaf ʻAbd al-Razzāq #14021.
[3996] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #8.3261.

Sunnah, and therefore on the side of the truth, as supported by the following tradition in Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim:

> Abū Naḍrah reported: While I was in the company of Jābir ibn ʹAbd Allāh, a person came to him and said that Ibn ʹAbbās and Ibn Zubayr differed on the two types of mutʹah (the mutʹah of ḥajj and the mutʹah of marriage), whereupon Jābir said, "We used to perform these two during the lifetime of Allāh's Messenger. ʹUmar than forbade us from doing them, so we did not revert to them."[3997]

Amazingly, Ibn Zubayr was appalled by mutʹah marriage, even though his mother, Asmāʹ bint Abī Bakr used to practice it herself and said, "We used to perform [mutʹah marriage] during the time of the Messenger of Allāh."[3998] As such, it appears that her marriage with Zubayr was a mutʹah marriage and ʹAbd Allāh ibn Zubayr and ʹUrwah ibn Zubayr were the products of a mutʹah marriage, particularly because she was married to Zubayr from before the emigration until his death.[3999] Accordingly, when Ibn Zubayr insulted Ibn ʹAbbās, the latter replied, "As for my being blind, Allāh, the oft-high, says, 'Surely it is not the eyes that are blind, but the hearts which are in the chest.'[4000] ...As for mutʹah, ask your mother, Asmāʹ!"[4001]

The timing of the above traditions are noteworthy, as the first tradition states specifically that ʹAbd Allāh ibn Zubayr gave a sermon in Mecca and that ʹAbd Allāh ibn ʹAbbās was blind at the time. Ibn Zubayr did not emigrate from Madīnah to Mecca until the year 60 A.H. when Muʹāwīyah died, and he remained there until the year 73 A.H. when he was defeated and killed by Ḥajjāj.[4002] Furthermore, Ibn ʹAbbās did not become blind until late in his life. As such, it is clear that even decades after ʹUmar had forbidden mutʹah, prominent and knowledgeable companions such as Ibn ʹAbbās and Jābir ibn ʹAbd Allāh continued to believe in its permissibility.

When was Mutʹah Repealed?

Some have claimed that mutʹah was allowed at the beginning of Islām but was later repealed. However, the claims are weak given their dissonance in regards to exactly when they claim mutʹah marriage was forbidden as well as the overwhelming evidence that the companions considered it permissible and performed it after the Prophet's lifetime until ʹUmar forbade it. ʹAllāmah Amīnī has compiled a list of fifteen different times at which mutʹah is claimed to have been prohibited.[4003] This is a reflection of the numerous disparate attempts to invent traditions to justify ʹUmar's act of forbidding mutʹah, which have resulted in a large number of incoherent accounts. The following are a number of the claims about the time in which mutʹah marriage was forbidden during the lifetime of the Prophet (ص):

1. It was Permitted Only in the Early Days of Islām

[3997] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #8.3250.

[3998] Sunan al-Kubrā Nasāʹī #5540; Muʹjam al-Kabīr Ṭabarānī 24:103; Musnad Ṭayālisī #1637.

[3999] According to Iṣābah 4:2415-6 #10795 (Asmāʹ bint ʹAbd Allāh ibn ʹUthmān), she emigrated while pregnant with ʹAbd Allāh ibn Zubayr and she lived to be one hundred. According to Tārīkh Ṭabarī 21:226, she outlived her son ʹAbd Allāh ibn Zubayr, who died in the year 73 A.H. According to Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 5:178, ʹUrwah ibn Zubayr was also her son.

[4000] Qurʹān 22:46.

[4001] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 20:130.

[4002] Refer to chapter 95.

[4003] Al-Ghadīr 6:225.

Ibn Abī ʹAmrah al-Anṣārī said, "It was permitted in the early days of Islām, [for one] who was driven to it under the stress of necessity."[4004] Similarly, Ibn ʹAbbās is quoted as having said, "Mutʹah was only at the beginning of Islām."[4005] In the chain of tradition of this tradition is Mūsā ibn ʹUbaydah, in regards to whom there are many negative comments from the experts of narrator-authentication, including from Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal who said, "To me, it is not permissible to relate [traditions] from him. His traditions are rejected (munkar)."[4006] Moreover, Ibn Ḥajar said, "He is seriously weak."[4007]

2. It was Permitted Only at Times of Need

Abū Dharr as having said, "Mutʹah was for our [times of] fear and our [times of] battle."[4008] It is similarly claimed that Ibn ʹAbbās said, "Mutʹah is not permissible except for the one in an urgency. It is verily like carrion, blood, and the meat of swine."[4009] A similar opinion of Ibn ʹAbbās appears in Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī:

> Narrated Abū Jamrah: I heard Ibn ʹAbbās [giving a verdict] when he was asked about mutʹah with women, and he permitted it. On that a freed slave of his said to him, "That is only when it is very badly needed and women are scarce." On that, Ibn ʹAbbās said, "Yes."[4010]

Of note, the chain of transmission of this tradition includes Ghundar and Muḥammad ibn Bashshār.[4011] As for Ghundar, Yaḥyā ibn Saʹīd considered him weak.[4012] As for Muḥammad ibn Bashshār, commonly known as Bandār, Ibn Ḥajar said, "ʹAmr ibn ʹAlī swore that Bandār would lie about what he related from Yaḥyā," and ʹAbd Allāh ibn ʹAlī al-Madyanī said that his father called Bandār's tradition a lie and vehemently denied its authenticity. Yaḥyā ibn Maʹīn also considered him weak. Nevertheless, Bukhārī and Muslim included 205 and 460 of his traditions, respectively.[4013]

3. It was Allowed for Only Three Days and then Repealed

It is claimed that Abū Dharr said, "The mutʹah of women was permissible for us companions of the Messenger of Allāh (ص) for only three days. Then the Messenger of Allāh (ص) prohibited it."[4014]

4. It was Forbidden at Khaybar

According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, and Sunan Tirmidhī, ʹAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib (ع) said that Allāh's Messenger prohibited contracting of temporary marriage on the Day of Khaybar.[4015]

[4004] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #8.3261.
[4005] Sunan Tirmidhī #1122.
[4006] Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb vol 10 #636 (Mūsā ibn ʹUbaydah).
[4007] Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb vol 5 #528 (ʹAbd Allāh ibn ʹUbaydah).
[4008] Sunan al-Kubrā Bayhaqī #13955.
[4009] Sunan al-Kubrā Bayhaqī #13944.
[4010] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #7.62.51.
[4011] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī (Arabic original) #4826.
[4012] Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb vol 9 #129 (Muḥammad ibn Jaʹfar... maʹrūf bi-Ghundar).
[4013] Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb vol 9 #87 (Muḥammad ibn Bashshār).
[4014] Sunan al-Kubrā Bayhaqī #13954.
[4015] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #7.62.50; Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #8.3263, #8.3266-7; Sunan Tirmidhī #1121.

5. It was Forbidden During the Conquest of Mecca

Rabīʿ ibn Sabrah said that his father went on an expedition with Allāh's Messenger during the victory over Mecca. He said, "Allāh's Messenger permitted us to contract temporary marriage... So I contracted temporary marriage with [a woman], and I did not come out until Allāh's Messenger declared it forbidden."[4016]

6. It was Forbidden in the Year of the Battle of Awṭāṣ

Salamah said, "Allāh's Messenger gave sanction for contracting temporary marriage for three nights in the year of Awṭās and then forbade it."[4017]

7. It was Forbidden at Tabūk

Abū Hurayrah said,

> We left with the Messenger of Allāh on the expedition of Tabūk. We reached a narrow pass. He saw some women crying and said, "What is this?" He was told, "Women whose partners performed mutʿah with them and then left them." The Messenger of Allāh then forbade or ended the mutʿah of marriage.[4018]

Of note, in the chain of transmission of this tradition is Muʿammil ibn Ismāʿīl who is weak. Bukhārī called him "munkar al-ḥadīth (rejected in his traditions)." He related false things, claiming to have related them from his teachers. About the best comment that appears about him are that he was "trustworthy but prone to many errors" in his traditions because "he would relate [traditions] from memory and make many mistakes."[4019]

8. It was Forbidden at the Farewell Pilgrimage

Sabrah al-Juhanī reported on the authority of his father: Allāh's Messenger prohibited the contracting of temporary marriage and said, "Behold, it is forbidden from this very day of yours to the Day of Judgment, and he who has given something [as a dower] should not take it back."[4020] According to Bayhaqī, this tradition is dated to the Farewell Pilgrimage.[4021]

9. It was Forbidden when the Laws of Marriage were Enumerated

ʿAlī (ع) is quoted as having said, "When [the verses of] marriage, divorce, ʿiddah, and inheritance between husband and wife were revealed, it was abrogated."[4022] Of note, Mūsā ibn Ayyūb, who is considered weak by a number of experts,[4023] appears in the chain of transmission of this tradition. Moreover, there are many other traditions from ʿAlī (ع) regarding its permissibility, some of which have been quoted earlier.

[4016] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #8.3253. Similarly, Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #8.3252, #8.3254-60; Sunan al-Kubrā Bayhaqī #13927. All these traditions are through Rabīʿ ibn Sabrah and Sabrah al-Juhanī.

[4017] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #8.3251; Sunan al-Kubrā Bayhaqī #13939.

[4018] Sunan al-Kubrā Bayhaqī #13956.

[4019] Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb vol 10 #682 (Muʿammil ibn Ismāʿīl).

[4020] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #8.3262; Sunan al-Kubrā Bayhaqī #13932.

[4021] Sunan al-Kubrā Bayhaqī #13932. Similarly, Sunan al-Kubrā Bayhaqī #13938 states that the Prophet (ص) prohibited mutʿah during the Farewell Pilgrimage.

[4022] Sunan al-Kubrā Bayhaqī #13959.

[4023] Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb vol 10 #589 (Mūsā ibn Ayyūb).

Comments

These traditions are by no means all-inclusive. However, they are taken from key Sunnī compilations of tradition and demonstrate with clarity the contradictions among the accounts used to support the impermissibility of mut`ah marriage. What is a reasonable person to say in light of these mutually-exclusive traditions? There is great evidence that mut`ah was permitted during the Prophet's (ص) lifetime and that there is a verse of the Qur`ān allowing it. There are also numerous authentic traditions showing that the companions continued to practice it during and after the life of the Prophet (ص). As such, in the absence of overwhelming or at least convincing evidence to the contrary, it would be imprudent to suppose mut`ah forbidden. The evidence that is generally used has been brought forth and the inconsistencies in it are evident. It is inconceivable that all or any two of these sets of traditions could be true. If more than one set are true, it means that mut`ah was allowed, then forbidden, then allowed, then forbidden, and maybe even allowed and forbidden a number of other times in a rather schizophrenic fashion. This would make mut`ah one of a kind in Islāmic law because of the repetitious changes in its status of permissibility.

Supposing that mut`ah was forbidden at Khaybar, how could the Prophet (ص) then allow it at Mecca and at Awṭās? Allowing mut`ah after it was forbidden would be the same as allowing adultery. As such, the claim of those who say that mut`ah was forbidden at Khaybar and then allowed again later is equivalent to the claim of the one who says that the Prophet (ص) allowed his companions to perform adultery. This is an extremely untenable position. Even if one claims that the companions were in utmost need and that the Prophet (ص) thus allowed them to perform mut`ah, one would be saying that because of their needs, the Prophet (ص) allowed them to commit adultery. Any marriage not done by a valid contract is considered adulterous, and this would certainly include mut`ah marriages had they been forbidden.

It is possible that some of the women with whom the companions performed mut`ah at Khaybar and possibly elsewhere were Jews and Christians, and that the Prophet (ص) prohibited them from performing mut`ah with them since marrying non-Muslims was not permitted until the end of the prophetic mission when the following verse was revealed in Sūrah Mā`idah[4024]:

> Today, it has been made permissible for you... the chaste women of those to who have been given the Book before you when you give them their rewards (ujūrahunna), desiring chastity not debauchery.[4025]

The use of the word "ujūr" as well as the phrase "desiring chastity not debauchery" in this verse parallels the use of the exact same word and phrase in the verse of mut`ah, suggesting that this verse pertains specifically to mut`ah marriage with women from the People of the Book. In any case, this type of prohibition would not disprove mut`ah marriage, but rather its impermissibility with non-Muslims prior to the revelation of the quoted verse. It is also possible that some of the companions were performing mut`ah with pagan women, which would explain why the Prophet (ص) specifically prohibited them from doing that, as the Qur`ān says, "Do not marry pagan women until they believe."[4026]

[4024] Qur`ān, sūrah 5. This sūrah was revealed during the Farewell Pilgrimage and is claimed to have been the last sūrah to be revealed (refer to chapter 85).

[4025] Qur`ān 5:5.

The incoherence of the traditions against mut´ah along with the fact that many of the Prophet's (ص) companions, including his Ahl al-Bayt (ع), performed, supported, or preached mut´ah after his lifetime is proof of its permissibility. Had it been forbidden, prominent companions such as Jābir ibn ´Abd Allāh would not have performed it after the Prophet's (ص) life and would not have publicized their performance of mut´ah to the extent that they did. Moreover, ´Umar's speech forbidding mut´ah is clear evidence of its permissibility because in it he said that mut´ah was allowed during the lifetime of the Prophet (ص) and that it was ´Umar who was forbidding it.

Moral Arguments Regarding Mut´ah Marriage

Some of the modern opponents of mut´ah marriage claim that it is an absurd practice, and that it is somehow unethical and analogous to fornication, adultery, or prostitution. However, if mut´ah marriage is obviously ethically unacceptable and analogous to adultery, the Prophet (ص) would have never allowed it, or at the very least would have never instructed his companions to perform it. Moreover, his companions would have noted something in mut´ah that contradicted some universal ethical principles of Islām and would have unanimously denounced it.

To claim that Islām ever allowed anything clearly immoral, as some claim mut´ah marriages to be, would be to negate the essence of Islām, which, from the very beginning, forbade that which was morally abhorrent. Especially, by the time of Awṭās (year 9 A.H.), there were few laws that had not been laid down, and it would be absurd to suppose that mut´ah marriage, with the unacceptability its opponents claim it to have, was left untouched by Allāh and His Prophet (ص) until then. At the very latest, it should have been strictly prohibited shortly after the emigration to Madīnah.

Moreover, there are no cases in which the Qur`ān prescribed morally abhorrent acts that were later abrogated by other verses. The fact that the verse of mut´ah exists in the Qur`ān is evidence of its morality, unless someone claims that the Qur`ān is filled with immoral verses that we must be on the lookout for. The absence of any verse of the Qur`ān that specifically abrogates mut´ah marriage makes this fact even more compelling.

Since mut´ah was allowed by the Qur`ān and never repealed by another Qur`ānic verse, the opponents of mut´ah marriage claim that it was abrogated by the Prophet's (ص) Sunnah. This, however, puts the opponents of mut´ah into a great theological dilemma. If the Prophet (ص) himself was compelled to act and judge based on the Qur`ān, how could his words and actions contradict its verses? Allāh told the Prophet (ص), "We have revealed the Book to you by the truth so that you may decree among people in accordance with what Allāh has shown you,"[4027] and "Judge among them in accordance with what Allāh has revealed."[4028] Since the Qur`ān allows mut´ah marriage, the Prophet (ص) would have had to allow it as well. Indeed, it appears that while newly revealed verses of the Qur`ān can abrogate previously revealed ones and while the Qur`ān can abrogate the Sunnah, the Sunnah cannot abrogate the Qur`ān.

[4026] Qur`ān 2:221.
[4027] Qur`ān 4:105.
[4028] Qur`ān 5:48.

Additionally, the issue of the validity of traditions arises. If each tradition is to be judged by its consistency with the Qur`ān, it becomes apparent that all the traditions that oppose mut´ah or claim that it was forbidden by the Prophet (ص) must be rejected on the basis of their contradiction with the Book of Allāh. If the Qur`ān cannot serve as the ultimate standard for judging the veracity of any claim, then what purpose does the Qur`ān serve?

The source of the ethical unacceptability of mut´ah for many individuals appears to be the cultural backgrounds in which they are reared that do not accept mut´ah marriage as acceptable. These cultures, however, are to bend their wills to that of Allāh and submit to the laws of Islām instead of claiming that their intuitions about what is ethically justified are better than the commands of Allāh or that they have reached some obvious and apparent knowledge about the evil of mut´ah that was undisclosed to the Messenger of Allāh (ص) and of which he was completely ignorant. That they must submit to Allāh's command is illustrated by the fact that Abraham (ع), when ordered by Allāh to sacrifice his son, proceeded to do so without questioning the ethical and moral ramifications of what he was about to do. His faith in Allāh made it clear to him that Allāh's commands have some wisdom or rationales which he may be unaware of. Certainly one who acts upon cultural intuitions would decline to carry out such a task. Therefore, cultural values are do not abrogate clearly-established divine laws. In fact, it is impossible to ethically evaluate all religious laws without reaching some point where things appear to be in contradiction with one's prevailing culture. Muslims of all persuasions today find it difficult to explain polygamy and ḥijāb to Westerners whose culture condemns them while tolerating fornication, homosexuality, and pornography. However, the fact that polygamy and ḥijāb may appear absurd or even abusive of women to many individuals does not mean that they are so; even if they were, we would have to follow Allāh's command instead of opinions based on conjecture or personal and societal preference. Similarly, the fact that some claim mut´ah to be morally absurd may imply nothing more than their lack of knowledge, lack of submission to Allāh, and blind submission to cultural norms.

Some may wish to compare mut´ah to things like alcohol which were forbidden either gradually or later in Islām. However, the analogy fails for several reasons. First, the immorality which the opponents of mut´ah claim for it is far more immense than that which they claim for alcohol. Since mut´ah, if ethically wrong, would constitute adultery, it would have been necessary to abrogate it early on, along with other forms of adultery. Second, there is no verse in the Qur`ān that mentions alcohol without restricting it, while there is a verse of the Qur`ān that allows mut´ah without restricting it, and there are no verses in the Qur`ān that specifically discourage, restrict, or prohibit the practice of mut´ah. Third, there was unanimity among the companions in regards to the prohibition of alcohol, while no such unanimity existed for mut´ah marriage. To the contrary, Jābir ibn ´Abd Allāh related consensus in regards to its permissibility until ´Umar forbade it.[4029] Fourth, the foremost companions of the Prophet (ص) abstained from alcohol after his death, while many of the prominent companions performed and preached mut´ah or at the very least asserted its permissibility.

Yet others claim that marriage in Islām is not intended for deriving pleasure, and that since mut´ah, by its definition, means pleasure, it cannot be a valid form of marriage in Islām. This is by far the weakest of positions because the Qur`ān itself says

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[4029] Refer to the traditions from Jābir ibn ´Abd Allāh at the beginning of this chapter, as well as the statement of Ibn Ḥazm quoted earlier in this chapter from al-Muḥallā 9:519-20.

"famastamta´tum" or "howevermuch you derive mut´ah". Whatever the definition of the word mut´ah may be, this verse makes it clear that the Qur`ān allows it.

Some go as far as to claim that mut´ah is like prostitution because of its fixed term and the transfer of some wealth to the woman. However, this point cannot be upheld without having to explain why it would ever be allowed in Islām, when things such as prostitution were certainly never looked upon positively by Islām at any time. In fact, the Qur`ān is explicitly clear in the verse of mut´ah that mut´ah marriage is only allowed "desiring chastity not debauchery,"[4030] and is therefore intended to be performed with chaste women, not prostitutes. Moreover, the contractual transfer of wealth for marriage is by no means a peculiarity of mut´ah marriage, as permanent Islāmic marriages involve a transfer of wealth to the female partner as well. Thus, it cannot be generalized that the transfer of wealth as a prerequisite for sexual intercourse is a sign of prostitution, lest all Muslim marriages be accused of involving some form of prostitution. In prostitution there is no acceptable Islāmic contract between the male and female partners. Such a contract, however, is a definite requisite for mut´ah marriage. Additionally, the female partners of consummated mut´ah marriages must hold a waiting period (´iddah) for two months, during which time they may not enter into any other marriage. In case a child is conceived, the father of the child will be known and he will have paternal responsibilities. Such is not typically the case when one has intercourse with a prostitute. Even if a woman were to enter a mut´ah marriage for financial gain, this would not turn mut´ah into an immoral institution, otherwise we would have to claim that any woman who marries permanently, looking forward to her dower or the financial stability their husbands would provide her has sold herself to prostitution. These positions are untenable and thus bear no harm for mut´ah marriage.

Of course, those who compare mut´ah marriage with prostitution have gone to untenable extremes. There are, however, more modest criticisms of mut´ah. This includes comparing mut´ah marriages with dating. But even comparing to dating reveals that mut´ah marriage has a contract, doesn't allow one woman to be with several men at the same time, etc. It may be argued that the contract may be no more than a set of words strung together. This, however, is the case with basically all religious and social contracts, including permanent marriage. The difference between a couple who cohabitate, copulate, and procreate all their lives without a formal marriage and those who do so all their lives with such a marriage is nothing but the exchange of a few words that constitute the marriage contract. Islām certainly stresses the importance of these words because it punishes the former for having committed the crime of fornication, while it respects the latter as being bound by the bond of matrimony. The contract of mut´ah turns something despicable, such as dating and fornication, into something Islāmically approved of, just as the contract for permanent marriage converts the great sin of fornication into the great reward of marriage. The effect of certain words on achieving drastic differences is not limited to the case of marriage. Another example would be found in the slaughtering of livestock. If a cow is slaughtered in the correct way, except that the name of Allāh is not mentioned at the time of slaughtering, the meat would be forbidden (ḥarām).[4031] It is the mentioning of the name of Allāh at the time of slaughter that changes the status of the meat from that which must be absolutely avoided except to save one's life to that which is completely permissible to eat. Yet, mentioning the name of Allāh upon the sacrificial animal makes no difference whatsoever as far as the physical attributes of the meat are concerned. Moreover, all these complaints amount to reasoning by analogy (qīyās), which is a weak and rejected form of reasoning in Islām. Even those who allow qīyās state that it is only permissible when nothing is found in the Qur`ān or Sunnah, which is not the case with respect to mut´ah marriage.

[4030] Qur`ān 4:24.
[4031] For example, refer to Qur`ān 6:118-9.

Another argument against mut´ah marriage is that it is demeaning to women. However, any particular woman or group of women claiming that it is demeaning does not mean that it should be outlawed. There are those who claim that polygamy is demeaning to women, others who claim that having to marry in return for fiscal compensation (dower) is insulting, others who deem ḥijāb to be demeaning, and yet others who say that it is demeaning not to allow women to terminate their own marriages as they wish. Moreover, it is not clear how mut´ah marriage can be demeaning to women when women are not forced to enter a mut´ah marriage but rather have the choice of deciding whether or not they would like to do so. Added freedom to act as one wishes and opening more avenues for an individual cannot be demeaning.

It is clear that after reading these arguments in favor of the Book of Allāh and the Sunnah of His Prophet (ص), there will be some who still wish to disagree. The reasons for their doing so will be left up to themselves and Allāh. However, it is necessary to remind them of the following tradition that both Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī and Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim have related from Ibn Mas´ūd:

> ´Abd Allāh [ibn Mas´ūd] reported: We were on an expedition with Allāh's Messenger and we had no women with us. We said, "Should we not have ourselves castrated?" He forbade us from doing so. He then granted us permission to contract temporary marriage for a stipulated period, giving her a garment [as dower]. ´Abd Allāh then recited the verse, "You who believe, do not make unlawful the good things which Allāh has made lawful for you, and do not transgress. Allāh does not like the transgressors."[4032,4033]

Therefore, those who denounce as unlawful that which is lawful have committed an error, as do those who take as lawful that which is unlawful.

It should be noted that marriages similar to mut´ah existed among the Jews. The word in Hebrew is pilegesh which, for lack of a better term, has been translated into English as concubinage. A pilegesh wife was one who was legal and would produce legitimate offspring, but who was neither a regular wife, nor a slave wife. Beyond that, the details of a pilegesh marriage are not entirely clear. What is clear is that Abraham, Solomon, and David (ع) all entered pilegesh marriages. According to the Old Testament, (1) "Abraham gave all that he had to Isaac; but to the sons of his concubines, Abraham gave gifts";[4034] (2) "David took more concubines and wives from Jerusalem, after he came from Hebron, and more sons and daughters were born to him";[4035] and (3) "[Solomon had] three hundred concubines."[4036] Due to outside sociopolitical, cultural, and legal pressures, the Jews eventually abandoned pilegesh, even though the practice survives to this day among some religiously devout Jews.

4032. Qur`ān 5:87.
4033. Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #8.3243-5; Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #6.60.139; Musnad Ḥanbal #3986; Sunan al-Kubrā Bayhaqī #13242.
4034. Bible, Old Testament, Genesis 25:5-6.
4035. Bible, Old Testament, 2 Samuel 5:13.
4036. Bible, Old Testament, 1 Kings 11:3.

Chapter 60
The Judgments of ʿUmar

ʿUmar's Punishments for Drinking

According to numerous Sunnī sources, ʿUmar's son ʿAbd al-Raḥmān was caught drinking in Egypt. ʿAmr ibn ʿĀṣ, the governor of Egypt, had him whipped. ʿUmar heard of this and called for his son to be sent to him in Madīnah. He then whipped him again. His son then fell ill and died soon thereafter.[4037] ʿUmar did this when the Islāmic punishment (ḥadd) is to be performed only once. In fact, there are many traditions indicating that Islāmic punishments erase one's sin in the eyes of Allāh, for Allāh will not punish one twice for the same sin. According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, the Prophet (ص) said

> Whoever commits any of those sins and receives the legal punishment in this world for that sin, then that punishment will be an expiation for that sin, and whoever commits any of those sins and Allāh does not expose him, then it is up to Allāh—if He wishes, He will punish him and if He wishes, He will forgive him.[4038]

In another incident, ʿUmar sent a man who was caught drinking to Muṭīʿ ibn Aswad al-ʿAdawī to be whipped. The next morning, Muṭīʿ was whipping the man hard when ʿUmar came. ʿUmar said, "You are killing the man! How many times have you whipped him?" He said, "Sixty times." ʿUmar said, "Decrease the number by twenty!"[4039] This is absurd, as the number of lashes should not be changed in mid-punishment.

In yet another incident, ʿUmar was brought a group of people found drinking. Among them was a man who was fasting. ʿUmar whipped them and whipped him as well. He was told, "He was fasting!" ʿUmar said, "Why did he sit with them?"[4040] To punish someone who did not drink for drinking is clear injustice.

ʿUmar Ordered the Stoning of Pregnant Women

ʿUmar was going to stone a pregnant woman until Muʿādh came to him and said, "If you have power over the woman, you have no rights over what is in her womb." So ʿUmar changed his decision and declared, "Women are incapable of giving birth to the likes of

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[4037] Sunan al-Kubrā Bayhaqī #17275; Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #36014; Tārīkh Baghdād #2994 (Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh); Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 2:354-5; Istiʿāb 2:385 #1451 (ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿUmar); Iṣābah 2:1426 #6228 (ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿUmar al-Awsaṭ).

[4038] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #9.89.320.

[4039] Sunan al-Kubrā Bayhaqī #17304; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 12:136-7.

[4040] Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #13672.

Mu'ādh! Were it not for Mu'ādh, 'Umar would have perished!"[4041] It is also related that,

> During the caliphate of 'Umar, he was brought a pregnant woman. 'Umar interrogated her and she confessed to committing adultery, so 'Umar ordered her to be stoned. 'Alī ran into her and asked, "What is her story?" They replied, "The Commander of the Faithful has ordered her to be stoned." 'Alī sent her back and asked ['Umar], "You ordered her to be stoned?!" He said, "Yes. She confessed to committing adultery in front of me." 'Alī said, "You have authority over her, but what is your authority over that which is in her womb? You might have treated her harshly or scared her [to make her confess]." 'Umar said, "It was indeed so." 'Alī said, "Haven't you heard the Messenger of Allāh (ص) say, 'There is no punishment (ḥadd) on the one who confesses after being pressured, imprisoned, or threatened, as such a confession is worthless'?" So 'Umar let her go, and said, "Women are incapable of giving birth to the likes of 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib! Were it not for 'Alī, 'Umar would have perished!"[4042]

According to another tradition,

> 'Alī entered upon 'Umar and there was a pregnant woman who was [about] to be stoned. He asked, "What is going on?" She said, "They are taking me to stone me." 'Alī said, "O commander of the Faithful, why are you stoning her? If you have power over her, you have no power over what is in her womb." 'Umar said, "Everyone is more knowledgeable of Islāmic law (afqah) than me," three times. 'Alī became her guarantor until she bore the child. He then took her to be stoned.[4043]

Muḥibb Ṭabarī asserted that the woman in this tradition was different from the one in the previous tradition,[4044] presumably because in the former tradition the woman was to be freed due to the improper techniques used to make her confess, whereas in the latter tradition the woman was stoned after giving birth.

'Umar Ordered the Stoning of an Insane Woman

According to a widely narrated event that appears in the ṣiḥāḥ sittah and that has been certified by Ḥākim as authentic by the criteria of Bukhārī and Muslim, an insane woman who had committed adultery was also brought to 'Umar. He consulted with some people and then ordered her to be stoned. 'Alī (ع) passed by her and said, "What is the story with her?" They said, "She is an insane woman from such and such tribe who has committed adultery so 'Umar ordered her to be stoned." He said, "Send her back and say, 'O Commander of the Faithful, do you not know that the Messenger of Allāh (ص) said that the pen [of duty] has been lifted from three—one who is a minor until he becomes an adult, one who is asleep until he awakens, and one who is insane until he gains sanity? This is an insane woman of such and such tribe who has been inflicted with what she has been inflicted with (i.e. her insanity). She is in the miserable state that she [is in], so leaver he [alone].'" ʿUmar reversed his decision.[4045] He then exclaimed, "Were it not for ʿAlī, ʿUmar would have perished!"[4046]

[4041] Sunan al-Kubrā Bayhaqī #15335; Kanz al-'Ummāl #37499; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 12:202. Ibn Ḥajar has recounted 'Umar's words about Mu'ādh but left out the background story, just mentioning that there is one (Iṣābah 3:1848 #8040, Mu'ādh ibn Jabal).

[4042] Manāqib Khwārazmī #65. The same incident appears in Dhakhā'ir al-'Uqbā 80-81 and Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:163, except that they omit 'Umar's final comments praising 'Alī (ع).

[4043] Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:163; Dhakhā'ir al-'Uqbā 81.

[4044] Dhakhā'ir al-'Uqbā 81.

ʿUmar and ʿUthmān Ordered the Stoning of Virtuous Women

It is widely narrated that a woman who bore a child after six months of pregnancy was taken to ʿUmar. He decided to stone her. Word of this reached ʿAlī (ع). He said, "There is no [justification for] stoning her." News of this verdict reached ʿUmar, so he sent someone to ʿAlī (ع) to ask him about his verdict. ʿAlī (ع) said, "[The Qurʾān says], 'And the mothers shall give suck to their offspring for two whole years for those who intend to complete the [period of] suckling,'[4047] and [it also says], 'The carrying of a child to his weaning is thirty months.'[4048] So her pregnancy would be six months followed by two years [of sucking], which makes thirty months." So ʿUmar let her go.[4049] Such an event occurred another time during the caliphate of ʿUmar. Ibn ʿAbbās said,

> I told ʿUmar, "Do not commit injustice [by stoning this woman]." He asked, "How?" I said, "Read [the verse], 'The carrying of a child to his weaning is thirty months,'[4050] [and the verse], 'And the mothers shall give suck to their offspring for two whole years.'[4051] How long is a year?" He replied, "One year." "How long is a year?" "Twelve months." [Ibn ʿAbbās said], "So twenty-four months is two complete years. Allāh delays or hastens pregnancy as He pleases." So ʿUmar accepted my word.[4052]

A similar incident occurred twice during the caliphate of ʿUthmān as well. One time he was informed by Ibn ʿAbbās of what the Qurʾān says on the topic.[4053] Another incident, which has been related by Ibn Kathīr, Mālik, Suyūṭī, and Bayhaqī, is as follows:

> Baʿjah ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Juhanī [said] that a man from his tribe [of Juhaynah] married a woman [who was also] from Juhaynah. She delivered a baby after six months. So her husband went to ʿUthmān and told him about that, so ʿUthmān summoned her. When she was getting dressed, her sister started crying. She asked her, "Why are you crying? By Allāh, no one has ever approached me among Allāh's creation except for [my husband]. So let Allāh decree [for me] as He wills." When she was brought before ʿUthmān, he commanded that she be stoned to death [for having committed adultery]. ʿAlī heard of this, came to ʿUthmān, and said, "What are you doing'?' [ʿUthmān] replied, "She delivered after six months! Can this ever happen?" ʿAlī said, "Don't you read the Qurʾān?" He said, "Yes, of course!" [ʿAlī] then said, "Haven't you heard Allāh's saying, 'And his gestation and weaning is thirty months,' and, 'Two complete years'? [Subtracting the two numbers], we are only left with six months."

[4045] This event is related in numerous similar traditions in Sunan Abū Dāwūd #4399, #4400, #4402; Mustadrak Ḥākim #949, #2351, #8168-69 (certifies #949 and #8168 as authentic by the criteria of Bukhārī and Muslim); Sunan al-Kubrā Bayhaqī #16987-16989; Fayḍ al-Qadīr #4463; Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:164; Dhakhāʾir al-ʿUqbā 81; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 12:205. This event is also summarily mentioned in Istīʿāb 3:206 #1875 (ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib).

[4046] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 12:205.

[4047] Qurʾān 2:233.

[4048] Qurʾān 46:15.

[4049] This is based on similar accounts in Tafsīr Nīsābūrī, verse 46:15; Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, verses 2:233 and 46:15; Tafsīr Rāzī, verse 46:15; Sunan al-Kubrā Bayhaqī #15326; Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:161; Dhakhāʾir al-ʿUqbā 82; Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #13598, #15362; Istīʿāb 3:206 #1875 (ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib).

[4050] Qurʾān 46:15.

[4051] Qurʾān 2:233.

[4052] Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, verse 46:15.

[4053] Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr and Tafsīr Rāzī, verse 46:15; Istīʿāb 3:206 #1875 (ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib).

> ʹUthmān said, "By Allāh, I did not see that! Bring the woman back." But they found that she had already been killed. Baʹjah continued: By Allāh, no two crows and no two eggs are more similar than that child turned out to be to his father! When his father saw that, he said, "By Allāh! This is my son, without any doubt." Later on, Allāh afflicted him with a skin abscess in his face [because of his false accusation against his wife]. It kept eating him up until he died.[4054]

The error in these judgments is also evident because if a woman bears a child early in pregnancy, stoning her would be prohibited, as she would have had to conceive the child prior to marriage. An unmarried person who commits fornication is never stoned, but is rather whipped one hundred times in accordance with the verse, "The fornicatress and the fornicator, flog each one of them with a hundred stripes, [and] do not let compassion for them withhold you from a matter prescribed by Allāh."[4055] Furthermore, pregnancy is not proof of intercourse. This is evident because intercourse is Islāmically defined as the penetration of the entire glans to the prepuce,[4056] and pregnancy is possible with less penetration. In any case, ʹAlī (ع) and Ibn ʹAbbās were specifically addressing women who gave birth six months into their marriages, which based on the Qurʹān, is of sufficient duration to ascribe the child to the women's husband and to absolve the woman of any suspicion.

ʹUmar was Unsure What to Do with a Coerced Woman

According to Bayhaqī and others,

> A woman was brought to ʹUmar who, while severely parched, had passed by a farm and asked [a man there] for water. He refused to giver her water unless she would allow him to have intercourse with her, so she did. ʹUmar consulted the people about stoning her. ʹAlī said, "She was compelled. The way I see [it], you must let her go." So ʹUmar complied.[4057]

ʹUmar Dismissed the Stoning of His Friend, Mughīrah ibn Shuʹbah

Even though ʹUmar was quick to order the stoning of the pregnant, the insane, and the innocent, he was just as quick to dismiss the clearly-proven charges of adultery against his close associate, Mughīrah ibn Shuʹbah, whom he had appointed as the governor of Baṣrah. The following is an account of this incident as presented in Kitāb al-Aghānī:

> Mughīrah ibn Shuʹbah was leaving the governor's building (dār al-imārah) in the middle of the day. Abū Bakrah Nāfiʹ al-Thaqafī met him and asked, "Where is the governor going?" Mughīrah said, "On some business." [Abū Bakrah asked], "Why?! The governor is visited but does not visit others." The woman [Mughīrah] used to visit (Umm Jamīl[4058]) was the neighbor of Abū Bakrah. Abū Bakrah was in his room with his two brothers, Nāfiʹ and Ziyād, and another man

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[4054] Tafsīr Ibn Kathīr, verse 46:15. This event is also narrated in various levels of detail in Muwaṭṭaʹ Mālik #41.1.11; Sunan al-Kubrā Bayhaqī #15328; ʹUmdah al-Qārī 21:18; Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, verse 46:15.

[4055] Qurʹān 24:2.

[4056] For example, Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #3.684 and Musnad Ḥanbal #349 require penetration to the cite of circumcision for bathing (ghusl) to become mandatory.

[4057] Sunan al-Kubrā Bayhaqī #16827; Kanz al-ʹUmmāl #13534; Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:163-4; Dhakhāʹir al-ʹUqbā 81.

[4058] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:94; Aghānī 16:1782.

named Shibl ibn Ma´bad[4059]. The room of this woman was in front of Abū Bakrah's room. The wind hit the door of the woman and opened it, and the men looked inside while Mughīrah was having intercourse with her.

Abū Bakrah said [to the other men], "This is a test that you are forced to take, so look!" They looked until they were all certain [about the act of adultery that was occurring before their eyes]. Abū Bakrah cam out [and] sat until Mughīrah left the woman's house. He told him, "I just learned about what you were doing, so stay away from us." Mughīrah went to [lead] the public in noon prayer, but Abū Bakrah prevented him, saying, "By Allāh, you will not pray with us after you did what you just did!" The people said, "Call him to [lead us in] prayer, for he is the governor, and write about this to ´Umar."

They wrote to [´Umar] and received a response telling all of them—Mughīrah and the witnesses—to report to him... ´Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb was sitting and called forth Mughīrah and the witnesses. Abū Bakrah went up. ´Umar asked, "Did you see him between her two thighs?" He replied, "Yes, by Allāh, it is as if I see the pox scars on her thighs." Mughīrah told him, "You did look with quite some attention!" [Abū Bakrah said], "I would never fall short in any matter through which Allāh might disgrace you." ´Umar told him, "No, by Allāh, [your word will not be accepted] until you testify that you saw him entering and leaving her like a probe in a collyrium box[4060]." Abū Bakrah said, "Yes, I testify as such."

´Umar said, "Go." He then said [to Mughīrah], "A quarter of you has just gone, Mughīrah!" He then called forth Nāfi´. He asked him, "What is your testimony?" Nāfi´ said, "[The same] as Abū Bakrah's testimony." ´Umar said, "No, [I won't accept it] until you testify that you saw him entering and leaving like a probe in a collyrium box." [Nāfi´ said], "Yes, he penetrated up to the feathers of an arrow." ´Umar said, "Go." ´Umar told Mughīrah, "Half of you has just gone, Mughīrah!" He then called the third [witness] and said, "What is your testimony?" [He said], "[The same] as the testimony of my two companions." ´Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib said, "Mughīrah, three-fourths of you have gone!"

Mughīrah then went and cried to the Muhājirīn, and they cried. He cried to the mothers of the believers until they cried with him to the point that no one among the people of Madīnah would sit with these three [witnesses]. ´Umar then wrote to Zīyād and he came to ´Umar. When ´Umar saw him, he sat by him in the mosque and gathered by him the heads of the Muhājirīn and Anṣār... When ´Umar saw him coming, he said, "I see a man through whose tongue Allāh would not disgrace a man among the Muhājirīn."

...Mughīrah said [to Zīyād], "O Zīyād! Remember Allāh and remember the length of stay on the Day of Judgment. Allāh, His Book, His Messenger, and the Commander of the Faithful want to spare my blood..." [Zīyād's] eyes became clouded [with tears] and his face turned red and he said, "O Commander of the Faithful, the truth to me is not what it is with the others. I saw an ugly communion, I heard great movement and panting, and I saw him on top of her,

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[4059] This is misprinted as Shibl ibn Ma´yad. According to Ṭabarī, Ibn Kathīr, and Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, it is Shibl ibn Ma´bad (Tārīkh Ṭabarī 13:110; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:93; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 12:233).

[4060] A collyrium box contains eye medications and would be similar to a mascara tube.

> belly-to-belly." Others say that Zīyād said, "I saw him on top of her legs, I saw his testicles moving back and forth between her thighs, I saw strong piercings, and I heard loud panting." [ʿUmar] asked, "Did you see him entering her like a probe in a collyrium box?" He replied, "No." ʿUmar said, "Allāh is greater! Get over to them and whip them."
>
> He went to Abū Bakrah and whipped him eighty times and then whipped the other two [witnesses eighty times each as well]. ʿUmar liked the word of Zīyād and avoided stoning Mughīrah. Abū Bakrah said after he was whipped, "I testify that Mughīrah did such-and-such." ʿUmar wanted to whip him again, but ʿAlī told him, "If you whip him [again], I will stone your companion (i.e. Mughīrah)," and forbade ʿUmar from doing so... Abū Bakrah said, "I will not be a witness to [any matter] between two individuals for as long as I live on earth."[4061]

Similar accounts can be found in Tārīkh Ṭabarī,[4062] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr,[4063] Tārīkh Ibn Athīr,[4064] Futūḥ al-Buldān,[4065] Tārīkh Damishq,[4066] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd,[4067] and ʿUmdah al-Qārī.[4068] Kitāb al-Aghānī has also related,

> ʿAbd al-Karīm ibn Rashīd related from Abū ʿUthmān al-Nahdī that when the first witness testified against Mughīrah, it made ʿUmar's color change. When the next witnesses testified, [ʿUmar] appeared completely crushed. Then a young man (i.e. Zīyād) came parading in front of them. ʿUmar raised his head towards him and said, "What is with you, O excreter of punishment?"[4069] Abū ʿUthmān (the narrator) roared to imitate the roar of ʿUmar [when he said this]. ʿAbd al-Karīm (the one narrating from Abū ʿUthmān) said, "I nearly passed out from [hearing his roar]."[4070]

As is apparent, ʿUmar did his best to influence Zīyād in order to make sure that Mughīrah would not be stoned by insisting that Zīyād not disgrace any of the Muhājirīn. It was clear to both ʿUmar and everyone else that Mughīrah was guilty, but ʿUmar did not want to punish one of his friends. According to Ṭabarī, after this incident, which occurred in the year 17 A.H., ʿUmar removed Mughīrah from the governorship of Baṣrah and appointed Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī in his stead.[4071] He then appointed Mughīrah as governor of Kūfah in the year 21 A.H., and he served as the governor there for the rest of ʿUmar's caliphate and for some time during ʿUthmān's caliphate,[4072] but was then replaced with Saʿd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ.[4073] He joined Muʿāwīyah's when his conflict with ʿAlī (ع) was submitted for arbitration after the Battle of Ṣiffīn. When Muʿāwīyah conquered Kūfah during the imāmate of Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī (ع), Mughīrah was made its governor yet again.[4074]

[4061] Aghānī 16:1780-1. Many of the ellipses (...) appear due to intervening accounts.
[4062] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 13:110-12.
[4063] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:93-4.
[4064] Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 1:442-3.
[4065] Futūḥ al-Buldān 423-4 #857.
[4066] Tārīkh Damishq 60:32-33, 60:38-39, 62:215-6.
[4067] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 12:227-238.
[4068] ʿUmdah al-Qārī 13:208.
[4069] This phrase implies both an insult as well as a command for him to drop the punishment.
[4070] Aghānī 16:1781.
[4071] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 13:132.
[4072] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 14:14.
[4073] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 15:5.
[4074] Istīʿāb 4:8-9 #2512 (Mughīrah ibn Shuʿbah).

ʿUmar's errors in this incident are plenty: (1) He picked a man such as Mughīrah, who was truly weak in faith, as a governor over Muslim lands. (2) He manipulated one of the witnesses, inciting him to alter his testimony. (3) He did not punish Mughīrah even though he was guilty. (4) He whipped three innocent men eighty times each. (4) He wanted to whip Abū Bakrah a second set of eighty lashes for reiterating his truthful testimony. (5) The injustice he had served was obvious to everyone else, including ʿAlī (ع) and Abū Bakrah. (6) He removed Mughīrah from the governorship of Kūfah. If the allegations were false, he should have restored Mughīrah to his old position regardless of the rumors among people, just as the Prophet (ص) kept ʿĀʾishah despite the false rumors regarding her chastity.[4075] Conversely, if the allegations of his adultery were true, he should have stoned him. (7) He put Mughīrah in charge of Baṣrah, even though he was an adulterer.

As mentioned in the account, when Abū Bakrah reiterated his testimony and ʿUmar threatened to whip him again, ʿAlī's (ع) response was, "If you whip him, I will stone your companion (i.e. Mughīrah)." According to Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, "[This] means that if [ʿUmar] were to whip him [again], he would count his testimony twice, and this would mandate the stoning of Mughīrah."[4076] Yet, this interpretation is incorrect. If Abū Bakrah failed to back up his claim with four witnesses, his subsequent testimony would be inadmissible because the Qurʾān says, "And those who accuse honorable women but do not bring forth four witnesses, lash them [with] eighty stripes and never accept their testimony [again]."[4077] Clearly, ʿAlī (ع) was convinced that Abū Bakrah had produced four witnesses, otherwise he would have had to reject any of his subsequent testimony and would not be allowed to stone Mughīrah based on any of Abū Bakrah's statements. ʿAlī's (ع) statement, therefore, was a clear rebuke of ʿUmar.

Why Discuss the Innovations and Wrong-Doings of the Caliphs and Companions?

Some Muslims today believe that the companions were of such a high status that we cannot allow ourselves to evaluate their actions, never mind judge them as wrong-doers. Indeed, it is true that discussing the deeds of individuals who lived centuries ago is unnecessary unless there is a dire need to do so. In regards to the companions of the Prophet (ص), there is such a need because they have served as the transmitters of prophetic traditions and even as a prime source of Islāmic laws for the Sunnīs. It is therefore necessary to determine their status of piety and trustworthiness, as well as their knowledge of and submission to Islāmic law. We have cited numerous cases in which Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, and other companions knowingly or unknowingly acted against the teachings of Islām, proceeding with their own incorrect opinions instead. If a Muslim desires to follow Islām, he must be able to separate the actions of the companions that were in accordance with Islām from those that were not. If it is proved that all of the actions of all the companions were in accordance with the teachings of Islām, as the Sunnīs claim they were with the exception of minor variations due to individual ijtihād, then we are somewhat justified in following them as long as we sort out the errors committed while practicing ijtihād. However, if a companion is found who repeatedly or blatantly acted contrary to what was obviously established by the Qurʾān and Sunnah, one must cast into doubt the teachings of that particular companion.

[4075] Refer to chapter 28.
[4076] Aghānī 16:1781.
[4077] Qurʾān 24:4.

The deeds, rulings, and judgments of Abū Bakr and ʹUmar, who are considered the two most virtuous companions by the majority of Sunnīs, reveals blatant contradictions with the laws of Islām. If one is to follow Islām, it will be necessary to look for more trustworthy sources of Islāmic teachings, namely the Ahl al-Bayt (ع), whom Allāh has blessed with knowledge and whom He has purified from all sin. As such, even though the Shīʹah and Sunnīs agree that we must follow the Sunnah of the Prophet (ص), there is a difference as to how this Sunnah is to be determined and who constitutes a trustworthy transmitter of the Sunnah. For example, the Shīʹah do not follow traditions transmitted by ʹĀʾishah, Abū Hurayrah, ʹAbd Allāh ibn Zubayr, ʹAbd Allāh ibn ʹUmar, ʹAmr ibn ʹĀṣ and others who renounced or fought Imām ʹAlī (ع), who sold their religion in exchange for worldly trifles, or who simply had poor memory or a penchant for lying or exaggeration or the attribution of hearsay to the Prophet (ص). The Sunnī scholars, however, have related numerous traditions from such individuals. In fact, Nasāʾī has related a tradition from ʹUmar ibn Saʹd, a meritless person who fought Imām Ḥusayn (ع).[4078] The details surrounding who constitutes a trustworthy relater of tradition are beyond the scope of this brief discussion, but the basic answer is rather obvious—it is mandatory for us to delve into the lives and conduct of the companions to distinguish the truly noble ones from those who strayed, as the Prophet (ص) warned us about companions of his who would be sent away from him in the hereafter because of their actions and innovations after him.[4079]

Blind Trust in the Companions Mirrors the Mentality of the Days of Ignorance

The main argument of the Salafīs when confronted with overwhelming evidence of ʹAlī's (ع) imāmate and the errors of the first three caliphs is that one must not look back and judge the beliefs and actions of the early generations, in particular the companions. Rather, we must submit to their decisions. If they chose Abū Bakr as caliph, then they must have been right, and if they made certain rulings, who are we to question them? This type of thinking, according to the following verses of the Qurʾān, is what led the pagans of the Days of Ignorance astray:

1. "And just in the same way, whenever We sent a warner to a group before you, those who led easy lives in it said, 'We have surely found our fathers following along a course, so we will surely follow in their footsteps.'"[4080]

2. "When they are told, 'Follow what Allāh has revealed,' they say, 'Rather, we will follow that upon which we found our fathers.' Is it not that their fathers were wholly unintelligent and had no guidance?"[4081]

3. "When it is said to them, 'Come to what Allāh has revealed and to the Messenger, they say, 'Suffices us that which we found our fathers following.' Is it not possible that their fathers were devoid of knowledge and were not guided?"[4082]

As such, what the Qurʾān mandates is inquiry into the beliefs and practices of those before us, including the companions, not blind submission to our predecessors.

4078. Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb vol 7 #747 (ʹUmar ibn Saʹd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ).
4079. Refer to chapter 36.
4080. Qurʾān 43:23.
4081. Qurʾān 2:170.
4082. Qurʾān 5:104.

Chapter 61
The Consultative Council (Shūrā) to Select ʹUthmān

The Assassination of ʹUmar

According to Ṭabarī,

> ʹUmar went out one day to wander around the market. He was met by Abū Luʾluʾah, a young Christian slave of Mughīrah ibn Shuʹbah, who said, "Help me, Commander of the Faithful, against Mughīrah ibn Shuʹbah, for I pay a great deal of tax." "How much?" enquired [ʹUmar]. "Two dirhams a day," was the reply. "What is your trade?" asked [ʹUmar]. "[I am] a carpenter, stone mason, and smith," he replied. "I do not think your tax is a lot in view of the work you do," [ʹUmar] said. "I have heard that you claim you could make a mill that will grind by wind power if you wished." He replied that he could. [ʹUmar] asked him to make him a mill. [Abū Luʾluʾah] replied, "If you survive, I shall certainly make you a mill that will be the talk of everyone in both east and west!" Then [Abū Luʾluʾah] left [ʹUmar], who said, "[That] slave has just threatened me!" Then he went off home... [Four days later, in the] morning, ʹUmar went out to prayers... Abū Luʾluʾah slipped in among the people, carrying in his hand a dagger with two blades and its haft in the middle. He struck ʹUmar six blows, one of which was below his navel, and this was the one which killed him.[4083]

Had ʹUmar acted justly and stoned Mughīrah after he had committed adultery, Mughīrah would not have lived to extract an intolerable toll from this slave that would compel him to kill ʹUmar. In fact, the immediate reason for ʹUmar being killed, according to Ibn Kathīr, was that Mughīrah, with ʹUmar's approval, increased the monthly fee he charged Abū Luʾluʾah from sixty to one hundred dirhams, which he considered to be beyond his ability to pay.[4084]

Immediately after his death, ʹUmar told his son, "ʹAbd Allāh, go and find out who has murdered me." He replied, "Commander of the Faithful, you have been murdered by Abū Luʾluʾah, [the] slave of Mughīrah ibn Shuʹbah."[4085] ʹUmar then said, "Go to ʹĀʾishah, ʹAbd Allāh, and ask her to permit me to be buried with the Prophet and Abū Bakr."[4086] According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī,

> ʹUmar then said [to his son ʹAbd Allāh], "Go to ʹĀʾishah and say, "ʹUmar is paying his salutation to you. But don't say, 'Commander of the Faithful,' because today I am not the Commander of the Faithful. And say, 'ʹUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb

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[4083] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 14:89-90.
[4084] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:155.
[4085] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 14:92.
[4086] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 14:92. Similarly, Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:155; Imāmah wa Siyāsah 32.

> asks permission to be buried with his two companions (i.e. the Prophet and Abū Bakr).'" 'Abd Allāh greeted 'Ā'ishah and asked for permission to enter, and then entered upon her and found her sitting and weeping. He said to her, "'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb is paying his salutations to you and asks permission to be buried with his two companions." She said, "I had the idea of having this place for myself, but today I prefer 'Umar over myself." When he returned, it was said [to 'Umar], "'Abd Allāh ibn 'Umar has come." 'Umar said, "Make me sit up." Somebody supported him against his body, and 'Umar asked ['Abd Allāh], "What news do you have?" He said, "O Commander of the Faithful! It is as you wish. She has given permission." 'Umar said, "Praise be to Allāh, there was nothing more important to me than this. So when I die, take me, greet 'Ā'ishah, and say, ''Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb asks permission [to be buried here],' and if she gives permission, bury me there, and if she refuses, then take me to the graveyard of the Muslims (i.e. Baqī')."[4087]

'Umar Appointed a Consultative Council (Shūrā) to Choose His Successor

The historical accounts of the Shūrā are well-known in books of Islāmic history, and there is little difference among the various accounts in terms of the substance of what occurred. A summary of these events will be presented in this chapter.

Upon being stabbed, 'Umar was asked to pick a successor. He said,

> If Abū 'Ubaydah ibn al-Jarrāḥ were alive, I would appoint him, and if my Lord questioned me, I would say, "I heard Your Prophet say that [Abū 'Ubaydah] was the guardian of this community." If Sālim mawlā Abī Ḥudhayfah, were alive, I would appoint him, and if my Lord questioned me, I would say, "I heard your Prophet say that Sālim loves Allāh vehemently."[4088]

In fact, 'Umar said that he would have liked to appoint not only Abū 'Ubaydah and Sālim, but also Mu'ādh ibn Jabal and Khālid ibn Walīd had they still been alive.[4089] 'Umar was then advised to appoint his son as his successor. He replied, "For the family of al-Khaṭṭāb, what a single man from the nation of Muḥammad has born from among them is enough! What I have gathered from this matter is enough!"[4090] He was referring to the fact that he had accumulated enough sins during his caliphate that he did not wish the caliphate upon his offspring. According to Ṭabarī, 'Umar said, "It is enough for the family of 'Umar that [only] one of them should be called to account and held responsible for what happened to Muḥammad's community."[4091] According to Balādhurī, the one who recommended that 'Umar's son be appointed as the caliph was none other than Mughīrah ibn Shu'bah,[4092] which is not surprising given his intense fear that 'Alī (ع) might become caliph. Nevertheless, 'Umar knew very well that his son could not garner enough support to withhold the caliphate from 'Alī (ع), so he did not appoint him. Instead, he tried to appoint 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Awf as caliph:

[4087] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.57.50.

[4088] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 14:143-4; 'Iqd al-Farīd 4:263. Similarly, Tārīkh al-Khulafā' 123.

[4089] Imāmah wa Siyāsah 32.

[4090] 'Iqd al-Farīd 4:263.

[4091] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 14:144.

[4092] Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:259.

> [ʹUmar] called for ʹAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʹAwf and said, "I want to appoint you my successor." ...[ʹAbd al-Raḥmān] said, "I shall never have anything to do with [being caliph]."[4093]

ʹUmar then pretended that he was going to do the right thing by restoring the caliphate to ʹAlī (ع), but instead, as recounted by Ṭabarī, he changed the topic to some gibberish. He said,

> "I had decided after talking to you that I would look [into the matter] and appoint someone over you, the most suitable of you to bear you along the true path." And he indicated ʹAlī. [He continued], "But I fell into a swoon and saw a man who had entered a garden that he had planted. He began to pick everything, both the young tender plants and the mature ones, clutching them to him and putting them beneath him. I knew that Allāh was in control and was taking ʹUmar into His mercy. I do not want to take on the burden [of the caliphate], dead as well as alive."[4094]

According to another account, ʹUmar pointed towards ʹAlī (ع) and said, "If I make [this] man your ruler, he will force you upon the truth (ḥaqq), but I have decided not to bear the burden of this [decision] alive or dead."[4095] As such, he claimed that he did not want to take responsibility for choosing a caliph. Instead, he would put the matter into the hands of a consultative council of six individuals. According to numerous sources, ʹUmar said,

> If I die, I order you to follow the decision of these six people with whom the Messenger of Allāh was content when he died—ʹAlī, ʹUthmān, Ṭalḥah, Zubayr, Saʹd, and ʹAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʹAwf. I assign the decision regarding your caliph to a consultative council (shūrā) [composed] of these six individuals.[4096]

According to Ṭabarī,

> ʹUmar summoned ʹAlī, ʹUthmān, Saʹd, ʹAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʹAwf, and Zubayr ibn ʹAwwām[4097] and said, "I have looked into the matter and consider you to be the chiefs and leaders of the people. This matter will remain among you alone. When the Messenger of Allāh died, he was well pleased with you. I have no fears for you with the people if you remain on the straight path."[4098]

Balādhurī claimed that ʹUmar placed his son in the Shūrā with the stipulation that he could only vote but not be selected as caliph, but his son refused to participate under those preconditions.[4099] According to Ṭabarī, ʹUmar then said, "ʹAbd Allāh ibn ʹUmar will be there as adviser, but he shall have nothing to do with the matter [of the actual appointment]."[4100] In some accounts, his son was to be present as a tie breaker, to pick a caliph in case the vote was split evenly.[4101] It does not appear, however, that his son took any active role in the mediations of the Shūrā, either because he was never needed as a tie-breaker, or because he did not participate because he was not pleased with his assigned task.

[4093] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 14:91.

[4094] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 14:144.

[4095] ʹIqd al-Farīd 4:263.

[4096] ʹUmar's basic comments cited here appear with slight variations in phrasing in Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:259, 2:260; Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:53; Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 3:61; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:155, 7:163; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 1:185, 12:189; Kanz al-ʹUmmāl #14239, #14245, #14248-9, #14264; ʹIqd al-Farīd 4:263-4.

[4097] The absence of Ṭalḥah in this account appears to be due to the fact that he was not present at the time.

[4098] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 14:145.

[4099] Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:261.

[4100] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 14:146. Similarly, Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:163; ʹIqd al-Farīd 4:264.

ʿUmar Explained the Rules of the Shūrā

According to numerous sources, ʿUmar summoned Abū Ṭalḥah al-Anṣārī and said,

> Select fifty Helpers (Anṣār) and urge [the Shūrā] to choose one of them... Stay with them, and if five agree to approve of one man but one refuses, smash in his head or strike it off with a sword. If four agree to approve of one man but two refuse, cut off the [two's] heads. If three approve of one of them and three approve of another, get ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar to make a decision. Let whichever party in favor of which he makes his judgment select one of themselves. If they do not accept ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar's judgment, be on the same side as ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿAwf. Kill the rest if they do not go along with the general consensus.[4102]

In summary, if the minority opinion did not accept the decision of the majority, the majority should be followed,[4103] and the minority should be killed. As ʿUmar put it, "The minority must follow the majority. Whoever disputes you, strike his neck."[4104] He also said, "If they are [split] three against three, follow the faction that ʿAbd al-Raḥmān [ibn ʿAwf] supports,"[4105] and "listen to and obey [ʿAbd al-Raḥmān]."[4106] In fact he made it clear that in the case of a three-three split, they were to "pledge allegiance to whomever ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿAwf pledges allegiance to [and] to strike the neck of whoever refuses to do so."[4107] He went even further in affirming ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿAwf's central role as the decision maker by saying, "If ʿAbd al-Raḥmān places one of his [hands] upon another's as a pledge of allegiance, you must pledge allegiance to him."[4108] Moreover, the decision had to be made within three days.[4109] If three days were to pass without any agreement, all six members of the Shūrā were to be killed and the Muslims were to choose a caliph for themselves.[4110] Furthermore, anyone who would disagree with the decision of the Shūrā was to be killed, as ʿUmar said, "Strike the neck of whoever expresses resentment towards your decision,"[4111] and "Whoever wanders away from your matter—meaning whoever disputes you— strike his neck."[4112] In order to prevent the people from rushing to ʿAlī (ع) to pledge allegiance to him upon his death,[4113] ʻUmar also said, "Strike the neck of whoever picks a ruler without consultation."[4114]

[4101] Imāmah wa Siyāsah 33.

[4102] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 14:146-7. Similarly, ʿIqd al-Farīd 4:264; Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:259-61 (several traditions); Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 3:61-62; Tārīkh al-Khulafāʾ 138-9; Imāmah wa Siyāsah 33.

[4103] Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 3:61; Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #14250.

[4104] Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:260.

[4105] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 14:92. Similarly, ʿIqd al-Farīd 4:265; Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:260; Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 3:61; Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #14251.

[4106] Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 3:61; Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #14251; Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:260.

[4107] Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #14273.

[4108] Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #14272.

[4109] Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 3:62; Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:260.

[4110] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 1:187.

[4111] Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:260.

[4112] Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 3:61; Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #14252.

ʻUmar's Criticisms of the Members of the Shūrā

According to Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd,

> [ʻUmar] said, "Call them [to me]." They called them and when they came to him, he was laying on his bed. He looked at them and said, "Are you are all greedy for the caliphate after me?" They became silent. He said it a second time. Zubayr answered him, "And who is to distance us from it? You took over it and kept it [for yourself] even though we are not lower than you [in status] among the Quraysh, in our record [in Islām], or in our closeness [to the Messenger of Allāh]." ʻUmar said, "Should I not inform you of your [own weaknesses]?" He said, "Tell us, because if we don't ask you, you won't let us go."
>
> He said, "You, O Zubayr, are impatient, and one by whom no matter is set aright. You are a believer when [you are] content and a disbeliever when [you are] angry. You are a human one day and a devil another. If I were to give [the caliphate] to you, you would throw yourself into the sea for a half-bushel of barley. I wish I knew who would be there for the people on the day you are a devil and who would be there the day you are angry. Allāh will not allow you to hold the caliphate as long as you hold this quality."
>
> He then faced Ṭalḥah. ʻUmar was still angry at him for what he had said to Abū Bakr before his death in regards to him.[4115] [ʻUmar] asked him, "Should I talk or be quiet?" He said, "Talk even though you never say anything good." [ʻUmar] said, "I have known you since your finger was struck on the Day of Uḥud and all the arrogance that has emanated from you since. The Messenger of Allāh died while angry at you because of the words you spoke when the verse of ḥijāb was revealed."
>
> He then turned to Saʻd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ and said, "You own horses with which you hunt and have bows and arrows [for hunting]. What does the [Banū] Zuhrah have to do with the caliphate and the affairs of people [anyways]?"
>
> He then turned to ʻAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʻAwf and said, "As for you, O ʻAbd al-Raḥmān! If you weigh half the belief of the Muslims against your belief, yours would outweigh theirs. Yet, it is not suitable to hand this affair to one with a weakness like your weakness. And what does the [Banū] Zuhrah have to do with the caliphate [anyways]?"
>
> He then turned to ʻAlī and said, "By Allāh, were it not for [the fact] that you are cheerful! By Allāh, if I were to give you power over them, you would carry them upon the clear truth to a bright destination."

[4113] Refer to chapter 40 for a discussion of how certain companions were planning to pledge allegiance to ʻAlī (ع) upon ʻUmar's death and ʻUmar's alarm when he was informed of this.

[4114] Kanz al-ʻUmmāl #14278.

[4115] Ṭalḥah had complained to Abū Bakr about selecting ʻUmar, a man with an unbearable personality, as his successor. Refer to chapter 53.

> He then turned to ´Uthmān and said, "It's out of the question! Soon the Quraysh will put this matter around your neck out of their love for you. You will put the Banū Umayyah and the Banū Abū Mu´ayṭ on the necks of the people, and you will put them in charge of the revenues of the Muslims. A group of the Arab wolves will move against you and will slaughter you quite a slaughtering on your bed. By Allāh, if they (i.e. the Quraysh) do it (i.e. choose you), you will definitely do it (i.e. put your family in charge over them), and if you do it, they will [most definitely] do it (i.e. slaughter you)." ´Umar then took the hair in front of ´Uthmān's head and said, "When it is like this, remember what I said, for it will happen!"[4116]

According to Balādhurī, ´Umar commented on the six candidates as follows:

> [´Umar said], "If I do [make ´Uthmān caliph], he would impose the Banū Abī Mu´ayṭ on the necks of people." He was asked [about] Zubayr. He said, "[He is] a believer when content and a disbeliever (kāfir) when angry." He was asked [about] Ṭalḥah. He said, "His nose is in the sky while his backside is in the water (i.e. he is foolishly arrogant)." He was asked [about] Sa´d. He said, "He owns horses and much land." He was asked [about] ´Abd al-Raḥmān. He said, "He would be too devoted to his family."[4117]

Similar accounts of ´Umar's comments about the six members of the Shūrā appear in other Sunnī sources as well.[4118]

´Umar's Comments About ´Alī (ع)

There are a number of variations of his words about ´Alī (ع) that have been related in various Sunnī sources:

1. ´Umar said, "If I were to have this bald man (´Alī) rule over you, he would set you on the [straight] path."[4119]

2. ´Umar said, "By Allāh, they would profit greatly if I were to assign this bald man to rule over them, as he would carry them on the truth even if a sword was [resting] against his neck."[4120]

3. ´Umar said in regards to ´Alī (ع), "By Allāh, I see that if he was to take charge of your affairs, he would set you on the path of the truth."[4121]

4. ´Umar said, "If I make him caliph, he would force you upon the truth even if you dislike it."[4122]

[4116] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 1:185-6.
[4117] Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:259.
[4118] Refer to Imāmah wa Siyāsah 33; Kanz al-´Ummāl #14266-7; Istī´āb 3:215-6 #1875 (´Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib) (two accounts).
[4119] Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:228.
[4120] Mustadrak Ḥākim #4526; Istī´āb 3:222 #1875 (´Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib); Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:228.
[4121] Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:228.
[4122] Kanz al-´Ummāl #14258.

5. ʻUmar told ʻAlī (ع), "By Allāh, if I were to give you power over them, you would carry them upon the clear truth to a bright destination."[4123]

It is therefore evident that ʻUmar knew for certain that, Islāmically speaking, ʻAlī (ع) was the only proper candidate for the position.

ʻUmar's Comments About Talhah

The comment ʻUmar made to Ṭalḥah that, "The Messenger of Allāh died while angry at you because of the words you spoke when the verse of ḥijāb was revealed," is rather noteworthy. According to Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, when the verse of ḥijāb was revealed saying, "And when you ask anything from [the wives of the Prophet], ask it of them from behind a curtain,"[4124] Ṭalḥah said, "What good does their ḥijāb do today? [The Prophet] will die tomorrow and we will marry his wives."[4125] According to Ibn Kathīr, Shawkānī, and Suyūṭī, Ṭalḥah ibn ʻUbayd Allāh wanted to marry ʻĀʼishah after the Prophet's (ص) death, so the continuation of the same verse was revealed regarding him: "It is not right for you to harrass the Messenger of Allāh or to ever marry his wives after him, for that would be grievous in the sight of Allāh."[4126,4127] As such, the Qurʼān confirms that Ṭalḥah harassed the Prophet (ص). How then could ʻUmar claim that the Prophet (ص) was satisfied with Ṭalḥah when the Qurʼān confirms that he harassed the Prophet (ص)?

The Actual Events of the Shūrā

The accounts are divided as to whether Ṭalḥah was present or not at the time of ʻUmar's death. According to some accounts, Ṭalḥah was out of town and ʻUmar was unsure whether he would return in time for the Shūrā. According to Balādhurī, "Some of the transmitters [of the accounts of the Shūrā] state that Ṭalḥah was present during the death of ʻUmar and during the [entire] Shūrā. But the [opinion that he was absent] is better established."[4128] In fact, in some accounts, ʻUmar's criticisms of Ṭalḥah were not directed directly at him but were rather stated in the third person, suggesting his absence.[4129] He is quoted as having said, "Ṭalḥah shall share with you in the decision. If he comes within three days, include him in your decision."[4130] Depending on the accounts, the five or six members of the Shūrā gathered, with Abū Ṭalḥah and his armed consorts guarding the council. Mughīrah ibn Shuʻbah and ʻAmr ibn ʻĀṣ tried to join in, but were repelled by the armed guards.[4131] According to Ṭabarī,

> ʻAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib then spoke, saying, "Praise be to Allāh who sent forth Muḥammad as a prophet from among us and as a messenger to us. We are the house of prophethood, the mine of wisdom, the security of the people of the world, and a salvation for those who ask for it. We have a right; if we are given it, we take it; if we are refused it, we ride the rumps of our camels, though the

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[4123] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 1:186.
[4124] Qurʼān 33:53.
[4125] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 1:186.
[4126] Qurʼān 33:53.
[4127] Tafsir Ibn Kathīr, Tafsīr Shawkānī, and Tafsir al-Durr al-Manthūr, verse 33:53.
[4128] Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:260.
[4129] Imāmah wa Sīyāsah 33.
[4130] Tārikh Ṭabarī 14:146; Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:260.
[4131] Tārikh Ibn Kathīr 7:164; Tārīkh Ṭabarī 14:148-9.

> night journey be long (i.e. tread painfully in the darkness that surrounds us)."[4132]

Zubayr declared, "I throw in my lot with ʹAlī!"[4133] Moreover, Saʹd said that his first choice for caliph was ʹAbd al-Raḥmān, but that if ʹAbd al-Raḥmān would not become caliph, or if he were to choose ʹUthmān, "I prefer to support ʹAlī."[4134] Since Ṭalḥah may not have been present at this point, it created a situation in which ʹAlī (ع) was ahead in the vote 3-2 against ʹUthmān; if ʹAbd al-Raḥmān is included as a contender, the vote was 2 for ʹAlī (ع), 2 for ʹAbd al-Raḥmān, and 1 for ʹUthmān. The enemies of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) therefore had to scramble for a solution. ʹAbd al-Raḥmān who knew that his personal chances for being selected as caliph were slim, offered to withdraw from the race on condition that he would be allowed to choose the caliph. He knew that Saʹd would not object, as he had already expressed his overall deferment of the matter to him. According to Ṭabarī,

> ʹAbd al-Raḥmān said, "Which one of you will withdraw from the [race for the caliphate] and undertake to appoint the best of you?" No one answered. So he continued, "I withdraw." ʹUthmān said, "I am the first to accept [this]." ...All the members, with the exception of ʹAlī who remained silent, expressed their approval."[4135]

Thus, by this strategy, the selection of the caliph fell into the hands of ʹAbd al-Raḥmān, as he had garnered for himself the majority of votes to cast as he pleased. Although he never expected Saʹd to openly disagree with him, he explained to Saʹd, "I have withdrawn from [the caliphate] on condition that I make the choice."[4136] Thus, he quieted any purported tendency Saʹd may have had to support ʹAlī (ع). Since ʹAlī (ع) was not convinced by this plot, ʹAbd al-Raḥmān went to Abū Ṭalḥah, the leader of the fifty armed men, and asked him to confront ʹAlī (ع).[4137] Abū Ṭalḥah told ʹAlī (ع), "What are you thinking, opposing him?"[4138] ʹAlī (ع), seeing little choice in the matter particularly because ʹUmar had ordered any of he members of the Shūrā who opposed the decision of the majority to be killed, told ʹAbd al-Raḥmān, "Give me your word that you will consider truth paramount, you will not follow your whim, you will not show any preference for a relative, and you will not let the community down."[4139] ʹAbd al-Raḥmān agreed to this.

According to the account of Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, Ṭalḥah was present during the deliberations, and the Shūrā was grouped into pairs including ʹAlī (ع) and Zubayr, ʹUthmān and Ṭalḥah, and ʹAbd al-Raḥmān and Saʹd:

> When ʹUmar was buried, Abū Ṭalḥah gathered them and waited with a sword at the door of the house with fifty of the Anṣār carrying their swords. The group talked and argued. The first to act was Ṭalḥah who swore to them by his own soul that he had given his [voting] rights in the Shūrā to ʹUthmān because he knew that the people would not [agree to] give it to other than ʹAlī and

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4132. Tārīkh Ṭabarī 14:157.
4133. Tārīkh Ṭabarī 14:150; ʹIqd al-Farīd 4:266.
4134. Tārīkh Ṭabarī 14:150; ʹIqd al-Farīd 4:266.
4135. Tārīkh Ṭabarī 14:149. Similarly, Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:262; ʹIqd al-Farīd 4:265-6; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:164.
4136. Tārīkh Ṭabarī 14:150-1.
4137. Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:262.
4138. Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:262.
4139. Tārīkh Ṭabarī 14:149; Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:262; ʹIqd al-Farīd 4:266.

> ʹUthmān and that the caliphate would not be his in the presence of the two of them. He intended to strengthen the position of ʹUthmān and to weaken ʹAlī's side, because there was no possible benefit for him in [ʹAlī becoming caliph] and he [was in] no [position] to become caliph himself.
>
> Zubayr said in his arguments, "I make you witnesses upon myself that I have given my [voting] rights in the Shūrā to ʹAlī." He did this because he saw that ʹAlī's position had been weakened, and it was in response to Ṭalḥah giving his rights to ʹUthmān. He gave his vote to ʹAlī because of his blood ties, as he was the son of the paternal aunt of ʹAlī, Ṣafiyyah bint ʹAbd al-Muṭṭalib, and his maternal uncle was Abū Ṭālib. Ṭalḥah favored ʹUthmān only because of his inclination against ʹAlī because [Ṭalḥah] was from the descendants of Taym and the son of Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq's uncle...
>
> Saʹd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ said, "I give my rights to the Shūrā to my uncle's son, ʹAbd al-Raḥmān." This is because the two were from the Banū Zuhrah and Saʹd knew that the caliphate would not be his. Now only three [candidates] remained.[4140]

Ibn Kathīr and others have narrated a similar account. Ibn Kathīr said, "Zubayr gave up his rights to power to ʹAlī, Saʹd gave up his rights in this regards to ʹAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʹAwf, and Ṭalḥah abandoned his rights in favor of ʹUthmān ibn ʹAffān."[4141] According to this account, there were only three candidates left to choose from—ʹAlī (ع), ʹUthmān, and ʹAbd al-Raḥmān. Since ʹAbd al-Raḥmān knew that he would not be selected, he was in a position to cast his two votes for either ʹAlī (ع) or ʹUthmān and thereby choose the new caliph. As such, he withdrew his candidacy in return for the right to choose the new caliph on behalf of everyone, as discussed previously.

ʹAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʹAwf was Advised by the Quraysh

Upon taking the entire matter into his own hands, ʹAbd al-Raḥmān excused himself from the Shūrā to consult with the leaders of the Quraysh.[4142] According to Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd,

> On the third day, ʹAbd al-Raḥmān gathered the [members of the Shūrā] and the people at large gathered [as well]. ʹAbd al-Raḥmān said, "O people! Advise me in regards to these two men." ʹAmmār ibn Yāsir said, "If you intend for the people not to differ [amongst themselves], pledge allegiance to ʹAlī." Miqdād said, "ʹAmmār has spoken the truth! I am Miqdād ibn ʹAmr[4143]! If you pledge allegiance to ʹAlī, 'we will listen and obey,' but if you pledge allegiance to ʹUthmān, 'we will listen and disobey.'[4144]" ʹAbd Allāh ibn Abī Rabīʹah ibn Mughīrah al-Makhzūmī stood up and yelled, "O people! If you pledge allegiance to ʹUthmān, we will listen and obey, but if you pledge allegiance to ʹAlī, we will listen and disobey."[4145] Miqdād answered, "O enemy of Allāh, enemy of His Messenger (ص), and enemy of His Book, since when have the virtuous listened

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[4140] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 1:187-8.

[4141] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:164. Similarly, Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:53; Imāmah wa Siyāsah 34.

[4142] ʹIqd al-Farīd 4:266. Similarly, Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:164 says that he went to gather the opinions of the people.

[4143] Miqdād is commonly referred to as Miqdād ibn Aswad, but his actual lineage is Miqdād ibn ʹAmr ibn Thaʹlabah (Iṣābah 3:1881 #8186, Miqdād ibn Aswad al-Kindī).

[4144] Reference to Qurʹān 4:46.

[4145] A similar statement from ʹAbd Allāh ibn Abī Rabīʹah also appears in Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:260.

> to people like you?" ʹAbd Allāh asked [Miqdād], "Since when have people like you dared to become involved in the affairs of the Quraysh?" ʹAbd Allāh ibn Saʹd ibn Abī Sarḥ (ʹUthmān's milk-brother) said, "O group! If you intend for the Quraysh not to dispute [your decision], then pledge allegiance to ʹUthmān." ʹAmmār ibn Yāsir said, "If you intend for the Muslims not to dispute [your decision], then pledge allegiance to ʹAlī." He then approached ʹAbd Allāh ibn Saʹd ibn Abī Sarḥ and said, "O deviant (fāsiq)[4146] son of a deviant! [Do you consider] yourself among those who advise the Muslims or those from whom they seek advice in their affairs?"[4147]

A very similar account also appears in ʹIqd al-Farīd.[4148] It is clear that there was a dispute as to whether the to take into account the desires of the forcefully converted members of the Quraysh or those of the true believers among the Prophet's (ص) devout companions. According to Ṭabarī,

> ʹAmmār [ibn Yāsir] said, "If you want the Muslims to be in full agreement, give ʹAlī the oath of allegiance." Miqdād ibn Aswad said, "ʹAmmār is right; if you give ʹAlī the oath of allegiance, we shall say that we are in full agreement with what you are doing." Ibn Abī Sarḥ said, "If you want the Quraysh to be in full agreement, give ʹUthmān the oath of allegiance." ʹAbd Allāh ibn Abī Rabīʹah said, "He is right; if you give ʹUthmān the oath of allegiance, we shall say that we are in full agreement with what you are doing." ʹAmmār upbraided Ibn Abī Sarḥ, saying, "When did you ever give the Muslims any good advice?!" The Banū Hāshim and the Banū Umayyah held talks. ʹAmmār said, "O people, Allāh has ennobled us through His Prophet and strengthened us through His religion. How can you take this appointment away from those of the house of your Prophet?" A member of the Banū Makhzūm said, "You have gone too far, Ibn Sumayyah! Why should you have anything to do with the Quraysh taking the leadership for themselves?" Saʹd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ said, "Get it over with, ʹAbd al-Raḥmān, before our people fall into civil war."[4149]

The Selection of ʹUthmān by ʹAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʹAwf

According to Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd,

> ʹAbd al-Raḥmān left, spent three days consulting with people, then returned and gathered the public. They heaped into the gates [of the mosque], with no doubts that he would pledge allegiance to ʹAlī. The desire of the entire Quraysh with the exception of the Banū Hāshim was for ʹUthmān [to become caliph]. The desire of a group of the Anṣār was for ʹAlī [to become caliph], while another group [of the Anṣār wished] for ʹUthmān [to become caliph], with the latter group being in the minority. There was also a group who did not care which of the two would be given the pledge of allegiance.[4150]

[4146] Refer to chapter 64 for a discussion of how the Qurʹān refers to him as fāsiq in two verses.

[4147] This excerpt in based on similar accounts in Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 1:193-194 and 9:52. Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr (7:164) also mentions the support of ʹAmmār and Miqdād for ʹAlī (ع).

[4148] ʹIqd al-Farīd 4:267.

[4149] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 14:151-2.

[4150] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 9:52.

Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih also confirmed that "[ʿAlī] had no doubt that he was the rightful possessor of power."[4151] According to numerous sources, after questioning others, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān went to ʿAlī (ع) and ʿUthmān and said,

> "I have asked about you and about others. I find that the people regard no one as equal to you two. Will you, ʿAlī, give me your oath of office based on Allāh's Book, the practice (Sunnah) of His Prophet, and the deeds (sīrah) of Abū Bakr and ʿUmar?" "ʿAlī replied, "Indeed, no, but [only] based on my own effort in all this and in accordance with my own ability." [ʿAbd al-Raḥmān] turned to ʿUthmān and said, "Will you give me your oath of office based on Allāh's Book, the practice of His Prophet, and the deeds of Abū Bakr and ʿUmar?" [ʿUthmān] said, "Indeed, yes."[4152]

ʿAbd al-Raḥmān also set another condition. According to Ibn Qutaybah, he told ʿUthmān, "[On condition] that you not place a single one of the Banū Umayyah in control of people," and he told ʿAlī (ع), "On condition that you not place a single one of the Banū Hāshim in control of people." ʿUthmān replied, "Yes," while ʿAlī (ع) replied that he would base his decision on "ability and trustworthiness, whether [the individual in question is] from among the Banū Hāshim or [from among] other [tribes]."[4153] Of course, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān knew very well that ʿUthmān would gladly promise anything for power, while ʿAlī (ع) would and could not do so. Moreover, since ʿAlī (ع) was obligated to appoint his son Ḥasan (ع) as the imām after him, he could not agree to such a condition. According to Ṭabarī,

> [ʿAbd al-Raḥmān then] went up into the minbar (pulpit) where he stood for a long time. Then he said a prayer which the people did not hear. [He] then spoke, "O people, I have questioned you in secret and openly on the question of [who will be] your leader. I have found that none of you regard [anyone else] as equal to one of these two, ʿAlī or ʿUthmān. Come forward to me, ʿAlī." He did so and stood beneath the minbar. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān took his hand and said, "Will you give me your oath of office based on Allāh's Book, the practice of His Prophet, and the deeds of Abū Bakr and ʿUmar?" He replied, "No, but based on my own effort in all this and in accordance with my own ability." ʿAbd al-Raḥmān let go of [ʿAlī's] hand and called out, "Come forward to me, ʿUthmān." He took him by his hand, as [ʿUthmān] stood where ʿAlī had stood, and said, "Will you give me your oath of office based on Allāh's Book, the practice of His Prophet, and the deeds of Abū Bakr and ʿUmar?" [ʿUthmān] replied, "Indeed, yes." So [ʿAbd al-Raḥmān] stretched right up to the ceiling of the mosque, his hand still in ʿUthmān's hand. Then he said, "O Allāh, hear and bear witness! O Allāh! I have placed what was my own responsibility in all this upon ʿUthmān." The people crowded round to give ʿUthmān the oath of allegiance, until they reached him at the minbar... The people began to give him the oath of allegiance, but ʿAlī excused himself.[4154]

According to Ṭabarī,

4151. ʿIqd al-Farīd 4:267.

4152. Tārīkh Ṭabarī 14:159. Similarly, Musnad Ḥanbal #557; Majmaʿ al-Zawāʾid #8945; Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:262; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:165; Usd al-Ghābah 3:297 #3789 (ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib); ʿIqd al-Farīd 4:267.

4153. Imāmah wa Siyāsah 34-5.

4154. Tārīkh Ṭabarī 14:160-1.

> ʹAlī said, "You have always been partial in his favor! This is not the first time you have banded together against us. But '[my course is] comely patience and Allāh's help is to be asked against what you describe.'[4155] You have appointed ʹUthmān only so that the rule will come back to you. 'Every day Allāh exercises power.'[4156]"[4157]

ʹAlī (ع) then added, "Allāh's decree will come in its time."[4158] According to Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, ʹAlī (ع) told ʹAbd al-Raḥmān, "By Allāh, you have not put him in power except so that he would later turn it over to you."[4159] Miqdād was the first to join ʹAlī (ع) in open criticism of ʹAbd al-Raḥmān's decision. According to Ṭabarī,

> Miqdād said, "You have indeed, ʹAbd al-Raḥmān, passed up the one who makes decisions based 'on the truth and thereby acts justly.'[4160] ...I have never seen such things as have been visited upon the people of this house after the death of their Prophet. I am amazed at the Quraysh, that they have abandoned someone who cannot be matched in my opinion in knowledge and the ability to act justly. What indeed if I were to find supporters against ʹUthmān!" ʹAbd al-Raḥmān replied, "Fear Allāh, Miqdād, I am afraid you will cause dissension." Someone questioned Miqdād, "Allāh have mercy upon you, who are the people of this house and who is this man [whom you are referring to]?" He replied, "The people of this house are the Banū ʹAbd al-Muṭṭalib and the man is ʹAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib." ʹAlī said, "The people are looking to the Quraysh, while the Quraysh are looking to their own house. [The Quraysh] say that, if the Banū Hāshim are put in authority over you, [the caliphate] will never leave them; but so long as it is in the hands of [clans] other than [the Banū Hāshim] of the Quraysh, you will pass it around among yourselves."[4161]

Mughīrah ibn Shuʹbah was the first to celebrate ʹUthmān's victory, particularly since ʹAlī (ع) had recommended that he be stoned to death in accordance with Islāmic law.[4162] According to Ṭabarī,

> Mughīrah ibn Shuʹbah got up to make a speech, with ʹAlī sitting there, "Praise be to Allāh, Abū Muḥammad, who has granted you success! There was indeed no one other than ʹUthmān for [the caliphate]."[4163]

Mughīrah also told ʹUthmān, "By Allāh, had someone other than you been made [our] ruler, I would not have pledged allegiance to him." ʹAbd al-Raḥmān told him, "You lie, you one-eyed [man]! If someone else had been made ruler, you would have pledged allegiance and would have said the same to him as you [just] said [to ʹUthmān]."[4164] However, it appears that Mughīrah may have been truthful, as he later refused to pledge allegiance to ʹAlī (ع) when he became caliph.[4165]

[4155] Qurʹān 12:18.
[4156] Qurʹān 55:29.
[4157] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 14:153.
[4158] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 14:153.
[4159] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 1:194.
[4160] Qurʹān 7:159, 7:181.
[4161] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 14:153. Similarly, Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 1:194.
[4162] Refer to chapter 60.
[4163] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 14:161.
[4164] Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:259; ʹIqd al-Farīd 4:268.
[4165] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 16:7; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:253. Refer to chapter 78 for a discussion on those who refused to pledge allegiance to ʹAlī (ع).

Forcing ʹAlī (ع) to Pledge Allegiance

According to Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd,

> ʹAbd al-Raḥmān told ʹAlī, "You have left no way [out] for yourself, O ʹAlī!"[4166] ʹAlī left, saying, "This will soon meet its promised end." ʹAmmār said, "O ʹAbd al-Raḥmān, you have, by Allāh, abandoned [ʹAlī] when he is among those who can judge by and do justice to the truth." Miqdād said, "By Allāh, I have not seen [anything befall anyone] like that which has befallen the people of this house (i.e. the Ahl al-Bayt) after [the death of] their Prophet. The Quraysh is truly bewildering! It has abandoned a man more just in judgment, more knowledgeable, and more pious than whom I cannot even claim to know. By Allāh, if I could only find some helpers!" ʹAbd al-Raḥmān said, "Fear Allāh, O Miqdād! I fear your mischief (fitnah)!"[4167]

A similar account also appears in ʹIqd al-Farīd.[4168] ʹAlī (ع) said, "Miqdād has spoken the truth."[4169] He added, "I know what is in their souls. The people look at the Quraysh and the Quraysh look at that which is best for them. They say that if the Banū Hāshim were to take power, [the caliphate] would never ever leave their [hands, whereas power that] is held by others will change hands among the [various clans of] the Quraysh."[4170] According to Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd,

> [Jundub ibn ʹAbd Allāh al-Azdī[4171] told ʹAlī], "Stand among the people and invite them to yourself. Inform them that you are more deserving to the [caliphate of the] Prophet (ص). Ask for their help against these who act against you. If ten out of one hundred answer your [call], pressure the rest with them. If they give in, then it is so. Otherwise, fight them and you will be the one with a better cause, whether you survive or are killed. You will also have greater proof [against them] with Allāh."
>
> ʹAlī asked, "Do you think, O Jundub, that one out of every ten would pledge allegiance to me?" Jundub replied, "I hope so." ʹAlī said, "But I do not see it as such. No, by Allāh, not [even] one out of a hundred [would do so]. I will tell you [as it is]. The people only look towards the Quraysh. They say, 'They are the tribe of Muḥammad and his clan,' while the Quraysh say among themselves, 'The family of Muḥammad see a superiority for themselves over the rest of the people because prophecy [has been placed among them], and they see that they are the custodians of the caliphate to the exclusion of the [other clans of] the Quraysh and to the exclusion of the rest of mankind. If they were to take power, power would never leave their hands to anyone else's. As long as power is held among other than them, the Quraysh may pass it along amongst its

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[4166] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd (1:194) added, "This means that ʹUmar had ordered Abū Ṭalḥah to strike the neck of anyone who would dispute [the decision of the Shūrā]."

[4167] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 1:194. A more detailed account of Miqdād's exchange with ʹAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʹAwf appears in Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 9:56-57.

[4168] ʹIqd al-Farīd 4:267-8.

[4169] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 9:57.

[4170] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 1:194.

[4171] This is apparently referring to the same person as Jundub ibn Kaʹb al-Azdī, who executed Walīd ibn ʹUqbah's sorcerer (refer to chapter 64). According to Ibn Ḥajar (Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb vol 2 #190, Jundub al-Khayr al-Azdī), Jundub, who was a companion of the Prophet (ص), has been referred to as Jundub ibn Zuhayr, Jundub ibn ʹAbd Allāh, and Jundub ibn Kaʹb ibn ʹAbd Allāh.

> [various clans].' No, by Allāh, the people will never willingly submit this matter to us [Ahl al-Bayt]."
>
> [Jundub] said, "May I be sacrificed for you, O son of the paternal uncle of the Messenger of Allāh! You have broken my heart with these words. When I return to Egypt, may I declare your words to the people and call the people to you?" ʿAlī said, "O Jundub, it is not yet time for this."[4172]

Jundub later went to Iraq and spread the qualities of ʿAlī (ع) until Walīd ibn ʿUqbah imprisoned him.[4173] According to another account,

> [The people of the Shūrā] rose towards ʿAlī and said, "Stand and pledge allegiance to ʿUthmān!" ʿAlī said, "And what if I don't?" "We will fight you." ʿAlī walked towards ʿUthmān and pledged allegiance, while saying, "Allāh and His Messenger have spoken the truth!"[4174]

It is clear that even if, as the Sunnīs claim, ʿAlī (ع) did pledge allegiance to ʿUthmān, this allegiance was completely devoid of value, as it was performed under duress and the explicit threat of death. Ṭabarī has related the forcing of ʿAlī (ع) to pledge allegiance as follows:

> The people began to give [ʿUthmān] the oath of allegiance, but ʿAlī excused himself. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān quoted, "He who breaks his word, does so to his own detriment; he who keeps the agreement he has made with Allāh, He will bring him a great reward."[4175] Then ʿAlī came back, pushing his way through the people, and gave an oath of allegiance, saying, "Deceit! What deceit!"[4176]

According to Balādhurī, ʿAlī (ع) was told, "Pledge allegiance or else we will fight you," and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, who was the only one wielding a sword at the time, told ʿAlī (ع), "Pledge allegiance or else I will chop off your neck."[4177] These accounts show that ʿAlī (ع), if he did actually pledge allegiance as is claimed, did so only because of the imminent threat to his life. Such a pledge is completely devoid of value. Interestingly, a number of Sunnī traditions claim that ʿAlī (ع) was the first to pledge allegiance to ʿUthmān. Ibn Kathīr said, "[It is said that] ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib was the first to pledge allegiance to him, and it is said that he was the last."[4178] It is clear from the fact that he was forced to pledge allegiance that he would be the last. However, inventors of traditions have created accounts that claim that he was first, so that they could try to mask ʿAlī's (ع) dissent that is so clearly narrated in numerous traditions. Two traditions claiming that ʿAlī (ع) was the first or second person to pledge allegiance to ʿUthmān are cited by Ibn Saʿd from a freedman (mawlā) of ʿUmar and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿAwf, respectively.[4179] It should not come as any surprise that the camp of ʿUmar and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān would make such claims in order to legitimize the Shūrā, whose creator was ʿUmar and whose decision-maker was ʿAbd al-Raḥmān.

4172. Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 9:57-58.
4173. Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 9:58. For accounts of Jundub's imprisonoment by Walīd, refer to chapter 64.
4174. Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 9:55.
4175. Qurʾān 48:10.
4176. Tārīkh Ṭabarī 14:160-1.
4177. Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:262.
4178. Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:165.
4179. Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 3:62.

ʹUmar's Errors in Regards to the Shūrā

The following are a few of the many blatant errors evident in the Shūrā:[4180]

1. ʹUmar said, "For the family of al-Khaṭṭāb, what a single man from the nation of Muḥammad has born from among them is enough! What I have gathered from this matter is enough!" If taking over the caliphate was according to the will of Allāh and the Prophet (ص), why did ʹUmar find it such a burden, and if it was against their will, why did he take over it? Moreover, why did he amass so many sins during his caliphate that he would not wish it upon anyone else from his family?

2. ʹUmar first said that the Messenger of Allāh (ص) was satisfied with the six but later mentioned major problems with five of them such that the Messenger of Allāh (ص) could not have been content with them. He also explicitly said that the Messenger of Allāh (ص) was not satisfied with Ṭalḥah when he died and thus contradicted himself.

3. ʹUmar claimed that ʹAlī's (ع) problem was that he was cheerful. This quality was also shared by the Messenger of Allāh (ص) and Allāh praised him for it: "It is part of the mercy of Allāh that you deal gently with them. Had you been severe or harsh-hearted, they would have broken away from you."[4181] Similarly, Allāh has described the true believers as being "humble towards the believers [yet] mighty against the disbelievers."[4182] This is a good quality, not a bad one.

4. ʹUmar did not include in the Shūrā the foremost of the companions such as Salmān, Abū Dharr, Miqdād, and ʹAmmār, who are among the best on earth according to traditions accepted by Sunnīs and Shīʹah alike. He instead selected people who, as he himself claimed, had all sorts of shortcomings.

5. He refused to accept the testimony of two maʹṣūms (Fāṭimah and ʹAlī [ع]) in regards to Fadak, claiming that they were seeking their own benefit.[4183] But in regards to the caliphate, which entails leadership over the entire nation in every respect, he handed the issue over to a handful of people who were all seeking benefits such as having themselves or their close relatives rule, yet ʹUmar did not cite their personal biases as being reason not to follow their decisions.

6. ʹUmar ordered the people of the Shūrā to be killed under four circumstances: If one were to disagree with five, if two were to disagree with four, if three were to disagree with the other three among whom was ʹAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʹAwf, and if they could not make a decision within three days. What sin is committing any of these to warrant taking away a Muslim's life?

7. ʹUmar ordered the neck of any Muslim who would dispute the decision of the Shūrā to be struck by a sword. What right did he have to order the shedding of Muslim blood without any warrant from the Qurʾān or Sunnah?

[4180] Adapted from Ḥaqq al-Yaqīn 246-257.

[4181] Qurʾān 3:159.

[4182] Qurʾān 5:54.

[4183] Refer to chapter 49.

8. ʹUmar knew that ʹAlī (ع) would refuse to pledge allegiance to ʹUthmān, as he refused to do so with Abū Bakr and ʹUmar. Therefore, if ʹUmar's order to kill anyone who refused to pledge allegiance was to be carried out, ʹAlī (ع) would have to be killed.[4184] ʹUmar ordered this despite the fact that loving ʹAlī (ع) is belief and holding a grudge against him is disbelief, and even though opposing and fighting ʹAlī (ع) is the same as opposing and fighting against the Messenger of Allāh (ص).[4185]

9. Even if it was permissible to kill ʹAlī (ع), the other members of the Shūrā, and the Muslims at large, what reasons from the Qurʾān or Sunnah did ʹUmar have to mandate killing them after three days, no less and no more?

10. ʹUmar ordered ʹAlī (ع) to obey and follow ʹAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʹAwf when ʹAlī's (ع) superiority in knowledge and belief over ʹAbd al-Raḥmān is beyond doubt and a matter of consensus among the Sunnīs and Shīʹah alike. He did this only because ʹAbd al-Raḥmān was bound to vote for ʹUthmān and he wanted to obligate ʹAlī (ع) to surrender to ʹUthmān's rule.

11. As proved earlier, ʹAlī (ع) and the Qurʾān are one and inseparable.[4186] Since ʹAlī (ع) agreed to follow the Book of Allāh and the Sunnah of the Messenger of Allāh (ص) yet refused to follow the ways (sīrah) of Abū Bakr and ʹUmar, it becomes clear that Abū Bakr and ʹUmar acted in opposition to the Book of Allāh and the Sunnah of the Prophet (ص). Indeed, if the sīrahs of Abū Bakr and ʹUmar were based on the Qurʾān and Sunnah, following them in addition to the Qurʾān and Sunnah would be unnecessary and redundant. As such, it is evident that the sīrahs of Abū Bakr and ʹUmar contradicted the Qurʾān and Sunnah and were therefore innovations that have no place in Islām.

12. ʹUthmān became caliph because he agreed to follow the sīrahs of Abū Bakr and ʹUmar in addition to the Qurʾān and Sunnah. Since, as just proved, the sīrahs of Abū Bakr and ʹUmar were different from the Qurʾān and Sunnah, ʹUthmān's caliphate was illegitimate because his entire caliphate was based on a promise to follow that which contradicted the Qurʾān and Sunnah.

13. ʹUmar said that if Abū ʹUbaydah or Sālim were alive, he would make them caliphs. However, ʹUmar erred greatly in this matter because Sālim was not even a member of the Quraysh, the basic quality that Abū Bakr and ʹUmar had argued would be necessary in a caliph when they were vying for power at the Saqīfah.[4187] Abū Bakr and ʹUmar used the claim that they were from the Quraysh to take over the caliphate from the Anṣār, claiming that it was impermissible for someone not from the Quraysh to rule. Furthermore, the Prophet (ص) guaranteed that the twelve rightful caliphs after him would all be from the Quraysh.[4188] Yet, on his deathbed, ʹUmar contradicted the Sunnah of the Messenger of Allāh (ص) as well as his own claim that power must always remain in the hands of the Quraysh. It is clear that ʹUmar wanted anyone who could keep power away from the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) to rule, regardless of whether the person was from the Quraysh or any other tribe or nation.

4184. Refer to chapter 21.
4185. Refer to chapter 22.
4186. Refer to chapter 15.
4187. Refer to chapter 40.
4188. Refer to chapter 45.

14. ʹUmar claimed that he would make Sālim the caliph and that he would justify it because Sālim loved Allāh. However, if the basic criterion for selecting a caliph was love for Allāh and the Prophet (ص) or being loved by Allāh and His Prophet (ص), ʹAlī (ع) would have been the foremost candidate as was proved by the events at Khaybar, by the tradition of the bird, and by the numerous other traditions cited earlier.[4189]

ʹUmar's Reference to Those Who Promised to Keep the Caliphate Away from ʹAlī (ع)

According to Shīʹah traditions, a number of the enemies of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) among the companions pledged to do everything in their power to keep the caliphate away from ʹAlī (ع).[4190] Their plans even included an assassination attempt on the Prophet (ص), in which they tried to make his camel lose control on a cliff so that the Prophet (ص) would fall to his death. This plot was foiled by Gabriel (ع) who informed the Prophet (ص) of their plot at the last minute.[4191] In response to this event, the following verse was revealed:

> They swear by Allāh that they did not say [it], yet indeed they did say the word of disbelief (kufr), and they disbelieved after accepting Islām and plotted to carry out that which they were unable to. This revenge of theirs was [their] only return for the bounty with which Allāh and His Messenger have endowed them. If they repent, it will be best for them; but if they turn back [to their evil ways], Allāh will punish them with a grievous penalty in this world and in the hereafter. They shall have neither guardian nor helper on earth.[4192]

Sunnī scholars have related a very similar account of the revelation of this verse. The following is a summary of the account related by Suyūṭī and confirmed by numerous other Sunnī sources:

> When the Prophet (ص) was returning from Tabūk[4193] to Madīnah, a number of his companions plotted against him. The Prophet (ص) told his troops to go through the valley while he would take a mountain pass (ʹaqabah), as the former route would be more spacious for them. He took ʹAmmār ibn Yāsir and Ḥudhayfah ibn Yamān with him to guide his camel. The hypocrites who plotted against him took the mountain pass as well. In the dark of the night, they heard some noise from the plotters. The Prophet (ص) sent Ḥudhayfah to ward them off, and he attacked them with his staff. When the plotters saw Ḥudhayfah, they were frightened and figured that their plot had been uncovered. So they hurried away and mixed in among the people. The Prophet (ص) and his two companions rushed through the mountain pass. The Prophet (ص) asked, "Did you recognize, O Ḥudhayfah, any of the people in the group?" He replied, "I recognized the she-camel of so-and-so and so-and-so, but it was in the darkness of the night and they were hiding and veiled." The Prophet (ص) said, "Shall I inform you of their story and their intentions? They were plotting to travel close

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[4189] Refer to chapter 20.

[4190] Ḥaqq al-Yaqīn 251.

[4191] Ḥaqq al-Yaqīn 109-110.

[4192] Qurʹān 9:74.

[4193] Some Shīʹah traditions (e.g. Ḥaqq al-Yaqīn 109-110) state that this occurred during his return from Ghadīr Khumm to Madīnah, while others state that this occurred during his return from Tabūk (Tafsir al-Nūr al-Thaqalayn, sūrah 9, tradition #243).

> to me until I would come up to the mountain pass, and then they would cast me down from it." [Ḥudhayfah and ʿAmmār] said, "Will you not order for us to strike off their necks?" He replied, "I don't want people to say that Muḥammad placed his hands on his companions." So he named them for the two of them and said, "Keep their [names] secret."[4194]

This event has been related in numerous Sunnī sources including Musnad Ḥanbal,[4195] Dalā`il al-Nubuwwah of Bayhaqī,[4196] Tafsīr Ibn Kathīr, Tafsīr Rāzī, Tafsīr Qurṭubī, Tafsīr Bayḍāwī, Tafsīr Zamakhsharī, Tafsīr Samarqandī, Tafsīr Baghawī, Tafsīr Ibn al-Jawzī, Tafsīr Khāzin, Tafsīr Abū Ḥayyān, Tafsīr Nīsābūrī, and Tafsīr Muqātil ibn Sulaymān.[4197] Qurṭubī and Bayḍāwī said that twelve men were involved in the plot,[4198] while Zamakhsharī said that fifteen men conspired to cast the Prophet (ص) down the cliff.[4199] According to a Shīʿah tradition, those in the mountain pass included fourteen men.[4200] Rāzī, after saying that other accounts to explain this verse do not conform with its wording, said, "The best is to explain this verse with what has been related—that the hypocrites plotted to kill him when he was returning from Tabūk, and that they were fifteen who conspired to cast him off his camel down a cliff when he was climbing a mountain pass at night."[4201] This event is so definite that it is even referred to in Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim:

> There was a dispute between Ḥudhayfah and one from the people of ʿaqabah (the mountain pass)... [The man] said, "I adjure you, by Allāh, to tell me how many people those in ʿaqabah were." The people told [Ḥudhayfah] to inform him, as he had asked. He said, "We have been informed that they were fourteen, and if you are to be counted amongst them, then they would be fifteen. I swear by Allāh that twelve amongst them were the enemies of Allāh and His Messenger in this world. The rest of the three put forward this excuse: 'We did not hear the announcement of Allāh's Messenger [to take the valley], and we were not aware of the intention of the people [taking the mountain pass].'"[4202]

It should be recalled that what upset the hypocrites during the Battle of Tabūk was the appointment of ʿAlī (ع) as the Prophet's (ص) successor. This angered them to the point that they spread the lie that the Prophet (ص) had left ʿAlī (ع) behind because he disliked him. By doing so, if the Prophet (ص) were to die in battle, they could renounce the caliphate of ʿAlī (ع) by portraying him as the outcast of the Muslim nation instead of its designated leader. As such, the Prophet (ص) renounced their words and proclaimed ʿAlī (ع) to be his successor (khalīf), just as Aaron (ع) was the successor of Moses (ع), and declared that it would be impossible for him to leave without appointing ʿAlī (ع) as his successor.[4203] After such a clear proclamation of ʿAlī's (ع) imāmate, it is not surprising that the hypocrites wanted to kill the Prophet (ص) at that time to prevent him from further establishing ʿAlī (ع) as his successor upon his return to Madīnah.

4194. Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, verse 9:74.
4195. Musnad Ḥanbal #23843.
4196. Dalā`il al-Nubuwwah of Bayhaqī 6:256-61 (several traditions).
4197. Refer to the tafsīrs under verse 9:74.
4198. Tafsīr Qurṭubī and Tafsīr Bayḍāwī, verse 9:74.
4199. Tafsīr Zamakhsharī, verse 9:74.
4200. Ḥaqq al-Yaqīn 109-110. These included Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, ʿUthmān, Ṭalḥah, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿAwf, Saʿd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ, Abū ʿUbaydah ibn al-Jarrāḥ, Muʿāwīyah ibn Abī Sufyān, ʿAmr ibn ʿĀṣ, Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī, Mughīrah ibn Shuʿbah, Aws ibn Ḥadathān, Abū Hurayrah, and Abū Ṭalḥah al-Anṣārī.
4201. Tafsīr Rāzī, verse 9:74.
4202. Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #38.6690.
4203. Refer to chapter 30.

Indeed, the Sunnīs have recognized Ḥudhayfah as the one who shared knowledge of the identities of the hypocrites with the Prophet (ص).[4204] However, it appears that he was not informed of the identities of every hypocrite, but rather the hypocrites who tried to assassinate the Prophet (ص) by casting him down a cliff. According to Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, the Prophet (ص) told Ḥudhayfah, "In my nation there will be twelve hypocrites and they would not be admitted to paradise and they would not smell its fragrance until a camel could pass through a needle hole."[4205] It appears that these are the same twelve referred to in the previous Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim tradition pertaining to the plot of the hypocrites to kill the Prophet (ص) on the mountain pass. Amazingly, ʿUmar went to Ḥudhayfah and asked, "O Ḥudhayfah! I make you swear by Allāh, am I among the group (qawm)?"[4206] Apparently, ʿUmar was trying to find out if Ḥudhayfah knew that he was among the group. If ʿUmar was not among those in the mountain pass, such a question would be ludicrous. Even if the question is a generic one in which ʿUmar asked if he was a generic hypocrite or not, someone who would consider himself worthy of inclusion among the hypocrites who, according to the Qurʾān would burn in the deepest depths of the fire,[4207] would not be qualified to lead the nation.

Although, for obvious reasons, the Sunnīs deny that Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, and their associates conspired to keep the imāmate away from ʿAlī even if that required assassination of the Prophet (ص), one can see references to this fact in ʿUmar's statements upon his death. By that point, Abū Bakr had already served as caliph and ʿUmar was dying. ʿUmar would have picked either Sālim or Abū ʿUbaydah who were his co-conspirators in keeping the caliphate away from ʿAlī (ع), but both of them had died during his caliphate. According to other traditions, ʿUmar's preference for caliph after the ones just stated included Muʿādh ibn Jabal and Khālid ibn Walīd,[4208] as they had shown great loyalty to ʿUmar. Since they were dead as well, he had to pick someone else. Rather obviously, ʿUmar stayed true to his original promise by setting up the Shūrā in such a way that would ensure that the caliphate would be kept away from ʿAlī (ع).

The Impossibility of the Selection of ʿAlī (ع) as Caliph by the Shūrā

The reality is that the ʿUmar did not set up the Shūrā to select a caliph but rather to appoint ʿUthmān on his behalf. He was concerned that had he appointed ʿUthmān directly, he would be disobeyed, as ʿAmmār, Miqdād, Salmān, Zubayr, and others could pledge allegiance to ʿAlī (ع) and oppose ʿUthmān. As such, he created the Shūrā to give his decision to appoint ʿUthmān some legitimacy, and to make it more difficult for the Shīʿah of ʿAlī to block ʿUthmān's ascension to the caliphate. According to Ṭabarī,

> [Upon hearing ʿUmar's words], ʿAbbās [ibn ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib] came to [ʿAlī], and [ʿAlī] said, "[The caliphate] has slipped from us!" [ʿAbbās] asked him how he knew [this]. He continued, "[ʿUmar] paired me with ʿUthmān (i.e. placed us both in the Shūrā) and told us [all] to fall in [line] with the majority. If two approve of one, and two [approve of] another, [he said that] we should be on the same side as ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿAwf. Saʿd will not go against his cousin, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, who is related by marriage to ʿUthmān. They will all [three] agree in [one shared] opinion. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān will appoint ʿUthmān to the

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[4204] Usd al-Ghābah 1:442 #1113 (Ḥudhayfah ibn Yamān).

[4205] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #38.6689. Similarly, Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #38.6688.

[4206] Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #1622.

[4207] Qurʾān 4:145.

[4208] Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #14263.

> caliphate, or ʹUthmān will appoint ʹAbd al-Raḥmān. Even if the other two are with me, they would be of no benefit to me, to say nothing of the fact that I have hope of only one of them [casting a vote for me]."[4209]

It should be noted that ʹAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʹAwf was ʹUthmān's brother-in-law, as he was married to ʹUthmān's maternal half-sister, Umm Kulthūm bint ʹUqbah ibn Abī Muʹayṭ, whose mother was Arwā bint Kurayz.[4210] As such, one of the two brother-in-laws would pick the other. According to Balādhurī, ʹAlī (ع) told ʹAbbās,

> Saʹd will never go against ʹAbd al-Raḥmān, and ʹAbd al-Raḥmān is ʹUthmān's brother-in-law. It is impossible for one of them not to pick the other. Even if Zubayr and Ṭalḥah are on my side, it would not matter, as Ibn ʹAwf would be in the other group of three.[4211]

This tradition clarifies the reason why ʹUmar made sure that ʹAbd al-Raḥmān would be the tie-breaker in case of a three-three tie, as he would surely not be on ʹAlī's (ع) side. According to another tradition, ʹAlī (ع) said,

> ʹUmar only likes to show us [Ahl al-Bayt] that he holds ʹAbd al-Raḥmān to be more dear [to him] than us. By Allāh, Allāh has not set any [superiority] for them over us, just as He has not set [any superiority] for their descendants over ours. By Allāh, if ʹUmar does not die [from his wounds], I will remind him of what he has done to us starting from a long time ago. I will make him know his wrong opinion of us, and I will tell him what [wrong] he has done to us recently. And if he dies—and he certainly will die—this group will certainly gather to turn this affair away from us. If they do it—and they will certainly do it—they will see from me what they dislike. By Allāh, I have neither desire for being king nor love for this world. Rather, [my only goal is] the manifestation of justice and the resurrection of the Book [of Allāh] and the Sunnah [of the Prophet (ص)].[4212]

It is evident that ʹUmar planned to make ʹUthmān the caliph after him. In order to avoid challenges to ʹUthmān's ascension to the throne as well as personal blame for ʹUthmān's future errors, he set up a council in such a way that it would be bound to elect ʹUthmān. To this day, it is common for tyrants to have a council "elect" their successors, even though the outcomes are invariably obvious and never against the wishes of the tyrants. In fact ʹUmar had told his son earlier that he wanted ʹUthmān to rule after him. Ibn ʹUmar said,

> When ʹUmar was struck, I said, "O Commander of the Faithful! Why don't you give your opinion and select someone to rule over them?" ... ʹUmar said, "By He in Whose hand is my soul, I will pass it on to the one who gave it to me in the first place."[4213]

Recall that it was ʹUthmān who made ʹUmar caliph in the first place because when Abū Bakr fainted, ʹUthmān wrote in Abū Bakr's will that ʹUmar would be the caliph after him.[4214] In another incident ʹUmar was asked, "Who will be the caliph after you?"

[4209] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 14:147. Similarly, Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 1:191-2; Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:261; ʹIqd al-Farīd 4:264-5.
[4210] Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:261, 3:299.
[4211] Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:261.
[4212] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 9:51.
[4213] Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 2:414.
[4214] Refer to chapter 53.

ʿUmar replied, "ʿUthmān ibn ʿAffān."[4215] Similarly, Ḥārithah said that during his hajj with ʿUmar, he was told, "The ruler (amīr) after [ʿUmar] will be [ʿUthmān] ibn ʿAffān."[4216]

Why ʿAlī (ع) Agreed to be Part of the Shūrā

According to Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd,

> When ʿUmar said, "Be with the three among whom is ʿAbd al-Raḥmān," Ibn ʿAbbās told ʿAlī, "The caliphate has slipped away from us. The man wants the caliphate to be with ʿUthmān." ʿAlī said, "I know this very well, but I will enter the Shūrā alongside them because ʿUmar has set me up [as a candidate] for the caliphate even though he was previously saying that the Messenger of Allāh (ص) said, 'The prophecy and imāmate cannot both belong to [one] house.' So I will enter this [Shūrā] to show the people the inconsistency of his action with [the false] tradition he [has ascribed to the Prophet (ص)]."[4217]

This shows that ʿUmar had invented a tradition stating that the prophecy and imāmate cannot both belong to the same household.[4218] He either lied by ascribing this tradition to the Prophet (ص), or if the tradition is true, he opposed the Prophet's (ص) word by allowing ʿAlī (ع) to become a candidate for the caliphate. In either case, the errors of his ways are established, and ʿAlī (ع) would not forego such an opportunity to openly establish the hypocrisy of ʿUmar. Even though he participated in the Shūrā for this purpose, he denounced ʿUthmān's caliphate as illegitimate. According to Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd,

> ʿAlī said to his sons of his [fore]father, "O Banū ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, your tribe (the Quraysh) has held enmity against you after the death of the Prophet (ص), just as they held enmity against the Prophet (ص) during his lifetime. If you obey your tribe, you will never ever obtain the [caliphate]. By Allāh, they will not return to the truth except by the sword." ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar, who heard all his words, entered upon them and said, "O Abū al-Ḥasan, do you wish to incite some against the others?" ʿAlī said, "Be quiet! Woe unto you! By Allāh, had it not been for your father and what he did to me both long ago (i.e. at the Saqīfah) as well as recently (i.e. by creating the Shūrā), neither [ʿUthmān] the son of ʿAffān nor [ʿAbd al-Raḥmān] the son of ʿAwf would be disputing me." ʿAbd Allāh got up and left.[4219]

[4215] Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:52; Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #14259.

[4216] Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:303.

[4217] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 1:189.

[4218] Refer to chapter 46.

[4219] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 9:54.

Chapter 62
A Summary of ʹUmar's Errors, Innovations, and Undesirable Qualities

ʹUmar's sins, errors, innovations, and undesirable personal qualities are too numerous to enumerate. The reader should be aware that a listing or discussion of ʹUmar's shortcomings would comprise a voluminous book onto itself, and that in this brief discussion of ʹUmar, we have limited ourselves to a few of his more blatant and public outrages. ʹUmar made so many errors and sins that he said, "I wish I were a domestic sheep... and that they would eat me and that I were not human."[4220] Unfortunately, most of his faults have been lost to history, especially given the active role of the Sunnī caliphate and the Sunnī scholars in erasing his misdeeds from the annals of history. Even then, I am not aware of any scholar who has been able to collect all of what has survived of ʹUmar's faults in one book. As such, the following list is a brief summary of what represents the tip of the iceberg of what has survived for us in regards to him in Sunnī sources:

1. ʹUmar shows numerous signs of hypocrisy, as is apparent from his own accounts.[4221]

2. ʹUmar had an unbearable personality.[4222] He was so undesirable that the companions, including Ṭalḥah, complained to Abū Bakr about having someone like him appointed as caliph.[4223]

3. ʹUmar's famous title, al-Fārūq, was given to him by the People of the Book, not by the Prophet (ص).[4224] This shows that his supporters have had to falsely ascribe the title bestowed on him by the Christians and Jews to the Prophet (ص).

4. ʹUmar highlighted his sheer ignorance of Islāmic law by saying, "Everyone knows more about Islāmic jurisprudence (afqah) than ʹUmar."[4225]

5. When Abū Bakr and ʹUmar raised their voices in front of the Prophet (ص), a verse of the Qurʾān was revealed telling them that they had thereby nullified all their deeds.[4226]

6. According to Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, ʹAlī (ع) believed that ʹUmar was a "liar, sinful, treacherous, and dishonest."[4227]

[4220] Tārīkh al-Khulafāʾ 129.

[4221] Refer to chapters 19, 57, 61, and 82.

[4222] Refer to chapter 57.

[4223] Refer to chapter 53.

[4224] Refer to chapters 1 and 57.

[4225] Refer to chapter 57.

[4226] Refer to chapter 52.

7. ʹUmar was rejected as Fāṭimah's (ع) suitor. Despite ʹAlī's (ع) abject material poverty, the Prophet (ص) said that Allāh chose him for her instead, because he was faster to accept Islām, more knowledgeable, and more patient than ʹUmar.[4228]

8. During the Prophet's (ص) life, ʹUmar was never selected as a leader over ʹAlī (ع). Rather, he was always a follower of ʹAlī (ع) in any battle in which ʹAlī (ع) was present.[4229]

9. ʹUmar showed cowardice in battle. He is claimed to have killed a single pagan in the Battle of Badr,[4230] but this claim remains uncorroborated. Indeed, the fact that he did not have the blood of the Quraysh on his hands made him an agreeable choice of caliph for the forcefully-converted pagans who housed fresh memories of the blood of their loved ones spilled by the sword of ʹAlī (ع).

10. ʹUmar fled during the Battle of Uḥud, proving his cowardice. His fleeing during Uḥud was, according to the Qurʾān, due to the influence of Satan over him due to his sins.[4231] Someone who Satan could control should not be the leader of the nation. Moreover, fleeing in battle is one of the seven great sin, and the Muslim nation cannot be entrusted to those who commit great sins. Moreover, since Satan cannot lead Allāh's sincere servants astray, ʹUmar was clearly not a sincere servant of Allāh because he was led by Satan to flee in the Battle of Uḥud.[4232]

11. ʹUmar dismissed the guidance of Anas ibn Naḍr, who told him to fight for Islām instead of fleeing during the Battle of Uḥud, showing that he would dismiss good advice.[4233]

12. ʹUmar was unable to answer Abū Sufyān when he said after the Battle of Uḥud, "We have ʹUzzā (a pagan idol), and you have no ʹUzzā." This shows ʹUmar's ignorance of the basic precepts of Islām.[4234]

13. When he was assigned the task of going to Mecca during the Peace of Ḥudaybīyyah, he refused the Prophet's (ص) orders, citing his fear for his life.[4235]

14. ʹUmar confronted and openly opposed the Prophet (ص) during the Peace of Ḥudaybīyyah. He also tried to undermine the Peace of Ḥudaybīyyah by facilitating the murder of the pagan emissary, putting the nascent Muslim nation at great peril.[4236]

15. When ʹUmar took the banner at Khaybar, he fled from the battlefield. The Prophet (ص), spiting Abū Bakr and ʹUmar, said that Khaybar would only be conquered by one who loves Allāh and His Messenger (ص) and who is loved by them, proving that Abū Bakr and ʹUmar did not love them and/or were not loved by them. This proves

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4227. Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #19.4349. Refer to chapter 49.
4228. Refer to chapter 7.
4229. Refer to chapter 8.
4230. Sirah Ibn Hishām 528.
4231. Refer to chapter 11.
4232. Refer to chapters 11 and 14.
4233. Refer to chapter 11.
4234. Refer to chapter 11.
4235. Refer to chapter 19.
4236. Refer to chapter 19.

their lack of faith because if they were true believers, they would have loved them and would have been loved by them.[4237]

16. ʹUmar called ʹAbd Allāh ibn Abī Ḥadrad a liar when he brought news of the impending Hawāzin attack.[4238] Had the Prophet (ص) listened to ʹUmar instead of following his knowledge that ʹUmar was untrustworthy, the Muslim nation may have been massacred by the pagans. ʹUmar's calling ʹAbd Allāh ibn Abī Ḥadrad a liar shows that he spoke from ignorance not knowledge and that he would insult the companions of the Prophet (ص) without any justification.

17. ʹUmar prohibited the Prophet (ص) from praying at the funeral of Ubayy ibn Salūl, even though the Prophet (ص) intended to do so to fortify the faith of Ubayy's family and as doing so was permissible at the time.[4239] ʹUmar clearly felt that he knew better than the Prophet (ص), proving his ignorance and arrogance.

18. ʹUmar drank intoxicating alcoholic beverages long after they were forbidden, coming up with excuses to keep on drinking even though drinking intoxicants had been declared a great sin by the Qur`ān for several years.[4240]

19. ʹUmar broke his fast with sexual intercourse, and the Qur`ān criticized him for betraying himself by breaking his fast. Since the Muslims cannot trust a betrayer, ʹUmar's act makes him unsuitable to lead the nation.[4241]

20. When ʹUmar sodomized his wife, a verse was revealed prohibiting him from doing so.[4242]

21. ʹUmar wept when the religion of Islām was completed by the appointment of ʹAlī (ع) as the nation's imām at Ghadīr Khumm.[4243] The Qur`ān said in regards to that day, "Today the disbelievers despair about your religion."[4244]

22. ʹUmar defected from the army of Usāmah. Instead of going to Palestine, he returned to Madīnah and incurred the curse of Allāh that was invoked on him by the Prophet (ص) for that act.[4245]

23. ʹUmar refused to allow pen and paper to be brought to the Prophet (ص) at his deathbed in accordance with the Prophet's (ص) command. By barring the Prophet (ص) from writing something that would prevent the Muslim nation from ever going astray, ʹUmar became the cause of the fragmentation of the Muslim nation into various sects.[4246]

[4237] Refer to chapter 20.
[4238] Refer to chapter 26.
[4239] Refer to chapter 19.
[4240] Refer to chapter 36.
[4241] Refer to chapter 36.
[4242] Refer to chapter 36.
[4243] Refer to chapter 34.
[4244] Qur`ān 5:3.
[4245] Refer to chapter 35.
[4246] Refer to chapter 38. Refer to chapter 45 for a discussion of the tradition that only one sect is saved while the remaining seventy-one or seventy-two will enter the fire.

24. ʹUmar insulted the Prophet (ص), calling him delirious,[4247] even though the Qur`ān says that the Prophet (ص) would speak only based on inspiration from Allāh.[4248]

25. By raising his voice in front of the Prophet (ص) at his deathbed,[4249] ʹUmar nullified his deeds according to the Qur`ān.[4250] This also shows that even though ʹUmar had been directly warned earlier by the Qur`ān not to raise his voice in front of the Prophet (ص),[4251] he rejected the commands of the Qur`ān.

26. ʹUmar harassed the Prophet (ص) at his deathbed, thereby disobeying Allāh and incurring His curse and punishment, as the Qur`ān says, "It is not permissible for you to harass the Messenger of Allāh,"[4252] and "For those who harass the Messenger of Allāh will be a great torment,"[4253] and "Allāh curses those who harass Allāh and His Messenger in this world and in the hereafter, and He will prepare a humiliating punishment for them."[4254]

27. When Abū Bakr was dictating his will, he lost consciousness and ʹUthmān completed the document for him, naming ʹUmar as the new caliph.[4255] ʹUmar did not call Abū Bakr delirious, as he had called the Prophet (ص) when he had asked for pen and paper so that he could yet again appoint ʹAlī (ع) as his successor.

28. ʹUmar erred by saying that the Book of Allāh suffices us, as we need prophetic traditions to establish Islāmic law and even to understand the Qur`ān.[4256] Moreover, the Qur`ān orders us to follow the Prophet (ص), and the Prophet (ص) denounced those who say that the Qur`ān suffices us.[4257]

29. ʹUmar lied, claiming that the Prophet (ص) was not dead.[4258] This was either due to his ignorance of multiple verses of the Qur`ān and prophetic traditions or due to his propensity to deliberately spread lies. During Uḥud, when he fled the battlefield, his excuse was that the Prophet (ص) had died.[4259] Therefore, ʹUmar knew that the Prophet (ص) was mortal. His denial of the Prophet's (ص) death when he actually died is therefore proof of his willingness to append lies to the Prophet (ص). According to mutawātir traditions, anyone who appends lies to the Prophet (ص) will be cast into hell.[4260] Furthermore, ʹUmar's claim that the Prophet (ص) was not dead was a lie because if he thought the Prophet (ص) would not die, he had no reason to bar the Prophet (ص) from writing a will when he asked for pen and paper.

30. ʹUmar used reasoning by analogy (qīyās) to promote the false claim that the Prophet (ص) had not died. Thus he became the first to use this error-prone method of

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[4247] Refer to chapter 38.
[4248] Qur`ān 53:1-4.
[4249] Refer to chapter 38.
[4250] Qur`ān 49:2.
[4251] Qur`ān 49:1-2. Refer to chapter 52 for a discussion of the revelation of this verse in regards to Abū Bakr and ʹUmar.
[4252] Qur`ān 33:53.
[4253] Qur`ān 9:61.
[4254] Qur`ān 33:57.
[4255] Refer to chapter 53.
[4256] Refer to chapter 38.
[4257] Refer to chapter 56.
[4258] Refer to chapter 39.
[4259] Refer to chapter 11.
[4260] Refer to chapter 75.

reasoning in Islām.[4261] Moreover, he erred in his conclusions. Yet, the Sunnīs, particularly the Ḥanafīs, have continued to routinely using qīyās, arriving at numerous erroneous conclusions as a result.

31. ʻUmar threatened to kill anyone who said that the Prophet (ص) had died,[4262] even though there is no Islāmic penalty for stating that the Prophet (ص) has died, particularly when the statement is true. At Uḥud, those who falsely claimed that the Prophet (ص) had died were not punished, so on what basis would ʻUmar threaten to punish those claiming that the Prophet (ص) had died when he actually had died?

32. ʻUmar chose Abū Bakr as caliph based on a faltah, or an imprudent thoughtless act, from whose evil he claimed Allāh saved the nation.[4263] This shows his utter disregard for the Islāmic nation, as he was willing to endanger its future with his hasty mistakes that he admitted were evil.

33. ʻUmar pledged allegiance to Abū Bakr, thus imposing his will on others, even though there was clearly no agreement among the members of the Saqīfah.[4264] This shows his ultimate selfishness and his utmost of disregard for the rights of others.

34. ʻUmar admitted that he found no justification for the selection of Abū Bakr as caliph in the Qur`ān or Sunnah,[4265] establishing that Abū Bakr's caliphate was an innovation that was imposed on the Muslim nation.

35. ʻUmar took charge of attacking the House of Fāṭimah (ع) and threatened to burn it down with everyone inside and even brought fire to do so.[4266] As such, he was willing to massacre four members of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع), whose purity had been guaranteed by the Qur`ān,[4267] in order to solidify Abū Bakr's illegitimate rule. His assault on their house amounted to an act of war, and waging war against the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) is equivalent to waging war against the Prophet.[4268]

36. By assaulting Fāṭimah's (ع) house, ʻUmar caused the miscarriage of Fāṭimah's (ع) unborn child.[4269] According to the Sunnah of the Prophet (ص) with regards to his adoptive daughter Zaynab, anyone who causes a Muslim woman to have a miscarriage through an illegitimate assault must be executed.[4270]

37. ʻUmar was instrumental in Abū Bakr's decision to deny the Prophet's (ص) family and wives any share of his inheritance, even though both independently claimed a right to the Prophet's (ص) inheritance. Even when Abū Bakr allowed Fāṭimah (ع) to keep Fadak after she established her rights to it, ʻUmar effaced Abū Bakr's written deed and tore it to shreds.[4271]

[4261] Refer to chapter 39.
[4262] Refer to chapter 39.
[4263] Refer to chapter 40.
[4264] Refer to chapter 40.
[4265] Refer to chapter 40.
[4266] Refer to chapter 48.
[4267] Refer to chapter 14.
[4268] Refer to chapter 22.
[4269] Refer to chapter 48.
[4270] Refer to chapter 8.
[4271] Refer to chapter 49.

38. ʹUmar refused the testimony of Fāṭimah and ʹAlī (ع),[4272] two individuals whose purity from sin had been guaranteed in the Qurʾān.[4273]

39. Fāṭimah (ع) died from her miscarriage that was caused by the assault of ʹUmar and his associates.[4274] As such, they were responsible for her death.

40. Fāṭimah (ع) died angry at ʹUmar, and this anger was equivalent to the anger of the Prophet (ص) and Allāh at ʹUmar.[4275]

41. Fāṭimah (ع) banned ʹUmar from her funeral.[4276] Since it is recommended for Muslims to attend funerals, this amounted to a verdict in which Fāṭimah (ع) convicted ʹUmar of disbelief.

42. ʹUmar had Khālid ibn Walīd assassinate Saʹd ibn ʹUbādah, as he refused to submit to the caliphate. Naïve Muslims were simply told that the jinn had killed Saʹd.[4277]

43. ʹUmar accepted the caliphate based on Abū Bakr's appointment.[4278] If, as the Shīʹah claim, the Prophet's (ص) Sunnah indicated that a caliph is to be designated, then Abū Bakr's caliphate was illegitimate and he was therefore in no position to designate the next caliph as he was not designated by the Prophet (ص) in the first place. If, as the Sunnīs claim, the Prophet's (ص) Sunnah indicated that a caliph is not to be designated, then Abū Bakr's designation of ʹUmar to the caliphate was an innovation. In either case, ʹUmar's caliphate would be illegitimate and he should not have accepted it.[4279]

44. ʹUmar should not have allowed Abū Bakr to be buried in the Prophet's (ص) house without the Prophet's (ص) permission and without any title to it from the Prophet's (ص) heirs.[4280]

45. ʹUmar took over the Masjid al-Nabī illegitimately. As the Masjid al-Nabī was the house of the Prophet (ص) and ʹAlī (ع),[4281] ʹUmar should not have occupied its pulpit without the permission of ʹAlī (ع).

46. ʹUmar started the unequal distribution of the wealth of the treasury (Bayt al-Māl),[4282] setting a precedent for even more injustice during the reign of ʹUthmān. He made the prominent companions so used to injustice that they were unable to bear the Islāmic justice imposed on them by ʹAlī (ع) during his caliphate, which was a main reason for the Rebellion of Jamal.[4283]

[4272] Refer to chapter 49.
[4273] Refer to chapter 14.
[4274] Refer to chapter 48.
[4275] Refer to chapter 50.
[4276] Refer to chapter 50.
[4277] Refer to chapter 51.
[4278] Refer to chapter 53.
[4279] Refer to chapter 53.
[4280] Refer to chapters 49 and 58.
[4281] Refer to chapter 9.
[4282] Refer to chapter 58.
[4283] Refer to chapter 78.

47. ʹUmar was the first to adopt the title, "Commander of the Faithful."[4284] This was not only an innovation, but also usurpation of the title that the Shīʹah maintain the Messenger of Allāh (ص) had bestowed specifically upon ʹAlī (ع).

48. ʹUmar saw his position as caliph as merely that of a custodian of public properties, as he deferred to others in every aspect of religious knowledge.[4285]

49. ʹUmar lacked knowledge of prophetic traditions. This became apparent in numerous instances in which he asserted what was false or made incorrect judgments due to lack of knowledge of the Qurʾān and Sunnah.[4286]

50. ʹUmar prohibited the transmission and recording of prophetic traditions, going as far as to collect and burn prophetic traditions that had been recorded by the companions.[4287] To burn one's words is the utmost insult and to insult the Prophet (ص) is disbelief.

51. ʹUmar exiled the Prophet's (ص) companions from their adopted places of residence where they were preaching Islām back to Madīnah,[4288] imprisoning them in Madīnah where he could keep a close eye on them. To exile, restrict, and imprison those spreading Islām and its message are clearly unjustifiable acts. Indeed some of those whom he confined to Madīnah (e.g. Abū Dharr) are universally accepted as reliable, and the Prophet (ص) asserted that more truthful than Abū Dharr does not exist.[4289]

52. While banning the narration of prophetic traditions, ʹUmar was the first to allow story-telling in the Masjid al-Nabī, bringing Tamīm al-Dārī, a converted Christian monk, to tell nonsensical stories in the Prophet's Mosque.[4290]

53. ʹUmar brought Kaʹb al-Aḥbār, a prominent rabbi who had converted to Islām, to Madīnah and allowed him to teach Muslims about religious concepts foreign to Islām.[4291]

54. ʹUmar had little knowledge of the Qurʾān.[4292] It took him twelve years to learn the jurisprudential knowledge contained in Sūrah Baqarah.[4293] At that rate, he never lived long enough to learn the commands, laws, and lessons contained in the entire Qurʾān. He even lacked knowledge of simple words in the Qurʾān such as abb and kalālah.[4294]

55. ʹUmar banned the companions from discussing the meaning of the words of the Qurʾān, thereby blocking their efforts to understand and follow Allāh's Book.[4295]

[4284] Rerfer to chapter 58.
[4285] Refer to chapter 57.
[4286] Rerfer to chapters 57-60.
[4287] Refer to chapter 56.
[4288] Refer to chapters 56 and 58.
[4289] Refer to chapter 67.
[4290] Refer to chapter 56.
[4291] Refer to chapter 56.
[4292] Refer to chapter 52 and 57.
[4293] Refer to chapter 57.
[4294] Refer to chapter 52.
[4295] Refer to chapter 52.

56. ʹUmar lacked knowledge of simple concepts of Islāmic law such as divorce, inheritance, and Islāmic punishments (ḥudūd).[4296] He was so commonly stumped on legal matters that he repeatedly said, "Were it not for ʹAlī, ʹUmar would have perished."[4297] When he set a limit on the dower of women, only to be corrected by a woman who quoted from a very obvious verse of the Qur`ān,[4298] he said, "Everyone knows more Islāmic jurisprudence than ʹUmar, even house-bound women."[4299]

57. ʹUmar dismissed the charges against his adulterous friend Mughīrah ibn Shuʹbah, and whipped three of the four witnesses instead. He committed a number of errors in this regards which will not be repeated here for the sake of brevity.[4300]

58. ʹUmar repeated the whipping of his son who had drunk, punishing him twice for one crime. His son died soon thereafter. He also whipped a man who did not drink for the crime of drinking, and he changed the number of lashes for drinking in mid-punishment.[4301]

59. ʹUmar whipped a man for buying meat and said, "Meat and wine are ruinous to religion."[4302] He thereby disobeyed the Qur`ān which prohibits making unlawful that which is lawful,[4303] and he equated something permissible (meat) with something impermissible (wine).

60. ʹUmar ordered the stoning of pregnant women prior to giving birth, thus imposing death on their unborn and innocent children. He also ordered the stoning of an insane woman, as well as an innocent woman who had given birth six months after marriage in direct contravention of the Qur`ān.[4304]

61. ʹUmar created numerous innovations in the religion of Islām.[4305]

62. ʹUmar forbade ḥajj al-tamattu`, even though it is explicitly allowed in the Book of Allāh and the Sunnah of the Prophet (ص).[4306]

63. ʹUmar forbade mutʹah marriage, even though it is explicitly allowed in the Book of Allāh and the Sunnah of His Messenger (ص).[4307] ʹAlī (ع) said that were it not for ʹUmar, no one would commit adultery but the truly wretched.[4308] Therefore, ʹUmar bears responsibility for most acts of adultery committed in the Muslim nation from the latter part of his caliphate until the Day of Judgment.

64. ʹUmar forbade the name Muḥammad, even though the Prophet (ص) had strongly recommended that name.[4309]

[4296] Refer to chapters 57, 58, 60, and 99.
[4297] Refer to chapters 17, 57, and 60.
[4298] Qur`ān 4:20.
[4299] Refer to chapter 57.
[4300] Refer to chapter 60.
[4301] Refer to chapter 60.
[4302] Refer to chapter 58.
[4303] Qur`ān 5:87.
[4304] Refer to chapter 60.
[4305] Refer to chapters 57-60.
[4306] Refer to chapters 58 and 59.
[4307] Refer to chapter 59.
[4308] Refer to chapter 59.
[4309] Refer to chapter 57.

65. ʹUmar banned the kunyah Abū ʹĪsā, even though the Prophet (ص) had allowed it and had granted it to Mughīrah ibn Shuʹbah. ʹUmar even verbally and physically attacked and bit his son for adopting that kunyah.[4310]

66. ʹUmar forbade crying and mourning for the dead, and he distorted a prophetic tradition to support his claims in that regards.[4311]

67. ʹUmar first forbade then allowed the ḥajj of the Prophet's (ص) wives,[4312] showing that he would rule not only against the commands of the Qur`ān and the Prophet (ص), but even against his own previous policies.

68. ʹUmar counted three concurrent divorces as three instead of one.[4313] This has resulted in numerous dissolved marriages and continues, to this day, to plague families who follow the sīrah of ʹUmar instead of the Sunnah of the Prophet (ص).

69. ʹUmar did not know whether or not divorces before Islām counted as one of the three allowed divorces.[4314]

70. ʹUmar forbade tayammum when water could not be found for ablution (wuḍū`), even though the Qur`ān explicitly allows it in two verses and even though the Prophet (ص) clearly allowed it as well.[4315]

71. ʹUmar changed the call to prayer, adding to and deleting from it as he pleased.[4316]

72. ʹUmar started performing tarāwīḥ prayers (recommended prayers in Ramaḍān) in congregation against the Prophet's (ص) explicit orders. ʹUmar was so pleased with his innovation that he called it an "excellent innovation."[4317]

73. ʹUmar fixed the number of takbīrs in the prayers for the dead to four, even though the Sunnah of the Prophet (ص) was to vary the number of takbīrs.[4318]

74. ʹUmar was so inattentive to his prayers that he would sometimes forget entire segments of his recitations.[4319] This shows his lack of piety and tendency to be distracted from his religious obligations.

75. ʹUmar prowled about at night, spying on Muslims against the explicit order of the Qur`ān prohibiting spying.[4320]

76. ʹUmar would listen in on the private conversations of women in their own homes.[4321]

[4310] 4310. Refer to chapter 57.
[4311] 4311. Refer to chapters 11 and 58.
[4312] 4312. Refer to chapter 58.
[4313] 4313. Refer to chapter 58.
[4314] 4314. Refer to chapter 57.
[4315] 4315. Refer to chapter 57.
[4316] 4316. Refer to chapter 86.
[4317] 4317. Refer to chapter 58.
[4318] 4318. Refer to chapter 58.
[4319] 4319. Refer to chapter 57.
[4320] 4320. Refer to chapter 57.
[4321] 4321. Refer to chapter 57.

77. ʹUmar looked inside the houses of Muslims, not respecting their Islāmically-guaranteed right to privacy. Had someone poked out his prying eyes, they would have acted within their Islāmic rights, as the Prophet (ص) told someone who was spying, "If I had known that you had been looking, then I would have pierced your eye with that [sharp] instrument, because the asking of permission has been ordained[4322] so that one would not see things unlawfully."[4323]

78. ʹUmar exiled Naṣr ibn Ḥajjāj because a woman expressed desire for him in his absence and in the privacy of her own home.[4324]

79. ʹUmar carried a whip so that he could physically whip Muslims for infractions for which whipping has been prescribed neither by the Qur`ān nor by the Prophet's (ص) Sunnah.[4325]

80. ʹUmar was a wife-beater.[4326]

81. ʹUmar altered the Prophet's Mosque, adding to it properties that he had taken by compulsion and force, even though a number of companions told him that the Prophet (ص) had forbidden forcibly expropriated properties from being added to mosques.[4327]

82. ʹUmar altered the Masjid al-Ḥarām, undoing the changes the Prophet (ص) had made to it by moving the Station of Abraham (ع) back to where it was during the Days of Ignorance from where the Prophet (ص) had moved it to after the conquest of Mecca.[4328] The Qur`ān asks, "Is it the decision of the Days of Ignorance that they adopt?"[4329]

83. ʹUmar ordered the Tree of Riḍwān to be chopped down,[4330] even though it stood as a reminder to the oath of fealty the believers had given to the Prophet (ص).

84. ʹUmar was unaware how to deal with Zoroastrians.[4331]

85. ʹUmar created un-Islāmic laws to humiliate non-Arab Muslims, particularly the Persians, as he was afraid of them because the Prophet (ص) had promised that they would seek out the truth no matter how inaccessible and because he had promised that the army of Imām Mahdī who would restore the caliphate to the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) would be comprised of men from the east.[4332]

86. ʹUmar prohibited non-Arabs from inheriting from Arabs, even though Islām has no such racist provisions.[4333]

[4322] Refer to Qur`ān 24:27, which says, "O you who believe! Enter not houses other than your own until you have asked permission and saluted those inside them."
[4323] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #7.72.807, #8.74.258, #9.83.38.
[4324] Refer to chapter 57.
[4325] Refer to chapter 58.
[4326] Refer to chapter 28.
[4327] Refer to chapter 58.
[4328] Refer to chapter 58.
[4329] Qur`ān 5:50.
[4330] Refer to chapter 58.
[4331] Refer to chapter 57.
[4332] Refer to chapter 58.
[4333] Refer to chapter 58.

87. ʿUmar was harsh with Abū Lu`lu`ah, a Persian slave of his illegitimately-acquitted friend Mughīrah ibn Shuʿbah. This is what ended up getting him killed.[4334]

88. ʿUmar created a Shūrā to decide on the caliph after him, even though he had no Islāmic precedent for doing so, making this act a clear innovation. He then ordered the participants in the Shūrā to be killed under a number of circumstances that he spelled out, without any Islāmic pretext for spilling their blood. He also made numerous other glaring errors in the way he set up the Shūrā that need not be repeated for the sake of preventing redundancy.[4335]

89. By placing a corrupt ruler such as Muʿāwīyah in power over Syria and allowing him to become powerful,[4336] ʿUmar became responsible for the creation of the Umayyad dynasty.

90. ʿUmar asked for his corpse to be buried next to the Prophet (ص),[4337] even though the Qur`ān says, "Do not enter the Prophet's house until you have been given permission,"[4338] and he had no such permission from the Prophet (ص). Furthermore, he was buried, per his own request, in the Prophet's (ص) house by ʿĀ`ishah's permission,[4339] even though she owned either none of the house if the Prophet (ص) left no inheritance or one-ninth of one-eighth of it if the Prophet (ص) did leave inheritance, and this would clearly not be enough space to bury a man. If she had been granted the property during the Prophet's (ص) life, ʿUmar should have asked her for proof as he had demanded from Fāṭimah (ع). Moreover, the Qur`ān is clear that the Prophet's (ص) wives were not the owners of their houses but merely residents therein.[4340] Similarly, ʿUmar allowed Abū Bakr to be buried in the Prophet's (ص) house, even though his duty was to prevent such a burial.

[4334] Refer to chapter 61.

[4335] Refer to chapter 61.

[4336] Refer to chapter 48.

[4337] Refer to chapter 61.

[4338] Qur`ān 33:53.

[4339] Refer to chapter 61.

[4340] Refer to chapters 49 and 58.

Chapter 63
ʹUthmān's Errors at the Onset of His Caliphate

In this and the next few chapters the events leading up to the uprising against ʹUthmān and his eventual execution will be reviewed. An understanding of the reasons for the revolt against ʹUthmān will demonstrate the unbearably nepotistic manner in which he managed his caliphate. It will also become clear that the first three caliphs were not as "rightly guided" as is often claimed. A clarification of ʹUthmān's political actions will make it clear to any impartial individual that there is no room for the claim that ʹUthmān was superior to or even equal in merit to ʹAlī (ع) as most Sunnīs claim. Of note, like his predecessors, ʹUthmān repeatedly demonstrated his ignorance of the Qurʾān and Sunnah as well as his lack of insight into or even a basic understanding of the laws of Islām. He made numerous errors in judgment and innovated freely. Suyūṭī has collected a list of his innovations and inventions for those who are interested.[4341] We will, however, not delve into these in much detail,[4342] as ʹUthmān's conduct leading up to his execution more than suffices for our simple proof that Islām cannot permit such a man to be a legitimate leader of the Muslim nation.

It should be noted that the chapters devoted to ʹUthmān, although historical in nature, do not follow a strictly chronological order, as an attempt is made to present the various sources of the uprisings against him in a logical fashion, as they developed in parallel. ʹUthmān's early errors are discussed in this chapter. In the subsequent two chapters, the conduct of Walīd ibn ʹUqbah, his governor in Kūfah, are discussed, as well as how Walīd's crimes tied into the beatings of Ibn Masʹūd and ʹAmmār ibn Yāsir. ʹUthmān's nepotism is the subject of chapter 66, and Abū Dharr's reaction to that which led to his repeated exile and eventual death in exile is the subject of chapter 67. The uprising lead by Mālik al-Ashtar in Kūfah is addressed in chapter 68, while the subsequent three chapters address the mass insurrection against ʹUthmān, as well as his two sieges. His execution and disgraceful burial are the subject of chapter 72.

ʹUthmān Overlooked Abū Sufyān's Apostasy

According to Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, immediately after ʹUthmān came to power,

> The Banū Umayyah went to ʹUthmān's house until it was full and then locked the door. Abū Sufyān ibn Ḥarb said, "Is there anyone from other than you (i.e. the Banū Umayyah) among you?" They replied, "No." He said, "O Banū Umayyah, seize it the way you seize a ball! That which Abū Sufyān swears to is that there is neither torment nor an accounting [of our deeds], neither heaven nor hell, and neither being brought back to life nor [the Day of] Judgment."

[4341] Tārīkh al-Khulafāʾ 147.

[4342] For those interested, al-Ghadīr 8:97-386 cites 40 of ʹUthmān's innovations and errors.

> ʻUthmān rebuked him for what he said, disliked his words, and ordered him to leave.[4343]

As related by Ṭabarī, Abū Sufyān's words were, "O Banū ʻAbd Manāf, catch it like a ball, for there is no paradise or hell."[4344] According to Ibn ʻAbd al-Barr, Abū Sufyān told ʻUthmān,

> This [caliphate] has come to you after [it was held by caliphs from the tribes of] Taym and ʻAdī, so take it like a ball. Make the Banū Umayyah its stakes (i.e. grant them all the key positions in your caliphate), as it is only a monarchy, and I know neither what paradise is nor hell.[4345]

Despite Abū Sufyān's words expressing disbelief, ʻUthmān did not have him executed for apostasy as he should have. Eventually, news of what Abū Sufyān said to the Banū Umayyah leaked and caused a public outrage in the mosque, in which ʻAmmār and Miqdād spoke out against ʻUthmān and in favor of the caliphate being restored to the Ahl al-Bayt (ع).[4346] Furthermore, ʻUthmān's neglect of Islāmic punishments emboldened Abū Sufyān to express his disbelief more openly. According to Ṭabarī, "Abū Sufyān, after he had gone blind, stood at the mountain road of Uḥud and said to his guide, 'Here we trampled upon Muḥammad and his companions!'"[4347]

ʻUthmān Forgave the Murder of Hurmuzān Committed by ʻUbayd Allāh ibn ʻUmar

ʻUthmān's first judgment, according to Ibn Kathīr,[4348] occurred when ʻUbayd Allāh ibn ʻUmar went on a killing spree after the death of his father, killing any Persian he could find. He said, "I will not leave any Persian in Madīnah or anywhere else except that I will kill him [to avenge the blood of] my father!"[4349] He killed Hurmuzān, a Muslim Persian ruler.[4350] He then killed the young daughter of Abū Luʾluʾah as well as Jufaynah, a slave,[4351] who was reportedly a Christian from Ḥīrah.[4352] He also accused the Muhājirīn and Anṣār of being involved in his father's murder, but his attempt to kill them was stopped by Saʻd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ.[4353] Immediately after taking over the caliphate, ʻUthmān had to deal with these murders of innocent civilians by ʻUmar's son. According to Ṭabarī,

> ʻUthmān sat at the side of the mosque and called for ʻUbayd Allāh ibn ʻUmar, who was confined in the house of Saʻd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ. He is the one from whose hand the sword had been snatched after he had killed Jufaynah, Hurmuzān, and the daughter of Abū Luʾluʾah, saying that he was going to kill some of those who were involved in shedding his father's blood, alluding to both

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[4343] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 9:53-4.

[4344] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 38:53.

[4345] Istīʻāb 4:241 #3035 (Abū Sufyān Ṣakhr ibn Ḥarb).

[4346] Murūj al-Dhahab 2:351-2.

[4347] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 38:54.

[4348] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:167.

[4349] Murūj al-Dhahab 2:388.

[4350] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 14:161; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:101, 7:167; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 3:59, 9:54; Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:323, 2:263; Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 5:16; Iṣābah 2:1430 #6241 (ʻUbayd Allāh ibn ʻUmar); Usd al-Ghābah 3:175 #3473 (ʻUbayd Allāh ibn ʻUmar); Istīʻāb 3:133 #1737 (ʻUbayd Allāh ibn ʻUmar).

[4351] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 14:161; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:101, 7:167; Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 5:16; Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:323; Iṣābah 2:1430 #6241 (ʻUbayd Allāh ibn ʻUmar); Usd al-Ghābah 3:175 #3473 (ʻUbayd Allāh ibn ʻUmar).

[4352] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 14:163.

[4353] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 14:161.

the Emigrants and the Helpers. Sa´d had jumped up against him, snatched the sword from his hand, and tugged at his hair until he had him on the ground. He held him prisoner in his own house until ´Uthmān brought him out. ´Uthmān said to a group of Emigrants and Helpers, "Give me your advice on [what to do with] this man who has brought schism into Islām." ´Alī replied, "I think you should kill him." One of the Emigrants said, "´Umar was killed yesterday; will his son be killed today?" But ´Amr ibn ´Āṣ said, "Commander of the Faithful, Allāh has exempted you from this having happened while you were in authority over the Muslims; rather this took place when you had none." ´Uthmān said, "I am now their master. I have decided that blood money should be paid in this case, and I shall bear the cost from my own money."

A Helper called Zīyād ibn Labīd al-Bayāḍī recited the following when he saw ´Ubayd Allāh ibn ´Umar:

> Ah, you have no way of escape, ´Ubayd Allāh, no place of refuge from [´Uthmān] Ibn Arwā[4354] and no means of protecting yourself
>
> You spilled blood indeed, completely unlawfully—and killing Hurmuzān is a dangerous matter—
>
> For no other reason than that someone said, "Do you suspect Hurmuzān of [killing] ´Umar?"
>
> When so many things were happening, a fool replied, "Yes, do suspect him, since he suggested [it] and gave the command."
>
> The slave's weapon was inside [Hurmuzān's] house, he turning it over [in his hand]. One thing must be reckoned in relation to another.

> ´Ubayd Allāh ibn ´Umar complained to ´Uthmān of Zīyād ibn Labīd and his poem, so ´Uthmān called in Zīyād ibn Labīd and forbade him [from reciting it]. Zīyād recited the following, speaking of ´Uthmān: "...Will you forgive [´Ubayd Allāh] when you have no right to do so?" ...So ´Uthmān summoned Zīyād ibn Labīd, forbade him [from reciting this], and sent him away.[4355]

According to Ibn Ḥajar and Ibn Athīr, ´Uthmān asked the Muhājirīn and Anṣār, "Is there anyone who would prevent me from killing him (i.e. ´Ubayd Allāh)?" They all replied, "No." He then said to ´Ubayd Allāh, "I have forgiven you."[4356] According to Ibn Sa´d, "The opinion of the leading companions of the Messenger of Allāh (ص) was to kill him, but ´Amr ibn ´Āṣ spoke to ´Uthmān until he let him go."[4357] Ibn Sa´d also said, "There was consensus of opinion [among] the Muhājirīn and Anṣār on a single verdict—to encourage ´Uthmān to kill him."[4358] According to Ibn Ḥajar,

> There is some question regarding the correctness of this [verdict of ´Uthmān] because ´Alī persistently and perseverantly [strived to] kill [´Ubayd Allāh in

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[4354] Arwā bint Kurayz was ´Uthmān's mother (Iṣābah 2:1238 #5450, ´Uthmān ibn ´Affān).

[4355] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 14:161-3. Similarly, Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:167; Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 5:16-17; Usd al-Ghābah 3:175 #3473 (´Ubayd Allāh ibn ´Umar).

[4356] Iṣābah 2:1431 #6241 (´Ubayd Allāh ibn ´Umar); Usd al-Ghābah 3:175-6 #3473 (´Ubayd Allāh ibn ´Umar).

[4357] Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 5:17.

[4358] Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 5:17.

> revenge] for Hurmuzān. And it is said that [ʻUbayd Allāh] fled to Syria when [ʻAlī] took over the caliphate and that he remained with Muʻāwīyah until he was killed [fighting on] his side in [the Battle of] Ṣiffīn. There is no disagreement that he was killed in Ṣiffīn [fighting] for Muʻāwīyah, but there is disagreement over [the identity of] the one who killed him.[4359]

ʻAlī's (ع) persistent desire to kill him was due to nothing but his desire for enacting the laws of Islām. The fact that ʻAlī (ع) wanted to avenge only the blood of Hurmuzān was because he was the only Muslim among the three individuals killed by ʻUbayd Allāh, and he would only be killed for the murder of a Muslim, even though he was liable for the blood money of the other two and had absolutely no excuse for killing them in cold blood.

According to Masʻūdī, "When the caliphate went to ʻAlī, he intended to kill ʻUbayd Allāh for killing Hurmuzān unjustly without any proper cause. So [ʻUbayd Allāh] joined Muʻāwīyah and died on this [fourth day] of [the Battle of Ṣiffīn]."[4360] According to Ibn Saʻd, "When the pledge of allegiance to ʻAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib occurred, he intended to kill [ʻUbayd Allāh], so he fled from him to Muʻāwīyah ibn Abī Sufyān and remained with him [until] he was killed in [the Battle of] Ṣiffīn."[4361] Ibn Athīr also made similar comments.[4362] Ibn ʻAbd al-Barr said, "ʻUbayd Allāh ibn ʻUmar killed Hurmuzān after he had accepted Islām, and ʻUthmān forgave him. When ʻAlī became the leader, [ʻUbayd Allāh] feared for his life, so he fled to Muʻāwīyah and was killed in Ṣiffīn."[4363] He knew to flee because, according to Balādhurī, ʻAlī (ع) had told him, "O wicked one (fāsiq)! If I ever get my hands on you someday, I will kill you because [you killed] Hurmuzān!"[4364] This shows how Muʻāwīyah's camp was filled with outlaws fleeing from Allāh's justice, not virtuous companions who sincerely but incorrectly judged him to be right and ʻAlī (ع) to be wrong, as some claim.

ʻUthmān made several errors in this matter: (1) He forgave a murderer. (2) He allowed the invalid excuse that since ʻUmar had died, his son should not be punished for committing homicide. (3) He decided that blood money should be paid, when it was not his decision in such an act of deliberate murder, but rather the decision the victim's heirs to choose between avenging the murder or accepting blood money. Indeed, since the victim in question was a Muslim living in Madīnah, ʻUthmān had absolutely no right to take away the right of the victim's family to execute the murderer in revenge for his crime, and ʻUthmān made no effort to gain their consent in this matter. The Qurʼān says, "If anyone is killed unjustly, We have given his heirs authority [over whether to demand retaliation or blood money]."[4365] Most ironically, when ʻUthmān was killed, his family which is the "accursed tree in the Qurʼān" (see below), killed thousands of Muslims to avenge his blood while citing this verse as their pretext, instead of accepting a handful of camels after first having to prove that ʻUthmān had been killed unjustly. (4) ʻUthmān paid the blood money himself when, even if payment of blood money was in order, there is no reason why he should not have made ʻUbayd Allāh pay for it. (5) ʻUthmān went against the consensus of the leading Muhājirīn and Anṣār, and instead followed the words of ʻAmr ibn ʻĀṣ, one who was full of treachery and deceit.

4359. Iṣābah 2:1431 #6241 (ʻUbayd Allāh ibn ʻUmar).
4360. Murūj al-Dhahab 2:388.
4361. Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 5:17.
4362. Usd al-Ghābah 3:176 #3473 (ʻUbayd Allāh ibn ʻUmar).
4363. Istīʻāb 3:133 #1737 (ʻUbayd Allāh ibn ʻUmar).
4364. Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:263.
4365. Qurʼān 17:33.

Amazingly, some have claimed that Hurmuzān had no one to claim his blood rights, so ʹUthmān made a decision on their behalf. This is absurd, because if such individuals did not exist, ʹUthmān would not have had anyone to pay blood money to. In fact, Ibn Athīr said, "Had the son of Hurmuzān forgiven [ʹUbayd Allāh for killing his father], then it would not have been [permissible] for ʹAlī to kill him. Yet; he intended to kill him when he took charge of the caliphate."[4366] It is therefore clear that the blood money was paid without the consent of Hurmuzān's family and it therefore did not absolve Hurmuzān's family of their right to avenge his unjust slaying.

The fact that ʹUthmān failed to punish ʹUbayd Allāh is proof of his lack of qualification for the caliphate, as even Sunnīs say that a caliph's basic duty is to uphold Islāmic punishments (ḥudūd). The best defense Sunnī scholars have been able to muster for ʹUthmān is the following words of Ibn Athīr:

> Some scholars say that had the matter been [handled] like this, the critics of ʹUthmān would not have said that he acted justly for [the first] six years. Rather, they would have said that he began his rule with injustice, for he suspended a punishment among the punishments (ḥudūd) of Allāh [from the beginning of his caliphate].[4367]

It is not clear if this is a defense or a criticism. The fact that ʹUthmān was tolerated during his first six years in office was because his outrages during those years were somewhat more limited than those of his subsequent six years. In fact, what he did in the case of ʹUbayd Allāh was not out of the norm set by the previous two caliphs before him who readily dismissed the punishments of Allāh, as Abū Bakr did with respect to Ashʹath ibn Qays,[4368] and as ʹUmar did with respect to Mughīrah ibn Shuʹbah.[4369] As such, widespread criticism of ʹUthmān had to wait until his outrages even outdid those of his two predecessors.

Another problem this murder poses for Sunnī scholars is the fact that ʹUbayd Allāh ibn ʹUmar is considered a companion of the Prophet (ص) by their definition,[4370] as he was born during the lifetime of the Prophet (ص).[4371] According to the Qurʾān, "If a man kills a believer intentionally, his recompense is hell, to abide therein."[4372] Since ʹUbayd Allāh was a murderer, he will be in the fire, not in the garden where the Sunnī scholars claim all companions will belong with no exception. If they claim that he used ijtihād to kill Hurmuzān, this is invalid because he acted in clear opposition to the laws of Islām and doled out punishments without proper judicial action, whereas ijtihād is reserved only for cases in which no apparent Islāmic law can be found in the Qurʾān or Sunnah. Moreover, not a single companion said that he should be forgiven because he had used ijtihād. Rather, except for ʹUthmān and ʹAmr ibn ʹĀṣ, all the rest recommended that he be beheaded.

ʹUthmān Returned Ḥakam ibn Abī al-ʹĀṣ ibn Umayyah and Marwān ibn Ḥakam to Madīnah

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[4366] Usd al-Ghābah 3:176 #3473 (ʹUbayd Allāh ibn ʹUmar).
[4367] Usd al-Ghābah 3:176 #3473 (ʹUbayd Allāh ibn ʹUmar).
[4368] Refer to chapter 53.
[4369] Refer to chapter 60.
[4370] Refer to chapter 36 for a discussion on the definition of a companion.
[4371] Iṣābah 2:1429 #6241 (ʹUbayd Allāh ibn ʹUmar); Istīʹāb 3:132 #1737 (ʹUbayd Allāh ibn ʹUmar); Usd al-Ghābah 3:175 #3473 (ʹUbayd Allāh ibn ʹUmar).
[4372] Qurʾān 4:93.

The Exile of Hakam to Ṭā`if by the Prophet (ص)

Ḥakam ibn Abī al-ʿĀṣ ibn Umayyah ibn ʿAbd Shams was the paternal uncle of ʿUthmān and the father of Marwān ibn Ḥakam,[4373] who became ʿUthmān's closest confidant during his caliphate. Ḥakam, who was the Prophet's (ص) neighbor during the Days of Ignorance, was one of the most abusive of the pagans towards the Prophet (ص) during his time in Mecca.[4374] After the conquest of Mecca, Ḥakam accepted Islām and moved to Madīnah for some time.[4375] The Messenger of Allāh (ص) then exiled him to Ṭā`if.[4376] Some accounts say that the reason for the exile was that Ḥakam was spying on the Prophet's (ص) residence through the keyhole of his door, and that he was the one whose eyes the Prophet (ص) wanted to gouge out for prying into his home.[4377] Others claim that he was spying on the Prophet (ص) and informing his enemies among the pagans, disbelievers, and hypocrites of what he would hear.[4378] These two accounts are not necessarily mutually exclusive.

Some accounts suggest that Ḥakam's son Marwān was born prior to his exile,[4379] as the Prophet (ص) said, "He and his child (i.e. Marwān) cannot live with me [in Madīnah]."[4380] According to Ibn Ḥajar, Marwān was born in the year 2 or 4 A.H.[4381] Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr has related a number of claims in this regards, including that Marwān was born during his father's exile in Ṭā`if, in Mecca, in the year 2 A.H., at the time of the Battle of Uḥud, and in the year of the Battle of Aḥzāb.[4382] If he was born in Ṭā`if, one would interpret the Prophet's (ص) words to be referring to the exile of Ḥakam and his unborn child. In any case, in accordance with the Prophet's (ص) order, Ḥakam and Marwān lived in exile in Ṭā`if.

The Prophet (ص) Cursed Hakam and His Offspring

According to a tradition Ḥākim certified as authentic, "The Messenger of Allāh (ص) cursed Ḥakam and his offspring."[4383] Other traditions clarify that the Prophet (ص) cursed Ḥakam and his offspring "until the day of Judgment."[4384] Indeed, the Prophet (ص) despised Ḥakam to the point that he called him "an accursed lizard."[4385] In another incident, the Prophet (ص) said, "An accursed man is [about to] enter upon you," and Ḥakam ibn Abī al-ʿĀṣ was the first to enter.[4386] According to a tradition Ḥākim certified as authentic,

> Ḥakam ibn Abī al-ʿĀṣ asked permission to [enter] upon the Messenger of Allāh (ص). The Prophet (ص) recognized his voice and speech and said, "Permit him,

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[4373] Iṣābah 1:392 #1783 (Ḥakam ibn Abī al-ʿĀṣ); Istīʿāb 1:414 #547 (Ḥakam ibn Abī al-ʿĀṣ); Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:264.

[4374] Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:264.

[4375] Iṣābah 1:392 #1783 (Ḥakam ibn Abī al-ʿĀṣ).

[4376] Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:264; Iṣābah 1:392 #1783 (Ḥakam ibn Abī al-ʿĀṣ); Istīʿāb 1:414 #547 (Ḥakam ibn Abī al-ʿĀṣ); Usd al-Ghābah 2:37 #1217 (Ḥakam ibn Abī al-ʿĀṣ).

[4377] Usd al-Ghābah 2:38 #1217 (Ḥakam ibn Abi al-As).

[4378] Istīʿāb 1:415 #547 (Ḥakam ibn Abi al-ʿĀṣ).

[4379] Istīʿāb 1:414 #547 (Ḥakam ibn Abi al-ʿĀṣ).

[4380] Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:264.

[4381] Istīʿāb 3:444 #2399 (Marwān ibn Ḥakam al-Umawī).

[4382] Istīʿāb 1:415 #547 (Ḥakam ibn Abi al-ʿĀṣ).

[4383] Mustadrak Ḥākim #8485 (certifies the tradition as authentic); Tārīkh Damishq 57:272; Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:67; Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #31732-5.

[4384] Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #31731.

[4385] Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:264.

[4386] Istīʿāb 1:415 #547 (Ḥakam ibn Abi al-ʿĀṣ).

> may the curse of Allāh be upon him and those who come forth from his loins except for the believers among them, the few that they will be. Though [they are perceived as] noble in this world, they will be the lowly ones in the hereafter. They are endowed with wealth, deceit, and treachery in this world, but they will have no share [of the rewards] of the hereafter."[4387]

According to a widely narrated tradition that Ḥākim certified as authentic by the criteria of Bukhārī and Muslim, ʻĀʼishah said, "The Messenger of Allāh cursed the father of Marwān with Marwān in his loins."[4388] It should be noted that the full tradition, which appears in Mustadrak Ḥākim and a number of other sources, makes it clear ʻĀʼishah specifically related this tradition when Marwān claimed that ʻAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Bakr, ʻĀʼishah's brother, was the one in regards to whom the verse, "But [there is one] who says to his parents 'Fie on you!'"[4389] was revealed. The reason for Marwān's claim was that ʻAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Bakr was among the handful of men who refused to pledge allegiance to Yazīd as requested by Muʻāwīyah. The others who refused to do so included Ḥusayn ibn ʻAlī (ع), ʻAbd Allāh ibn ʻUmar, ʻAbd Allāh ibn Zubayr, and ʻAbd Allāh ibn ʻAbbās.[4390] As such, Marwān was entrusted with the job of defaming ʻAbd al-Raḥmān and making it appear that he was an outcast from his family. ʻĀʼishah rose to her brother's defense, saying that this verse was not revealed regarding her brother, but rather that Marwān himself was an accursed man. According to one account, ʻĀʼishah's claim was corroborated by Ḥasan ibn ʻAlī (ع):

> One day there was a word between Ḥasan, Ḥusayn, and Marwān. Marwān said, "The Ahl al-Bayt are accursed." Ḥasan became angry and said, "Do you say that the Ahl al-Bayt are accursed?! By Allāh! Allāh cursed you on the tongue of the Prophet (ص) while you were in the loin of your father."[4391]

Of note, ʻĀʼishah also claimed that the verse, "Do not obey the despicable man ready with oaths,"[4392] was revealed about Ḥakam.[4393]

ʻUthmān Returned Ḥakam and Marwān to Madīnah

When the Prophet (ص) died, ʻUthmān begged Abū Bakr to return Ḥakam to Madīnah, but he refused, saying that he could not return someone exiled by the Prophet (ص).[4394] He also begged ʻUmar during his caliphate, but received the same answer.[4395] However, when ʻUthmān took power, he returned Ḥakam and his son Marwān to Madīnah.[4396] As such, Ḥakam was absent from Madīnah from the time of the Prophet (ص) until ʻUthmān became caliph.[4397] When Ḥakam returned, ʹUthmān gave him 100,000 dirhams,[4398] presumably to affirm their ties of kinship. ʹUthmān made sure that gifts from the treasury would continue to flow to Ḥakam and his offspring. According to Ṭabarī, during the conquest of Ifrīqīyyah, "the terms on which ʹAbd Allāh ibn Saʹd made peace were 300 qinṭārs of gold, and ʹUthmān commanded it [to be turned over to] the family of Ḥakam."[4399] A qinṭār is a unit of weight approximately equaling one hundred pounds (raṭls),[4400] meaning that ʹUthmān gave this accursed man and his family 30,000 pounds of gold.

[4387] Mustadrak Ḥākim #8484 (certifies the tradition as authentic); Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:308; Sīrah Ḥalabīyyah 1:509; Kanz al-ʻUmmāl #31729.

[4388] Mustadrak Ḥākim #8483 (certifies the tradition as authentic by the criteria of Bukhārī and Muslim); Kanz al-ʻUmmāl #31739; Iṣābah 1:393 #1783 (Ḥakam ibn Abī al-ʻĀṣ); Usd al-Ghābah 2:38 #1217 (Ḥakam ibn Abī al-As); Istīʻāb 1:415 #547 (Ḥakam ibn Abī al-ʻĀṣ); Tafsīr Rāzī, Tafsīr Ibn Kathīr, Tafsīr Zamakhsharī, and Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, verse 46:17. Slight differences in phrasing are found in the various accounts.

[4389] Qurʼān 46:17.

[4390] Refer to chapters 94 and 97.

[4391] Kanz al-ʻUmmāl #31730; Majmaʻ al-Zawāʼid #9228.

[4392] Qurʼān 68:10.

[4393] Tafsīr Shawkānī and Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, verse 68:10; Sīrah Ḥalabīyyah 1:510.

[4394] Iṣābah 1:393 #1783 (Ḥakam ibn Abī al-ʻĀṣ); Usd al-Ghābah 2:38 #1217 (Ḥakam ibn Abī al-As); Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:264; Kanz al-ʻUmmāl #14126.

[4395] Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:264; Usd al-Ghābah 2:38 #1217 (Ḥakam ibn Abī al-As).

[4396] Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:264; Istīʻāb 1:415 #547 (Ḥakam ibn Abī al-ʻĀṣ); Iṣābah 1:392 #1783 (Ḥakam ibn Abī al-ʻĀṣ); Usd al-Ghābah 2:38 #1217 (Ḥakam ibn Abī al-As); Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 1:198.

Furthermore, ʹUthmān gave Fadak to Marwān ibn Ḥakam.[4401] This is the same property that belonged to Fāṭimah (ع), but that was withheld from her upon her father's death. For ʹUthmān to give this property to Marwān was completely illegitimate, as it was fayʹ (property conquered without troops). The Qurʹān says specifically in regards to fayʹ that, "It will not be traded around merely among the rich men you have.[4402] Not only did ʹUthmān continue the usurpation of Fadak from the Prophet's Ahl al-Bayt (ع) who were its rightful owners,[4403] but he also went as far as to give it to the rich men of his family against the direct order of the Qurʹān. This whole incident portrays the corruption of the laws of Islām by the early caliphate, as ʹUthmān turned property that the Qurʹān had specifically assigned to the Prophet's (ص) purified Ahl al-Bayt (ع) to spend in the path of Allāh into personal property to be handed out freely to his corrupt and accursed family.

ʹUthmān's return of Ḥakam to Madīnah from the Prophet's (ص) exile and granting him and his offspring material wealth and political power were clear errors that ʹUthmān committed in contravention not only of the Sunnah of the Prophet (ص), but also of the sīrahs of Abū Bakr and ʹUmar, which he had promised to uphold when he accepted the caliphate.[4404] People complained bitterly amongst themselves about what ʹUthmān had done in regards to Ḥakam and Marwān. His reply was, "Why do people criticize me? [All I have done] is maintain my blood ties and kinship."[4405] When Ḥakam died, ʹUthmān even built a pavilion upon his grave.[4406] According to Ibn Ḥajar, "People [started to] talk about this, so ʹUthmān said, 'During the time of ʹUmar, a pavilion was built over [the grave of] Zaynab bint Jaḥsh, and I did not see you criticizing him for this!'"[4407] It was, in fact, rather typical of ʹUthmān to cite ʹUmar as a precedent for whatever unlawful act and innovation he was criticized for.

A Brief Biography of Marwān ibn Ḥakam

Since Marwān ibn Ḥakam played a significant historical role, it is befitting to comment briefly on him at this point. Ibn Ḥajar said,

> [Marwān] was with his father in Ṭāʹif when ʹUthmān allowed him to return to Madīnah, and he returned with his father. He then became among the [main] causes of the killing of ʹUthmān. He then participated in [the Battle of] Jamal on

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[4397] Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:67.
[4398] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 1:198.
[4399] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 15:24.
[4400] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 15:23, footnote #40.
[4401] Sunan al-Kubrā Bayhaqī #12516; Tārīkh Abū al-Fidāʹ 1:236; ʹIqd al-Farīd 4:271; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 1:198.
[4402] Qurʹān 59:6-7.
[4403] Refer to chapters 23 and 49.
[4404] Refer to chapter 61.
[4405] ʹIqd al-Farīd 4:292.
[4406] Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:67, 2:264; Iṣābah 1:393 #1783 (Ḥakam ibn Abī al-ʹĀṣ).
[4407] Iṣābah 1:393 #1783 (Ḥakam ibn Abī al-ʹĀṣ).

> ʿĀʾishah's [side], and [the Battle of] Ṣiffīn on Muʿāwīyah's [side]. Muʿāwīyah then made him governor of Madīnah, and he remained as such until Ibn Zubayr expelled him during the early days of the caliphate of Yazīd ibn Muʿāwīyah. This [expulsion] was among the [leading] causes of the Battle of Ḥarrah. He remained in Syria until Muʿāwīyah ibn Yazīd ibn Muʿāwīyah died, and the people of Syria pledged allegiance to him in a long story. Then was the incident between him and Ḍaḥḥāk ibn Qays who was Ibn Zubayr's governor. Marwān gathered help and killed Ḍaḥḥāk, thereby solidifying his rule over Syria. He then diverted his attention to Egypt and conquered it. Death then overtook him and he made his son ʿAbd al-Malik his heir. His caliphate lasted half a year and he died in Ramaḍān of the year 65.[4408]

Of note, Marwān's ascension to the governorship of Madīnah occurred after Muʿāwīyah removed Abū Hurayrah.[4409] According to Ṭabarī, this occurred in the year 42 A.H.[4410] Marwān, however, was not the governor of Madīnah uninterruptedly as claimed by Ibn Ḥajar, as Muʿāwīyah replaced him with Saʿīd ibn ʿĀṣ in the year 49 A.H.[4411] In the year 54 A.H., Saʿīd ibn ʿĀṣ was replaced by Marwān ibn Ḥakam,[4412] and in the year 57 A.H., Marwān was replaced by Walīd ibn ʿUtbah ibn Abī Sufyān.[4413] The people of Madīnah eventually expelled Marwān and his family during the caliphate of Yazīd. In response, Yazīd sent an army to Madīnah that pillaged the holy city, massacring its men and mass-raping its women, in what is referred to as the Battle of Ḥarrah.[4414]

As stated by Ibn Ḥajar, Marwān ibn Ḥakam and his progeny became prominent Umayyad caliphs after the very brief rule of Muʿāwīyah ibn Yazīd ibn Muʿāwīyah in the year 64 A.H. The Banū Marwān were among the prominent opponents of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع), with the one notable exception of ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, who returned the lands of Fadak to the Ahl al-Bayt (ع),[4415] and who banned the cursing of ʿAlī (ع) which was commonplace during Umayyad rule.[4416] After a brief rule (99-101 A.H.[4417]), he was poisoned by his Umayyad clansmen,[4418] because he was confiscating the properties that they had obtained illegitimately.[4419]

The Prophet's (ص) Warnings Regarding the Banū Umayyah

According to a tradition Ḥākim certified as authentic by the criteria of Muslim, Abū Dharr said,

> I heard the Messenger of Allāh (ص) say, "When the Banū Abī al-ʿĀṣ surpass thirty men, they will take the property of Allāh as their personal property to pass amongst themselves, the servants of Allāh as their personal livestock, and the religion of Allāh as the tools of their treachery."[4420]

4408. Iṣābah 3:1909 #8321 (Marwān ibn Ḥakam).
4409. Refer to chapter 77.
4410. Tārīkh Ṭabarī 18:20.
4411. Tārīkh Ṭabarī 18:94.
4412. Tārīkh Ṭabarī 18:173.
4413. Tārīkh Ṭabarī 18:191.
4414. Refer to chapter 97.
4415. Tārīkh al-Khulafāʾ 204. Refer to chapter 49.
4416. Tārīkh al-Khulafāʾ 214.
4417. Tārīkh al-Khulafāʾ 201.
4418. Tārīkh al-Khulafāʾ 216.
4419. Tārīkh al-Khulafāʾ 216.
4420. Mustadrak Ḥākim #8478 (certifies the tradition as authentic by the criteria of Muslim); Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #31057; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 3:56, 8:258.

Very similar prophetic traditions have been related from Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī,[4421] Abū Hurayrah,[4422] Ibn 'Abbās,[4423] and even Mu'āwīyah,[4424] and 'Alī (ع) swore that Abū Dharr spoke the truth in this regards.[4425]

In fact, the Prophet (ص) said in regards to Ḥakam ibn Abī al-'Āṣ, "Woe be to my nation from what is in the loins of this [man]."[4426] He was clearly referring to Marwān ibn Ḥakam and his progeny who later became Umayyad caliphs. The Prophet (ص) predicted their ascension to the caliphate when he said, "It is as if I see his sons ascending to my pulpit and bringing it down." They asked, "O Messenger of Allāh! Should we accept them?" He said, "No!"[4427] This clearly shows that their caliphate was to be rejected by the Muslims in accordance with the Shī'ah belief that illegitimate caliphs are to be rejected, not glorified. According to a tradition Ḥākim certified as authentic by the criteria of Bukhārī and Muslim, the Prophet (ص) also said, "I saw in a dream that the Banū Ḥakam ibn Abī al-'Āṣ were leaping upon my pulpit the way monkeys leap," and after that dream, the Prophet (ص) was never seen laughing until he died.[4428]

Furthermore, the Prophet (ص) had similar warnings in regards to the Banū Umayyah in general. He said, "When the Banū Umayyah surpass forty men, they will take the servants of Allāh as their livestock, the property of Allāh as a [personal] gift, and the religion of Allāh as the tools of their treachery."[4429] According to a tradition certified by Ḥākim as authentic, he also predicted that, "My Ahl al-Bayt will suffer massacre and exile [at the hands] of my nation after me. The most ferocious of our tribes in hatred towards us will be the Banū Umayyah, the Banū Mughīrah, and the Banū Makhzūm."[4430] He also said, "Woe be to the Banū Umayyah! Woe be to the Banū Umayyah! Woe be to the Banū Umayyah!"[4431] Indeed, the Prophet (ص) clearly predicted that the Banū Umayyah and Banū Abī al-'Āṣ would come to power. According to Shawkānī,

> The Prophet (ص) said, "I saw the offspring of Ḥakam ibn Abī al-'Āṣ on the pulpits as though they were monkeys." Allāh then revealed, "We did not set the vision that you saw except as an ordeal for mankind and the accursed tree in the Qur'ān,"[4432] referring to Ḥakam and his offspring.[4433]

According to another tradition,

> The Messenger of Allāh (ص) said, "I saw the Banū Umayyah on the pulpits of the earth and found them to be the masters of evil." The Messenger of Allāh (ص) was stressing this [fact], when this verse was revealed.[4434]

[4421] Mustadrak Ḥākim #8479-80.
[4422] Kanz al-'Ummāl #31055, #31738.
[4423] Kanz al-'Ummāl #31056.
[4424] Kanz al-'Ummāl #31056.
[4425] Mustadrak Ḥākim #8478.
[4426] Usd al-Ghābah 2:37 #1217 (Ḥakam ibn Abī al-As); Kanz al-'Ummāl #31066; Mu'jam al-Awsaṭ Ṭabarānī #1543; Majma' al-Zawā'id #9234; Iṣābah 1:393 #1783 (Ḥakam ibn Abī al-'Āṣ).
[4427] Iṣābah 1:392 #1783 (Ḥakam ibn Abī al-'Āṣ).
[4428] Mustadrak Ḥākim #8481 (certifies the tradition as authentic by the criteria of Bukhārī and Muslim); Kanz al-'Ummāl #31054, #31736-7.
[4429] Mustadrak Ḥākim #8475; Kanz al-'Ummāl #31058.
[4430] Mustadrak Ḥākim #8500 (certifies the tradition as authentic); Kanz al-'Ummāl #31074.
[4431] Iṣābah 1:400 #1822 (Ḥumrān ibn Jābir al-Yamāmī); Kanz al-'Ummāl #31059.
[4432] Qur'ān 17:60.
[4433] Tafsīr Shawkānī, verse 17:60.
[4434] Tafsīr Shawkānī and Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, verse 17:60.

According to numerous Sunnī sources, "the accursed tree in the Qur`ān,"[4435] in this verse refers to the Banū Umayyah,[4436] to the Banū Ḥakam,[4437] or, as some of those intent on covering up the truth like to say, to "the Banū so-and-so."[4438] As such, the Umayyad dynasty was the "ordeal for mankind,"[4439] promised in this verse of the Qur`ān. Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd said, "There is no disagreement among anyone that Allāh intends [to refer to] the Banū Umayyah in this [verse]."[4440] Ṭabarī also confirmed that this "dream seen by the Prophet (ص)... upset him so much that he was never seen laughing again."[4441] Moreover, ʿĀ`ishah told Marwān Ibn Ḥakam, "I heard the Messenger of Allāh say that your father and grandfather are 'the accursed tree in the Qur`ān.'"[4442] Even Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī has not been able to fully hide the fact that the Prophet (ص) warned about the Umayyads:

> Allāh's Apostle said, "This branch from the Quraysh will ruin the people." The companions of the Prophet asked, "What do you order us to do [then]?" He said, "I would suggest that the people keep away from them."[4443]

Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī has also related the following tradition in this regards:

> Narrated Saʿīd al-Umawī: I was with Marwān and Abū Hurayrah and heard Abū Hurayrah saying: I heard the trustworthy, truly inspired one (i.e. the Prophet) saying, "The destruction of my followers will be brought about by the hands of some youngsters from the Quraysh." Marwān asked, "Youngsters?" Abū Hurayrah said, "If you wish, I would name them. They are the children of so-and-so and the children of so-and-so."[4444]

According to Ibn Ḥajar, "youngsters" refers to "those who are weak in intellect, ability, and religion even if they are adults, as there were no Umayyad caliphs who took charge without being an adult."[4445] It is clear from these traditions in Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī that during the Umayyad era, "Banū Umayyah" and "Banū Ḥakam" had to be replaced with "the children of so-and-so" and "the children of so-and-so" when prophetic traditions were related. It is noteworthy that Abū Hurayrah, whose traditions typically supported the caliphs, mentioned this tradition after he was dismissed as the governor of Madīnah and replaced with Marwān ibn Ḥakam. During this period, there were significant episodes of tension between the two.[4446] As such, Abū Hurayrah's hinting at what the Prophet (ص) had said should not come as a total surprise.

Despite the Prophet's (ص) repeated warnings about the Banū Umayyah and the Banū Ḥakam, ʿUthmān lifted the exile of Ḥakam, handed Ḥakam and his family much power and wealth, and put the Banū Umayyah in charge of the key positions in the Islāmic state.

[4435] Qur`ān 17:60.
[4436] Tafsīr Rāzī, Tafsīr Qurṭubī, Tafsīr Ibn Kathīr, and Tafsīr Shawkānī, verse 17:60. Tārīkh Ṭabarī 38:53.
[4437] Tafsīr Rāzī, Tafsīr Shawkānī, and Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, verse 17:60.
[4438] Tafsīr Ṭabarī and Tafsīr Ibn Kathīr, verse 17:60; Tārīkh Baghdād #1451 (Muḥammad Amīr al-Mu`minīn al-Muʿtaṣim bi-Allāh ibn Hārūn al-Rashīd).
[4439] Qur`ān 17:60.
[4440] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 15:175.
[4441] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 38:54. Similarly, Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 15:175.
[4442] Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, verse 17:60.
[4443] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #4.56.801.
[4444] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #4.56.802.
[4445] Fatḥ al-Bārī #6647.
[4446] Refer to chapter 77.

ʹUthmān's Alteration of the Masjid al-Ḥarām and the Masjid al-Nabī

According to Suyūṭī, "In the year 26 ʹUthmān added to the Masjid al-Ḥarām and expanded it,"[4447] and, "In the year 29... ʹUthmān added to the [Prophet's] Mosque in Madīnah and expanded it."[4448] According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī,

> In the lifetime of Allāh's Apostle, the mosque was built of adobes, its roof of the leaves of date-palms, and its pillars of the stems of date-palms. Abū Bakr did not alter it. ʹUmar expanded it on the same pattern as it was in the lifetime of Allāh's Apostle by using adobes and leaves of date-palms, while changing the pillars into wooden ones. ʹUthmān changed it by expanding it to a great extent and building its walls with engraved stones and lime and making its pillars of engraved stones and its roof of teak wood.[4449]

ʹUthmān also deviated from the sīrahs of Abū Bakr and ʹUmar with respect to the Prophet's Mosque. According to Ibn Kathīr,

> When Abū Bakr gave speeches, he would stand one step below that at which the Messenger of Allāh (ص) stood. When ʹUmar took over, he would stand one step below that at which Abū Bakr stood. However, when ʹUthmān took over, he stood at the same step at which the Messenger of Allāh (ص) stood.[4450]

According to Ṭabarī,

> In [the year 26 A.H.], ʹUthmān added to and enlarged the Sacred Mosque (Masjid al-Ḥarām). He purchased [property] from one group of people, while others refused [to sell]. He then demolished [their houses] in spite of them and put the prices [which he would have paid them] in the public treasury. When they shouted protests at ʹUthmān, he had them jailed, saying, "Do you know what has emboldened you against me? Only my forbearance! ʹUmar did the same thing to you, and you did not scream protests at him." Then ʹAbd Allāh ibn Khālid ibn Asīd spoke with him on their behalf, and they were released.[4451]

It is amazing that after ʹAbbās and others had proved to ʹUmar that it was illegal to add confiscated properties to mosques,[4452] ʹUthmān would do the same and even imprison those whose property rights he had violated along with the sanctity of Allāh's mosque. This shows that the first three caliphs not only were ignorant of the laws of Islām and the Sunnah of the Prophet (ص) but were also obstinate in opposing them. Anyone who performs religious obligations in these confiscated properties that have now been added to the Masjid al-Ḥarām and the Masjid al-Nabī is doing so in property that is not legitimately part of the mosque and therefore these religious obligations are nullified, as they are performed without the permission of the rightful owners of the property on which the prayers are offered.

ʹUthmān's Alteration of Prayers Offered at Minā

[4447] Tārīkh al-Khulafā` 139.
[4448] Tārīkh al-Khulafā` 140.
[4449] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #1.8.437.
[4450] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:167.
[4451] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 15:14-15.
[4452] Refer to chapter 58.

According to Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim and Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, ʻUthmān changed the number of rakʻahs in the prayers performed at Minā:

> Allāh's Messenger observed the prayer of a traveler—two rakʻahs—in Minā and other places; so did Abū Bakr and ʻUmar [did so as well], and ʻUthmān too observed two rakʻahs at the beginning of his caliphate, but he then completed four.[4453]

Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim has related a number of traditions in regards to ʻUthmān's alteration of the number of rakʻahs performed at Minā.[4454] According to Ṭabarī, this occurred in the year 29 A.H.[4455] Ṭabarī said,

> The people first began to talk openly about ʻUthmān [in the following circumstances]. During his reign, he had prayed two rakʻahs with the people at Minā, but in his sixth year he completed [the prayer rites with two additional rakʻahs]; more than one of the Prophet's companions found that blameworthy. This was discussed among those who wished to make difficulties for him, until ʻAlī came to him with certain others and said, "By Allāh, there is no commandment new or old [concerning this]. You have observed your Prophet praying two rakʻahs, followed by Abū Bakr and ʻUmar and you yourself at the beginning of your reign. I do not know upon what this is based." [ʻUthmān] replied, "It is a personal opinion that I hold."[4456]

This issue truly irked ʻAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʻAwf. According to Ṭabarī,

> ʻUthmān prayed four [rakʻahs] with the people at Minā. Then someone came to ʻAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʻAwf and said, "Do you know that your brother has prayed four [rakʻahs] with the people?" ʻAbd al-Raḥmān prayed two rakʻahs with his companions and then set out to see ʻUthmān. He said to him, "Did you not pray two rakʻahs in this place with the Messenger of Allāh?" [ʻUthmān] answered, "Indeed so." "And did you not pray two rakʻahs with Abū Bakr? "Indeed so." "And did you not pray two rakʻahs with ʻUmar?" "Indeed so." "And did you not pray two rakʻahs at the beginning of your caliphate?" "Indeed so," said ʻUthmān. [ʻUthmān continued], "But listen to me, Abū Muḥammad. I was informed that some of the Yemenis and ill-educated people who made the pilgrimage last year said, 'The ritual prayer consists of two rakʻahs for the permanent resident (muqīm); here is your imām ʻUthmān praying two rakʻahs.' In Mecca I am connected with a clan (ahl), and I have thought it best to pray four rakʻahs out of my fear for the people. In addition, I have taken a wife there, and in Ṭāʼif I have property, which I sometimes supervise and reside in it after the day of return from the pilgrimage."
>
> ʻAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʻAwf said, "None of this gives you any excuse. You say that you are connected with a clan, but your wife is in Madīnah, going and coming as you wish, and living only where you do. You say that you have property in Ṭāʼif, but between you and Ṭāʼif is a three-day journey, and you are not one of the inhabitants of Ṭāʼif... Revelation would descend on the Messenger of Allāh when Islām was rare among the people, [and yet he prayed

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[4453] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #4.1477; Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #2.20.188.

[4454] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #4.1477-84.

[4455] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 15:38-40.

[4456] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 15:38.

> two rak´ahs], and then Abū Bakr and ´Umar did the same. Thus, Islām became established..." ´Uthmān replied, "It is my own personal opinion."[4457]

Among other companions who rejected ´Uthmān's innovation in this regards were ´Abd Allāh ibn Mas´ūd[4458] and ´Abd Allāh ibn ´Umar[4459]. The reason for this being an important issue was that the emigration from Mecca to Madīnah was a one-way journey in which one abandoned his or her life in Mecca for the sake of Allāh. Even after the conquest of Mecca, the Prophet (ص) and his companions refused to return to Mecca. Indeed, Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim has a chapter entitled, "It is forbidden to a Muhājir (Emigrant) to return to his native place for the purpose of resettling there."[4460] For ´Uthmān to suddenly adopt Mecca as his hometown and therefore pray four rak´ahs there was in sharp contrast to the Sunnah of the Prophet (ص). The fact that ´Uthmān raised weak excuses only highlighted his errors, further infuriating the companions. Many companions had wives who were from Mecca, but Mecca was no longer their home. Moreover, owning lands in Ṭā`if would have no effect on one's prayers in Mecca given the distance between the two cities. The reason ´Uthmān wanted to treat Mecca as his home was to please the Quraysh and to restore the status of Mecca as the home of the leaders of the Arab nation, as it had lost that status with the emigration of the Prophet (ص) to Madīnah and his refusal to return to Mecca even after his conquest of the city. This may be part of the reason why ´Abd al-Raḥmān reacted so vehemently to ´Uthmān's innovation. Furthermore, his changing of the number of rak´ahs was not only in clear opposition to the Sunnah of the Prophet (ص),[4461] but also in clear opposition to the sīrahs of Abū Bakr and ´Umar, which he had sworn to uphold.[4462]

[4457] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 15:38-9.
[4458] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #4.1483-4.
[4459] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #4.1479-82.
[4460] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, book 20, chapter 19.
[4461] Refer to chapter 87 for a disucssion of the obligation of shortening of prayers while travelling.
[4462] Refer ch chapter 61.

Chapter 64
The Appointment of Walīd ibn ʹUqbah as the Governor of Kūfah

Walīd's Biographic Background

Walīd ibn ʹUqbah ibn Abī Muʹayṭ ibn Abī ʹAmr ibn Umayyah ibn ʹAbd Shams was a member of the Banū Umayyah as well as the brother of ʹUthmān from the same mother, Arwā bint Kurayz ibn Rabīʹah.[4463] ʹUqbah was one of the foremost enemies of Islām in Mecca, constantly harassing the Muslims.[4464] He was taken prisoner at Badr, and because of his active role in leading the harassment of Muslims, he became one of the only two individuals[4465] put to death by the Messenger of Allāh (ص) from among all the captives.[4466]

Upon receiving his death sentence, ʹUqbah asked the Prophet (ص), "Who will take care of my son?" The Prophet (ص) replied, "The fire!"[4467] According to Ḥākim, "This [account] is authentic by the criteria of the two shaykhs (Bukhārī and Muslim) but neither have included it [in their ṣiḥāḥ]."[4468] Similarly, Haythamī confirmed this tradition's chain of transmission as authentic.[4469] The Prophet (ص) then had ʹAlī (ع) kill him.[4470]

According to numerous Sunnī commentaries, the following verses of the Qurʾān were revealed in regards to ʹUqbah:[4471]

> The day the wrong-doer will bite at his hands, saying, "O [I wish] I had taken a [straight] path with the Messenger! Ah! Woe to me! [I wish that] I had never taken such a person as a friend! He did lead me astray from the Reminder after it had reached me. Satan is but a traitor to man!"[4472]

4463. Iṣābah 3:2086 #9150 (Walīd ibn ʹUqbah); Istiʹāb 4:114 #2750 (Walīd ibn ʹUqbah); Usd al-Ghābah 4:315 #5476 (Walīd ibn ʹUqbah); Aghānī 1:5, 5:518.

4464. Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 1:201; Iṣābah 3:2086 #9150 (Walīd ibn ʹUqbah).

4465. The other was Nadr Ibn Hārith (Sīrah Ibn Hishām 471; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 3:372).

4466. Iṣābah 3:2086 #9150 (Walīd ibn ʹUqbah); Sīrah Ibn Hishām 471; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 3:372; Aghānī 1:4; Haykal 233-4.

4467. Sunan Abū Dāwūd #2686; Mustadrak Ḥākim #2572 (certifies the tradition as authentic by the criteria of Bukhārī and Muslim); Majmaʹ al-Zawāʾid #10017 (certifies the tradition as authentic), #10018 (certifies those in the chain of transmission as trustworthy); Muʹjam al-Kabīr Ṭabarānī 11:321; Iṣābah 3:2086 #9150 (Walīd ibn ʹUqbah); Sīrah Ibn Hishām 471; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 3:372; Aghānī 1:4; Haykal 234.

4468. Mustadrak Hakm #2572.

4469. Majmaʹ al-Zawāʾid #10017.

4470. Sīrah Ibn Hishām 471; Haykal 234. Others claim that ʹĀṣim ibn Thābit executed him (Ibn Hishām 471).

4471. Tafsīr Ṭabarī, Tafsīr Zamakhsharī, Tafsīr Ibn Kathīr, Tafsīr Bayḍāwī, Tafsīr Rāzī, Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, Tafsīr Thaʹlabī, Tafsīr Nīsābūrī, Tafsīr Fīrūzābādī, Tafsīr Samarqandī, Tafsīr Māwardī, Tafsīr Baghawī, Tafsīr Ibn ʹAṭiyyah, Tafsīr Khāzin, Tafsīr Abū Ḥayyān, and Tafsīr Ibn ʹĀdil, verses 25:27-29.

4472. Qurʾān 25:27-29.

Of interest, the Sunnī scholars consider Walīd a companion of the Prophet (ص), yet have no reservations relating the fact that the Prophet (ص) promised ʿUqbah that the fire will take care of his son Walīd. Yet, at the same time, the Sunnī scholars say that the fire is forbidden to all the companions, although they have no real proof for it and this belief of theirs goes against numerous and indeed absolutely mutawātir traditions.

The Qurʾān Declared Walīd to be Wicked (Fāsiq) in Two Separate Verses

The Qurʾān declared Walīd, who accepted Islām upon the conquest of Mecca,[4473] to be wicked (fāsiq) at least two times. One incident occurred when the Messenger of Allāh (ص) sent Walīd to the Banū Muṣṭaliq to collect their zakāt. He returned and told the Muslims that the tribe had left Islām and were therefore refusing to pay zakāt, instead leaving their homes carrying weapons and ready to meet the Muslims in battle. The Messenger of Allāh (ص) sent Khālid ibn Walīd to ascertain the veracity of what Walīd had claimed. Khālid spent a night with them and saw them performing prayers, so he returned and vouched that they were Muslims. According to numerous Sunnī commentaries, the following verse was then revealed regarding Walīd: "O you who believe! When a wicked person (i.e. Walīd) comes to you with any news, ascertain the truth lest you harm people unwittingly and afterwards become full of remorse for what you have done."[4474,4475] According to Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr and Ibn Athīr, "There is no disagreement among the scholars that this verse was revealed in regards to Walīd."[4476]

Of course, this verse shows that wicked ones existed among the companions and that their words are not to be followed, but rather investigated diligently. This refutes those who refuse to investigate the companions, claiming that they were all just (ʿādil), that there were no wicked ones among them, and that everything they said was definitely true and trustworthy.

The Qurʾān also called Walīd wicked in the following verse: "Is the one who believes like the one who is wicked (fāsiq)? They are not equal."[4477] According to numerous Sunnī commentaries, this verse was revealed when Walīd mentioned some of his own qualities to ʿAlī (ع), and ʿAlī (ع) replied by saying, "Be quiet! You are truly wicked!"[4478] Of course, ʿAlī (ع) only said that because the wickedness of Walīd was well-known to him.

ʿUthmān's Appointment of Walīd as the Governor of Kūfah

Despite these words of the Qurʾān about Walīd and the fact that the Prophet (ص) had pronounced the fire of hell to be his custodian, ʿUthmān made him the governor of Kūfah after removing Saʿd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ.[4479] According to Ṭabarī,

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[4473] 4473. Usd al-Ghābah 4:315 #5476 (Walīd ibn ʿUqbah); Istīʿāb 4:114 #2750 (Walīd ibn ʿUqbah).

[4474] 4474. Qurʾān 49:6.

[4475] 4475. Tafsīr Ṭabarī, Tafsīr Zamakhsharī, Tafsīr Ibn Kathīr, Tafsīr Bayḍāwī, Tafsīr Jalālayn, Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, Tafsīr Nīsābūrī, Tafsīr Thaʿlabī, Tafsīr Rāzī, and Tafsīr Shawkānī, verse 49:6; Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 2:161; Iṣābah 3:2086-7 #9150 (Walīd ibn ʿUqbah) (several traditions); Usd al-Ghābah 4:316 #5476 (Walīd ibn ʿUqbah); Istīʿāb 4:114 #2750 (Walīd ibn ʿUqbah); Aghānī 5:523; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 19:18.

[4476] 4476. Istīʿāb 4:114-5 #2750 (Walīd ibn ʿUqbah); Usd al-Ghābah 4:316 #5476 (Walīd ibn ʿUqbah).

[4477] 4477. Qurʾān 32:18.

[4478] 4478. Tafsīr Ṭabarī, Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, Tafsīr Thaʿlabī, Tafsīr Shawkānī, Tafsīr Baghawī, Tafsīr Ibn al-Jawzī, Tafsīr Ibn ʿĀdil, Tafsīr Khāzin, Tafsīr Samarqandī, Tafsīr Abū Ḥayyān, and Tafsīr Muqātil ibn Sulaymān, verse 32:18. Similarly, Istīʿāb 4:114 #2750 (Walīd ibn ʿUqbah).

[4479] 4479. Iṣābah 3:2087 #9150 (Walīd ibn ʿUqbah); Istīʿāb 4:116 #2750 (Walīd ibn ʿUqbah); Aghānī 5:518.

> ʹUmar enjoined that his governors (ʹummāl) should be maintained in office for a year [after his death]. When ʹUthmān came to power, he kept Mughīrah ibn Shuʹbah in Kūfah for a year and then removed him, naming Saʹd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ as his governor [there]. Then he removed him and appointed Walīd ibn ʹUqbah.[4480]

According to Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd and Aghānī,

> The reason for Walīd ibn ʹUqbah being made governor over Kūfah by ʹUthmān was that... Walīd came one day and sat [by ʹUthmān], and [then] Ḥakam ibn ʹĀṣ came. ʹUthmān indicated for Walīd to move from his seat. When Ḥakam left, Walīd said, "By Allāh, O Commander of the Faithful, two verses [of poetry] lingered in my chest when I saw you prefer your paternal uncle's son (Ḥakam) to the son of your mother." ʹUthmān said, "Ḥakam is a leader (shaykh) of the Quraysh. But what are the two verses?" [Walīd] said,
>
> I saw the man's uncle more flattered
> Than his brother. This is new and is not old [custom].
> So I wished that ʹAmr and Khālid (the sons of ʹUthmān[4481]) would grow old,
> So that they call would me, on the day of misfortune, an uncle.
>
> ʹUthmān was dismayed by this and said, "I have just made you governor of Iraq," meaning Kūfah.[4482]

When Walīd arrived in Kūfah, Saʹd, the previous governor, told him, "By Allāh, I do not know whether you have outranked us or whether we have become belittled as a result of you." Walīd replied, "This is the kingdom (mulk) of [this] world. One group gains and another loses." Saʹd said, "I see, by Allāh, that you have turned it into a monarchy (mulk)."[4483]

According to Suyūṭī,

> In the year 25, ʹUthmān removed Saʹd from Kūfah and made Walīd ibn ʹUqbah ibn Abī Muʹayṭ, who was a companion [of the Prophet (ص)] and a brother of ʹUthmān from his mother['s side], governor. This was the first thing that was held against him because he appointed his close relatives to governorships.[4484]

Ibn Ḥajar said, "This was a grave [issue] for the people."[4485] According to Balādhurī,

> The people said, "ʹUthmān came up with such an awful thing! He removed Abū Isḥāq, a wise and learned man who was a companion of the Messenger of Allāh (ص), and put his brother, a wicked, shameless, stupid, impudent [man] in power [in his place]." This was a grave [issue] for the people.[4486]

[4480] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 15:5. Similarly, Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:265.
[4481] According to Tārīkh Ṭabarī 15:254, ʹAmr and Khālid were the sons of ʹUthmān from Umm ʹAmr bint Jundab.
[4482] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 17:227-228; Aghānī 5:518.
[4483] Istīʹāb 4:115 #2750 (Walīd ibn ʹUqbah); Aghānī 5:519; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 17:229; Usd al-Ghābah 4:316 #5476 (Walīd ibn ʹUqbah).
[4484] Tārīkh al-Khulafāʹ 139.
[4485] Iṣābah 3:2087 #9150 (Walīd ibn ʹUqbah).
[4486] Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:265.

Indeed, ʿUthmān's act created a public outcry. ʿAlī (ع), Ṭalḥah, and Zubayr all complained to ʿUthmān, saying, "Did ʿUmar not advise you not to load the family (āl) of [Abū] Muʿayṭ and the Banū Umayyah upon the necks of the people?"[4487] ʿAmr ibn Zurārah rose and said, "O people! Truly ʿUthmān has abandoned what is right and he knows it... He has made the most evil of you your ruler."[4488] When Walīd informed ʿUthmān of what ʿAmr ibn Zurārah had said, ʿUthmān ordered that ʿAmr be exiled to Syria.[4489]

Walīd Had Abū Zubayd, a Christian Drunkard, Live by the Mosque

According to Aghānī,

> Abū Zubayd joined Walīd when he came to Kūfah. [Walīd] housed him in the house of ʿAqīl ibn Abī Ṭālib, [which was] near the gate of the mosque... This was the first cause of his criticism by the people of Kūfah because he would leave his house and pass through the Grand [Mosque] to [go to the mansion of] Walīd to spend the evening drinking with him. He would come out and pass through the mosque while he was drunk. This turned [the people] against him.[4490]

This has also been related by Balādhurī[4491] and Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd.[4492] Historical works have described Abū Zubayd as "a Christian"[4493] who would "drink and eat pigs."[4494]

Walīd Introduced Sorcery to the Mosque

According to Masʿūdī,

> When Walīd was in power, he heard of a Jewish man named Zurārah who resided near Kūfah and who performed all sorts of sorcery and magic. He called for him and had him perform his magic in the mosque. At night, he showed them a huge elephant riding a horse that was racing around the mosque. He then showed a camel walking on a rope. He then showed a donkey in whose mouth he entered and from whose behind he emerged. He then struck the neck of a man and separated his head from is body. He then put the sword on top of him and the man rose [in one piece]. When these [magic tricks] were performed, a group of the people of Kūfah were present, among them Jundub ibn Kaʿb al-Azdī.[4495] He sought refuge with Allāh from the actions of Satan. Since he knew that it was magic and sorcery, he took his sword and struck the

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[4487] Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:265.

[4488] Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:266.

[4489] Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:266.

[4490] Aghānī 5:522.

[4491] Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:266.

[4492] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 17:236.

[4493] Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:266; Aghānī 5:522 and Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 17:236.

[4494] Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:266.

[4495] Some say it was Jundub ibn Zuhayr, but Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr considered this a weak minority opinion (Istīʿāb 1:325-6 #347, Jundub ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿAbdī). Ibn Ḥajar also cited this possibility and its weakness in Iṣābah 1:284 #1218 (Jundub ibn Zuhayr). Jundub ibn Zuhayr was actually among those who found Walīd drinking (see later in this chapter), as well as among the group who was exiled to Syria along with Mālik al-Ashtar (refer to chapter 68).

> sorcerer, separating his head from his body. He then recited, "The truth has come and falsehood has perished, for falsehood is truly perishable."[4496]
>
> Walīd was infuriated at this and intended to set Jundub on fire, but the tribe of Azd prevented him [from doing so]. Instead he imprisoned him, intending to kill him secretly. The prison guard[4497] saw him standing for prayers all night long until the morning. He told him, "Save yourself!" Jundub told him, "You will get killed for [saving] me." He said, "This is not a high [price] for the pleasure of Allāh and protecting a servant among the servants of Allāh."
>
> The next morning, Walīd called for him, planning to kill him, but did not find him. He asked the prison guard. He informed him that he had fled. He struck the neck of the prison guard and hung his body in the city dump.[4498]

This event has been related by others in various levels of detail as well, including Tārīkh al-Kabīr Bukhārī,[4499] Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā,[4500] Aghānī,[4501] Ansāb al-Ashrāf,[4502] Iṣābah,[4503] Istī´āb,[4504] Usd al-Ghābah,[4505] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd,[4506] Tārīkh Damishq,[4507] and Kanz al-´Ummāl.[4508] In fact, the Prophet (ص) predicted this event when he said, "Jundub! And who is Jundub?!" People asked about him and he said, "He is named Jundub and he will strike [his sword] with a [single] strike that will separate truth from falsehood!"[4509] It should be noted that Jundub acted in accordance with the widely transmitted saying of the Prophet (ص), "The punishment (ḥadd) for a sorcerer is a strike of the sword."[4510] According to Ibn Athīr,

> The reason why [Jundub] killed the sorcerer was that Walīd ibn ´Uqbah ibn Abī Mu´ayṭ was the ruler of Kūfah and a sorcerer would come in his presence. He would play [his magic tricks] in front of Walīd. He would make it appear that he had killed a man and he would then bring him back to life. He would enter through the mouth of a she-camel and exit from her vagina. So [Jundub] hid a sword and [when] the sorcerer came, he struck him with a [single] strike that killed him. He then said to him, "Bring your own self back to life!" He then recited, "Will you have sorcery brought forth while you are watching?"[4511] He then climbed up to Walīd and said, "I heard the Messenger of Allāh (ص) say, 'The punishment (ḥadd) for a sorcerer is a strike of the sword.'" Walīd

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4496. Qur`ān 17:81.
4497. According to Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 17:241, his name was Dīnār ibn Dīnār.
4498. Murūj al-Dhahab 2:348.
4499. Tārīkh Bukhārī vol 2 #2268 (Jundub ibn Ka´b).
4500. Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 6:123.
4501. Aghānī 5:524.
4502. Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:266.
4503. Iṣābah 1:286 #1228 (Jundub ibn Ka´b).
4504. Istī´āb 1:325-7 #347 (Jundub ibn ´Abd Allāh al-´Abdī).
4505. Usd al-Ghābah 1:348 #806 (Jundab ibn Ka´b).
4506. Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 17:240-241.
4507. Tārīkh Damishq 11:312-313.
4508. Kanz al-´Ummāl #36919. Also refer to Kanz al-´Ummāl #33234-5, #37079 for prophetic traditions predicting Jundub's killing the sorcerer.
4509. Tārīkh Damishq 11:312, 19:436; Kanz al-´Ummāl #33234, #36763, #36919, #37079; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 17:240-1. Similarly, Iṣābah 1:286 #1228 (Jundub ibn Ka´b).
4510. Sunan Tirmidhī #1460; Mustadrak Ḥākim #8073 (certifies the tradition as authentic); Sunan al-Kubrā Bayhaqī #16277; Mu´jam al-Kabīr Ṭabarānī 2:161; Tārīkh Damishq 11:309, 11:310; Kanz al-´Ummāl #13364; Usd al-Ghābah 1:348 #806 (Jundab ibn Ka´b).
4511. Qur`ān 21:3.

imprisoned him. When the prison guard saw his [devotion to] prayer and fasting, he let him go.[4512]

Walīd's Drinking and Performing Prayers While Drunk

According to Mas´ūdī, "Walīd used to drink from the early evening until the next morning along with his close friends and singers. When the mu`adhdhins called him to the morning prayer, he left wearing his underwear and approached the miḥrāb and prayed four [rak´ahs instead of two]. He [then] asked, 'Do you want me to add more for you?'"[4513] According to Ibn Athīr, "Walīd was a drunkard,"[4514] and according to Ibn ´Abd al-Barr, "Walīd was a wicked (fāsiq) man who constantly drank intoxicants, but he was a noble poet."[4515] In a famous and widely narrated incident, one morning Walīd performed the morning prayers as four rak´ahs instead of two and then said, "Shall I add [even more] for you?!"[4516] The people stoned Walīd with the pebbles in the mosque. He left to his palace, reciting,

> I will not distance myself from wine and slave-girls;
> I will never deprive myself of their benefits and joys.
> Rather, I will drink enough wine to quench my thirst,
> As I am dragged through the people.[4517]

According to Aghānī,

> Walīd was an adulterous drunkard. He drank in Kūfah and stood to lead the morning prayer in the Grand Mosque. He prayed four rak´ahs, then faced them and said, "Shall I add [even more] for you?!" He then vomited in the pulpit (miḥrāb).[4518]

Ibn Ḥajar said,

> The story of his praying the morning prayer as four [rak´ahs] with the people due to his drunken state is famous, as is the story of his removal [from the governorship of Kūfah] after it was proved that he had drunk wine. It is mentioned in the two Ṣaḥīḥs (i.e. Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī[4519] and Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim[4520]). ´Uthmān removed him from Kūfah after whipping him and instead made Sa´īd ibn ´Āṣ its governor.[4521]

Ibn Athīr said, "The narrations of his praying with them while drunk and his telling them, 'Shall I add [even more] for you?!' after he prayed four [rak´ahs instead of two for] the morning [prayer] is famous among the traditions of the trustworthy experts of traditions."[4522] He also said, "What the experts of tradition hold to be true is that he drank intoxicants, vomited it [in the mosque], and prayed the morning [prayer] as four [rak´ahs instead of two]."[4523] Ibn ´Abd al-Barr said, "The account of his [leading] prayer while drunk and his saying, 'Shall I add [even more] for you?!' after praying the morning [prayers] as four [rak´ahs] is famous among the reliable transmissions of the trustworthy experts of tradition."[4524]

[4512] Usd al-Ghābah 1:348 #806 (Jundab ibn Ka´b).
[4513] Murūj al-Dhahab 2:344.
[4514] Usd al-Ghābah 4:316 #5476 (Walīd ibn ´Uqbah).
[4515] Istī´āb 4:115 #2750 (Walīd ibn ´Uqbah).
[4516] Istī´āb 4:115, 4:116 #2750 (Walīd ibn ´Uqbah); Usd al-Ghābah 4:316 #5476 (Walīd ibn ´Uqbah); Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:174; Imāmah wa Siyāsah 40; Tārīkh al-Khulafā` 139; Aghānī 5:519; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 17:229, 17:230; Murūj al-Dhahab 2:344; Tārīkh Abū al-Fidā` 1:234; ´Iqd al-Farīd 4:294 (says three rak´ahs instead of four).
[4517] Murūj al-Dhahab 2:344.
[4518] Aghānī 5:519.
[4519] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.58.212.
[4520] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #17.4231.
[4521] Iṣābah 3:2087 #9150 (Walīd ibn ´Uqbah).
[4522] Usd al-Ghābah 4:316 #5476 (Walīd ibn ´Uqbah).

Walīd's Removal from Power

Because of his blatant misdeeds and continued drinking, several of those in the mosque including Abū Zaynab ibn ´Awf al-Azdī, Jundub ibn Zuhayr al-Azdī, and others went to his house, where they found him drunk on his bed, not comprehending anything. They tried to wake him up, but he would not awaken. He instead vomited what he had drunk. They removed his ring from his finger as evidence of his drunken stupor and took it to Madīnah.[4525] According to Kitāb al-Aghānī and Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd,

> A group of the people of Kūfah went to ´Uthmān in regards to Walīd. [´Uthmān] said, "Is anyone who is angry at his governor allowed to throw false [accusations] at him? When I wake up, I will definitely make an example of[4526] you." They sought protection with ´Ā`ishah. ´Uthmān woke up and heard a voice with a harsh tone from her room. He said, "Do I find the evil-doers of Iraq and its renegades seeking refuge in the house of ´Ā`ishah?!" [´Ā`ishah] heard [´Uthmān's words], so she took the shoe of the Messenger of Allāh (ص) and said, "You have abandoned the Sunnah of the owner of this shoe." The people heard [her words], [so they] came and filled the mosque. One would say, "She said it right," while [another] would say, "It's not fitting for women to get involved in this," until they [broke down into] an argument and beat one another with their shoes. A group of the companions of the Messenger of Allāh (ص) entered ´Uthmān's presence and told him, "Fear Allāh and do no neglect the punishments (ḥudūd) of Allāh. Remove your brother from them." So he removed him from [power] over [Kūfah].[4527]

According to Ṭabarī,

> ´Uthmān sent Sa´īd ibn ´Āṣ to Kūfah to serve as governor (amīr) there when witnesses formally charged Walīd ibn ´Uqbah with wine drinking, and he ordered [Sa´īd] to dispatch Walīd ibn ´Uqbah to him. Sa´īd ibn ´Āṣ arrived in Kūfah and sent to Walīd [as follows], "The Commander of the Faithful orders you to come before him." Sa´īd procrastinated for some days, and then sent to [Walīd], "Hasten to your brother, for he has ordered me to send you to him." Sa´īd did not mount the pulpit in Kūfah until he had commanded it to be cleansed. Certain men of the Quraysh, members of the Banū Umayyah, who had gone out to Kūfah with him, pleaded with him and said, "This is disgraceful. By Allāh, if someone besides you had intended to do this, it would be right for you to prevent [him] from it; the shame of this [act] would cling to him forever." However, [Sa´īd] insisted on doing it and washed the pulpit. He sent to Walīd to

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[4523] Usd al-Ghābah 4:317 #5476 (Walīd ibn ´Uqbah).

[4524] Istī´āb 4:116 #2750 (Walīd ibn ´Uqbah).

[4525] Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:267; Murūj al-Dhahab 2:345.

[4526] In this context, the derivative of the root *nakala* can be translated as, "make an example of you," "torture you," or "shackle you."

[4527] Aghānī 5:521; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 17:232-233.

> vacate the governor's palace (dār al-imārah). [Walīd] did so, taking up residence in the house of ʿUmārah ibn ʿUqbah. Then Walīd came before ʿUthmān.[4528]

Similar accounts are found in other sources, such as Ansāb al-Ashrāf,[4529] Aghānī,[4530] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd,[4531] and Murūj al-Dhahab.[4532] According to Aghānī, Saʿd said, "Wash this pulpit, for Walīd was a filthy dirty [man] (rijsan najisan)."[4533] According to Balādhurī, "When Saʿīd entered Kūfah, he washed the pulpit and the governor's palace (dār al-imārah)."[4534] According to Aghānī,

> [ʿUthmān] ordered a man among the Muslims to lash him [ع] his [Islāmic] punishment. When he approached him, [Walīd] said, "I adjure you by Allāh and by my closeness to the Commander of the Faithful (ʿUthmān)!" So he left him [alone]. ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib, fearing that the punishments of Allāh would be neglected, went up to him and inflicted the punishment on him himself. Walīd said, "I adjure you by Allāh and by [our] closeness." ʿAlī said, "Be quiet, Abū Wahb. The Children of Israel perished only because of their neglect of the punishments (ḥudūd) of Allāh." He struck him and said, "After this, the Quraysh can call me its executioner (jallād)!"[4535]

According to other accounts, ʿAlī (ع) noted ʿUthmān's reluctance to carry out the Islāmic punishment (ḥadd), and said, "What prevents you from what inflicting the Islāmic punishment on this drunkard?"[4536] He also said, "[If I do not ensure that Allāh's punishment is inflicted on him], I am not a Muslim" or "among the Muslims."[4537] ʿUthmān then said, "You [then go ahead] and inflict the Islāmic punishment on him yourself."[4538] According to Masʿūdī,

> When Walīd came, ʿUthmān called the two [witnesses]. They testified against Walīd and Walīd had no defense... When ʿAlī saw the reluctance of the people to inflict the Islāmic punishment (ḥadd) out of fear of ʿUthmān's anger for his brother being whipped, ʿAlī took the whip and went up to Walīd. Walīd insulted ʿAlī... and tried to dodge and escape from him. ʿAlī got a hold of him and tossed him onto the ground and struck him with the whip. ʿUthmān said, "It is not [permissible] for you to do this to him!" ʿAlī said, "Indeed, and even worse than this when he performs evil deeds and prevents the right of Allāh, the oft-high, from being taken from him."[4539]

In some traditions, it is said that ʿAlī (ع) offered the whip first to his son Ḥasan (ع) and then to ʿAbd Allāh ibn Jaʿfar, who actually performed the whipping.[4540] According to Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim,

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[4528] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 15:120.
[4529] Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:268.
[4530] Aghānī 5:525.
[4531] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 17:242.
[4532] Murūj al-Dhahab 2:346.
[4533] Aghānī 5:525.
[4534] Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:268.
[4535] Aghānī 5:519.
[4536] Imāmah wa Siyāsah 41.
[4537] Aghānī 5:521; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 17:233.
[4538] Imāmah wa Siyāsah 41.
[4539] Murūj al-Dhahab 2:345.
[4540] Aghānī 5:520.

> Walīd was brought to ʿUthmān ibn ʿAffān as he had prayed two rakʿahs of the dawn prayer, and then he said, "I make an increase for you." And two men bore witness against him. One of them was Ḥumrān who said that he had drunk wine. The second one bore witness that he had seen him vomiting [wine]. ʿUthmān said, "He would not have vomited [wine] unless he had drunk it." He said, "ʿAlī, stand up and lash him." ʿAlī said, "Ḥasan, stand up and lash him." Thereupon Ḥasan said, "Let him suffer the heat [of the caliphate] who has enjoyed its coolness." [ʿAlī] said, "ʿAbd Allāh ibn Jaʿfar, stand up and flog him," and he began to flog him and ʿAlī counted the stripes.[4541]

The main problems with the narration in Muslim are that it distorts the story in three ways. First, this tradition claims that Walīd prayed two rakʿahs and only offered to pray more, as opposed to actually praying four rakʿahs, as is established by numerous famous, if not mutawātir, traditions. Second, it portrays ʿUthmān as eager to punish him even though the other traditions show that he was trying to avoid punishing his half-brother and that ʿAlī (ع) forced the issue. Third, this tradition contradicts some of the other accounts indicating that it was ʿAlī (ع) himself who carried out the whipping, making it appear as though neither ʿAlī (ع) nor his son Ḥasan (ع) really wanted to carry out the punishment themselves. Yet, even this tradition states that Walīd drank wine, that he vomited wine in the mosque, and that ʿUthmān and ʿAlī (ع) were convinced of his crime. This account completely glosses over ʿUthmān's reluctance to punish Walīd and the fact that he wanted to punish the witnesses instead, as ʿUmar had done to those who testified against Mughīrah ibn Shuʿbah,[4542] which is why ʿĀʾishah had said, "ʿUthmān has abandoned Islāmic punishments and [has instead] threatened the witnesses,"[4543] and why ʿAlī (ع) had said, "You have suspended Islāmic punishments and [have instead] beaten a group that has borne [truthful] testimony regarding your brother."[4544] It is clear that ʿUthmān beat the witnesses before the uproar in Madīnah and the insistence of ʿAlī (ع) and ʿĀʾishah forced him to allow his half-brother to be flogged for drinking. Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī's account of the event is similar to that of Muslim, but even briefer:

> [ʿUthmān said], "As for what you have mentioned about Walīd ibn ʿUqbah, Allāh willing, I will give him the legal punishment justly." Then ʿUthmān ordered that Walīd be flogged forty lashes. He ordered ʿAlī to flog him and he himself flogged him as well.[4545]

Going even further in trying to hide the truth was Ṭabarī, who narrated the bulk of Walīd's acts from Sayf ibn ʿUmar, a well-known liar,[4546] who claimed that the witnesses against Walīd concocted the story of his drinking based on seeing him with a "platter of grape seeds,"[4547] then stole his ring while he was sleeping as proof that he was drunk.[4548] This account has been rejected by Sunnī scholars.[4549] Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr said, "This story [related by Ṭabarī that appears] among the narrations of the historians is not considered authentic among the experts of tradition. It has no origins [in reality] according to the scholars (ahl al-ʿilm)."[4550] The fact that Ṭabarī would go to such lengths to pass on a weak, fictional tale by a known liar instead of the truth shows the level of discomfort he had with historical reality.

[4541]. Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #17.4231.
[4542]. Refer to chapter 60.
[4543]. Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:267.
[4544]. Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:267.
[4545]. Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.58.212.
[4546]. Refer to chapter 74.
[4547]. Tārīkh Ṭabarī 15:49.
[4548]. Tārīkh Ṭabarī 15:52.
[4549]. For example, Istīʿāb 4:116 #2750 (Walīd ibn ʿUqbah); Iṣābah 3:2087 #9150 (Walīd ibn ʿUqbah).
[4550]. Istīʿāb 4:116 #2750 (Walīd ibn ʿUqbah).

Walīd's Destiny

Walīd's reign over Kūfah began in the year 25 A.H. and ended in the year 29 A.H.,[4551] and he died during the caliphate of Mu´āwīyah.[4552] After ´Uthmān, it is said that Walīd did not enter any wars himself even though he instigated Mu´āwīyah to fight ´Alī (ع) with his letters and poems.[4553] Others have asserted that he joined Mu´āwīyah in the Battle of Ṣiffīn against ´Alī (ع).[4554] It should come as no surprise that he would be inclined towards Mu´āwīyah and opposed to ´Alī (ع), as ´Alī (ع) was the one who insisted on whipping him and as ´Alī (ع) would have no role for the likes of him in his Islāmic government.

[4551] Iṣābah 3:2088 #9150 (Walīd ibn ´Uqbah).
[4552] Iṣābah 3:2088 #9150 (Walīd ibn ´Uqbah).
[4553] Iṣābah 3:2087 #9150 (Walīd ibn ´Uqbah); Usd al-Ghābah 4:317 #5476 (Walīd ibn ´Uqbah); Istī´āb 4:117-8 #2750 (Walīd ibn ´Uqbah) (includes examples of his poetry in this regards).
[4554] Usd al-Ghābah 4:317 #5476.

Chapter 65
The Beatings of ʹAbd Allāh ibn Masʹūd and ʹAmmār ibn Yāsir at the Behest of ʹUthmān

ʹAbd Allāh ibn Masʹūd's Biographic Background

According to Sunnī sources, ʹAbd Allāh ibn Masʹūd was the sixth companions to accept Islām and was one of the prominent companions of the Prophet (ص). Despite the strict persecution of Muslims, he was the first to publicly recite the Qurʾān aloud in Mecca, and was beaten for doing so. He would put the Messenger of Allāh's shoes on him and would walk in front of him to ward off danger. He subsequently emigrated to Abyssinia and then emigrated to Madīnah, where he remained a close companion of the Prophet (ص). He prayed towards both qiblahs, the Bayt al-Maqdis and the Masjid al-Ḥarām, and he fought at Badr and later battles. He collected the Qurʾān at the time of the Messenger of Allāh (ص) and the Prophet (ص) ordered his companions to take the Qurʾān from him, to listen to his recitation, and to recite it as he did. Ibn Masʹūd and his mother visited the Prophet (ص) so often that some people thought they part of the Prophet's (ص) family. The Messenger of Allāh (ص) said, "On the Day of Judgment, the foot of ʹAbd Allāh [ibn Masʹūd] will weigh more in the scale (mīzān) than Mount Uḥud."[4555] ʹAlī (ع) said, "Ibn Masʹūd recites the Qurʾān and knows the Sunnah. This is sufficient for him."[4556]

According to Masʹūdī, in the year 21 A.H. when the people of Kūfah complained about their governor, Saʹd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ, ʹUmar removed him from power and sent ʹAmmār ibn Yāsir to Kūfah as its governor and Ibn Masʹūd as its treasurer.[4557] According to Ibn Ḥajar, ʹAmmār was sent as the governor (amīr) while Ibn Masʹūd was sent to teach religious matters,[4558] and according to Ḥanbal and Ibn ʹAbd al-Barr, ʹUmar sent ʹAmmār as the governor (amīr) and Ibn Masʹūd as the teacher (muʹallim) and minister (wazīr).[4559] ʹUmar said in regards to ʹAmmār and Ibn Masʹūd, "They are the most distinguished (nujabāʾ) of the companions of Muḥammad, so follow them."[4560] Ibn Masʹūd apparently remained in Kūfah for the remainder of ʹUmar's caliphate and into the caliphate of ʹUthmān until Walīd was appointed governor of Kūfah.[4561] ʹAmmār, however, was replaced with Mughīrah ibn Shuʹbah in the year 22 A.H., and Mughīrah remained as the governor of Kūfah until ʹUmar died in the year 24 A.H.[4562] A year later

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[4555] This is a summary based on Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 3:150-158; Iṣābah 2:1122-4 #4955 (ʹAbd Allāh ibn Masʹūd); Istīʹāb 3:110-6 #1677 (ʹAbd Allāh ibn Masʹūd); Usd al-Ghābah 3:74-78 #3182 (ʹAbd Allāh ibn Masʹūd); and Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:182-3.

[4556] Istīʹāb 3:115 #1677 (ʹAbd Allāh ibn Masʹūd).

[4557] Murūj al-Dhahab 2:343.

[4558] Iṣābah 2:1124 #4955 (ʹAbd Allāh ibn Masʹūd).

[4559] Faḍāʾil Ḥanbal #1546-7; Istīʹāb 3:115 #1677 (ʹAbd Allāh ibn Masʹūd).

[4560] Iṣābah 2:1124 #4955 (ʹAbd Allāh ibn Masʹūd); Istīʹāb 3:115 #1677 (ʹAbd Allāh ibn Masʹūd); Faḍāʾil Ḥanbal #1546-7.

[4561] Refer to chapter 64 for a discussion of Walīd ibn ʹUqbah.

[4562] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 14:50-51.

(25 A.H.), he was replaced with Sa´d ibn Abī Waqqāṣ, who was in turn replaced with Walīd ibn ´Uqbah in the subsequent year (26 A.H.).[4563]

Walīd Would Not Repay His Public Debt

According to Balādhurī,

> When Walīd arrived in Kūfah, he borrowed some money from the treasury, in charge of which was ´Abd Allāh ibn Mas´ūd. It was common for governors to do so for a set period of time and to then return [the money] when the date was due. So Ibn Mas´ūd lent him what he asked for, but when [the loan] was due, he asked for the money, [but Walīd refused to repay it] and wrote to ´Uthmān [complaining about Ibn Mas´ūd]. ´Uthmān wrote to Ibn Mas´ūd, "You are our treasurer, so do not get in Walīd's way when he takes from the treasury (Bayt al-Māl)." Ibn Mas´ūd tossed the keys [of the treasury] and said, "I thought I was the treasurer of the Muslims, but if I am going to be your [personal] treasurer, I have no need for this."[4564]

According to ´Iqd al-Farīd,

> [Ibn Mas´ūd gave a speech] in the mosque... and said, "O people of Kūfah! One hundred thousand [dirhams] are missing from your treasury tonight without the Commander of the Faithful giving any orders in regards to [collecting] it or freeing me from responsibility for it." Walīd ibn ´Uqbah wrote ´Uthmān about this [speech] and [Ibn Mas´ūd] was deposed from the treasury.[4565]

Ibn Mas´ūd was Recalled to Madīnah, Where He was Beaten

When ´Uthmān sent to Ibn Mas´ūd ordering him to return to Madīnah, the people of Kūfah gathered and told him, "Stay here and we will prevent anything you dislike from happening to you." He said, "I have the obligation to obey, and I do not like to be the first to open the door of mischief."[4566] On his way to Madīnah, he passed through Rabadhah, where he buried Abū Dharr, who had just died there in the exile imposed on him by ´Uthmān.[4567] According to Balādhurī, when Ibn Mas´ūd was recalled,

> He advised the people of Kūfah to [adopt] piety and to follow the Qur`ān. They told him, "May you be rewarded well. You have taught our unknowing ones, strengthened our knowledgeable ones, recited the Qur`ān to us, and taught us religious laws. What a great brother in Islām and what a great friend you have been." They then bade farewell to him and returned.
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> Ibn Mas´ūd entered Madīnah while ´Uthmān was giving a speech on the pulpit of the Messenger of Allāh (ص). When [´Uthmān] saw him, he said, "Truly a despicable animal that vomits and defecates when someone steps on his food has come to you!" Ibn Mas´ūd said, "It is not as such. Rather, I was the companion of the Messenger of Allāh (ص) on the Day of Badr and at pledge of

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4563. Tārīkh Ṭabari 15:5, 15:15-17.
4564. Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:266.
4565. ´Iqd al-Farīd 4:293.
4566. Iṣābah 2:1124 #4955 (´Abd Allāh ibn Mas´ūd); Istī´āb 3:115 #1677 (´Abd Allāh ibn Mas´ūd); Usd al-Ghābah 3:77-78 #3182 (´Abd Allāh ibn Mas´ūd).
4567. Abū Dharr's exile is discussed in chapter 67.

allegiance of Riḍwān [while you, O ʻUthmān, were not].” ʻĀʼishah yelled out, “O ʻUthmān, do you say this to the companion of the Messenger of Allāh?!”

ʻUthmān then ordered him [to be thrown out of the mosque]. Ibn Masʻūd was thrown out by brute force. ʻAbd Allāh ibn Zamʻah ibn Aswad ibn Muṭṭalib ibn Asad ibn ʻAbd al-ʻUzzā ibn Quṣayy struck him to the ground and ʻUthmān's slave Yaḥmūm carried him [away]. His feet were dragged by his neck and he was struck to the ground [in such a way] that his ribs fractured.

ʻAlī said, “O ʻUthmān, do you do this to the companion of the Messenger of Allāh (ص) based on the word of Walīd ibn ʻUqbah?” ʻUthmān replied, “I did not do this based on the word of Walīd. Rather, I sent Zubayd ibn Ṣalt al-Kindī to Kūfah, and Ibn Masʻūd told him, ‘It is indeed permissible (ḥalāl) [to spill] the blood of ʻUthmān.’” ʻAlī said, “Do you rely on Zubayd, who is not trustworthy?”

ʻAlī took care of Ibn Masʻūd until he could return home. Ibn Masʻūd remained in Madīnah and ʻUthmān did not give him permission to leave [Madīnah] to any other land. He intended to fight [the Byzantines] in battle, but [ʻUthmān] prevented him [from doing so] because Marwān told him, “Ibn Masʻūd has corrupted Iraq against you. Do you want him to corrupt Syria against you as well?” He did not leave Madīnah until he died two years before ʻUthmān was killed.[4568]

Ibn Masʻūd Refused to Submit to the Recitation of Zayd ibn Thābit

When ʻUthmān forced everyone to follow the recitation of Zayd ibn Thābit, confiscating all the copies of the Qurʼān held by the Muslims and burying or burning them,[4569] Ibn Masʻūd was infuriated.[4570] He gave a speech in which he said,

> “Do you order me to recite the Qurʼān according to the recitation of Zayd ibn Thābit? By He in Whose hands is my soul, I took seventy sūrahs from the lips of the Messenger of Allāh (ص) while Zayd ibn Thābit enjoyed playing with the little boys. By Allāh, nothing of the Qurʼān was revealed, except that I know in regards to what it was revealed. No one is more knowledgeable in regards to the [recitation of the] Book than I am. If I knew anyone to whom a camel could take me who is more knowledgeable to the [recitation of the] Book than I am, I would go to him.” He then felt ashamed of what he had said and added, “I am not the best of you.”[4571]

Shaqīq, who related this tradition, said, “I have sat in circles including the companions of the Messenger of Allāh (ص) and have not heard anyone refute this.”[4572] Indeed, the claims of Ibn Masʻūd were true, because he was referring to his absolute knowledge of the wording of the Qurʼān and the fact that he did not require Zayd ibn Thābit, one of ʻUthmān's associates, to tell him how to recite the Qurʼān. He did acknowledge at the end of his speech that there were others who were better and more knowledgeable than he was, but in terms of knowledge of the proper recitation of the wordings of the Qurʼān,

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4568. Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:269. Similarly, Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 3:43-44.
4569. Refer to chapter 55.
4570. Maṣāḥif Ibn Abī Dāwūd #37.
4571. Istīʻāb 3:115 #1677 (ʻAbd Allāh ibn Masʻūd). Similarly, Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 2:343-344; Usd al-Ghābah 3:77 #3182 (ʻAbd Allāh ibn Masʻūd); Tārīkh Bukhārī vol 3 #762 (Khumayr ibn Mālik); Tārīkh Damishq 33:139.
4572. Istīʻāb 3:115 #1677 (ʻAbd Allāh ibn Masʻūd).

Ibn Mas'ūd felt that he had attained the highest level of perfection, and there is no reason to believe that he had not. Indeed, he was specifically referring to his superiority over 'Uthmān and his cronies who were now teaching the premiere companions how to recite the Qur`ān. One cannot think of any reason why 'Uthmān would force everyone to accept the recitation of Zayd ibn Thābit, when far better experts were available. He clearly wanted to humiliate the pious and devoted companions and instead advance an Islām taught by his own personal devotees instead of the devotees of the Messenger of Allāh (ص).

The Martyrdom of Ibn Mas'ūd

According to Ibn Kathīr, Balādhurī, and Ibn Athīr,

> [Ibn Mas'ūd] came from Iraq and passed through Rabadhah and witnessed the death of Abū Dharr and his burial. He then went to Madīnah and became sick (after he was beaten). When Ibn Mas'ūd was sick, 'Uthmān went to visit him. 'Uthmān asked, "What do you suffer from?" He replied, "My sins." He asked, "What do you hope for?" He replied, "The mercy of my Lord." He asked, "Should I call a doctor for you?" He replied, "The doctor is the one who has made me sick." He asked, "Should I restore your share [from the treasury]?" as ['Uthmān] had withheld it for two years. He replied, "I have no need for it." ['Uthmān] said, "It will be for your daughters after you." He replied, "Do you fear indigence for my daughters? I have ordered my daughters to recite Sūrah Wāqi'ah[4573] every night. I have heard the Messenger of Allāh (ص) say, 'Indigence will never reach one who recites [Sūrah] Wāqi'ah every night.'"[4574]

As 'Uthmān left Ibn Mas'ūd's bedside, some of those present said, "Truly, ['Uthmān's] blood is permissible [to spill] (ḥalāl)."[4575] This was obviously because those present attributed the death of Ibn Mas'ūd to the injuries he sustained when 'Uthmān had him beaten.

Ibn Mas'ūd died in year 32 or 33 A.H. at sixty-some years of age.[4576] His death occurred soon after his return to Madīnah, as is apparent from the fact that he had buried Abū Dharr on his way to Madīnah and the fact that Abū Dharr died in the year 31 or 32 A.H.[4577] As such, the fact that 'Uthmān "beat 'Abd Allāh ibn Mas'ūd until his ribs broke,"[4578] was considered the proximate cause of his death.

Of note, after Ibn Mas'ūd's death, Zubayr went to 'Uthmān and said, "Give me the share of 'Abd Allāh [from the treasury], as the family of 'Abd Allāh is more deserving of it than the treasury," so 'Uthmān gave him fifteen thousand or twenty thousand dirhams.[4579] It is clear that 'Uthmān had cut off Ibn Mas'ūd from his share of the Islāmic treasury because of Ibn Mas'ūd's opposition to the wrongful acts of 'Uthmān and his governor. To deny Muslims their rights is a clear act of injustice, and to do so because of their enjoining right and forbidding evil conduct is an outrageous assault on justice. Of course, since killing Ibn Mas´ūd had drawn the ire of the Prophet's (ص) companions, ´Uthmān tried to save face by releasing Ibn Mas´ūd's stipend to his heirs.

[4573] Qur`ān, sūrah 56.

[4574] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:183; Usd al-Ghābah 3:77 #3182 ('Abd Allāh ibn Mas'ūd). Similarly, Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:269.

[4575] Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:269.

[4576] Usd al-Ghābah 3:78 #3182 ('Abd Allāh Ibn Mas'ūd); Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:269.

[4577] Refer to chapter 67.

[4578] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 1:199.

[4579] Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 3:160-161 (two traditions). The fact that 'Uthmān gave Zubayr Ibn Mas'ūd's share of the treasury after his death to pass onto his heirs also appears in Usd al-Ghābah 3:77 #3182 ('Abd Allāh ibn Mas'ūd).

´Uthmān Beat ´Ammār Because Ibn Mas´ūd Had Banned ´Uthmān from Attending His Funeral

According to numerous Sunnī sources, Ibn Mas´ūd asked for ´Ammār ibn Yāsir and Zubayr ibn ´Awwām to `pray upon him and to bury him in Baqī´ at night.[4580] After the secret nighttime burial, ´Uthmān was outraged by the fact that he had not been informed of the funeral.[4581] According to Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd,

> Ibn Mas´ūd told [´Ammār], "´Uthmān must not pray upon me." ´Ammār said, "It will be as you wish." When Ibn Mas´ūd was buried, ´Uthmān came, disapproving of what had happened. Someone told him, "´Ammār was the one who took charge of the matter." [´Uthmān] asked ´Ammār, "What prevented you from informing me?" [´Ammār] replied, "He made me promise not to inform you."[4582]

According to Balādhurī and Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd,

> ´Uthmān passed by a new grave and asked about it. He was told, "[It belongs to] ´Abd Allāh ibn Mas´ūd." He got angry at ´Ammār, who was in charge of praying upon [Ibn Mas´ūd] and conducting his [burial], for hiding [Ibn Mas´ūd's] death from him. ´Uthmān trampled ´Ammār with his feet by [´Abd Allāh's grave] until he developed a hernia.[4583]

´Uthmān Beat ´Ammār a Second Time

According to Balādhurī,

> In the treasury of Madīnah was a basket [full] of [precious] jewels and gems. ´Uthmān took some of them as ornaments for his family members. The people openly criticized him with harsh words until ´Uthmān was angered and said, "We will take as many of these [gems] as we want, even if it snubs the noses of the people."
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> ´Alī said, "Then they will forbid you from this and will come between you and [the gems]." ´Ammār ibn Yāsir said, "I take Allāh as witness that I am the first who cannot tolerate this!" ´Uthmān said, "O Ibn al-Mutakkā`, you have become [quite] daring! Take him!"

4580. Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:183 (Ibn Mas´ūd left his will with Zubayr and both ´Ammār and Zubayr have been claimed to have performed the funeral prayer); Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:269 (´Ammār performed the prayer while Zubayr was the executor of his will); Istī´āb 3:115 #1677 (´Abd Allāh ibn Mas´ūd) (Zubayr buried him and performed the prayer at his funeral); Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 3:160 (´Ammār performed his funeral prayer); Usd al-Ghābah 3:78 #3182 (´Abd Allāh ibn Mas´ūd) (Ibn Mas´ūd left his will with Zubayr and either Zubayr or ´Ammār led the funeral prayer).

4581. Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:183; Istī´āb 3:115 #1677 (´Abd Allāh ibn Mas´ūd); Usd al-Ghābah 3:78 #3182 (´Abd Allāh ibn Mas´ūd).

4582. Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 3:42.

4583. Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:275; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 3:50.

> He was taken away. ʹUthmān came and called for him to be beaten until he became unconscious. He was then thrown out and carried to the house of Umm Salamah, the wife of the Messenger of Allāh (ص). He did not pray [his] noon (ẓuhr), afternoon (ʹaṣr), and evening (maghrib) [prayers]. When he gained consciousness, he performed an ablution (wuḍūʹ) and prayed. He said, "Praise be to Allāh that this is not the first day in which I have been harassed in [the path of] Allāh (i.e. he was previously harassed and nearly killed by the pagans[4584])."
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> Since ʹAmmār had a covenant with the Banū Makhzūm,[4585] Hishām ibn Walīd ibn Mughīrah al-Makhzūmī stood and said, "O ʹUthmān, you fear ʹAlī and the children of his father, but you proceed with your inflictions against us and you beat our brother until he almost died. By Allāh, if he dies, I will definitely kill a leading man[4586] from the Banū Umayyah."
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> ʹUthmān said, "O Ibn al-Qasrīyyah, have you gone this far?!" He replied, "Both of them are Qasrīs, as his mother and grandmother were both Qasrīs from Bajīlah." ʹUthmān then insulted him and ordered him to be taken out. [Hishām] went to Umm Salamah who was [also] angry because of what had been done to ʹAmmār.
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> ʹĀʹishah [also] heard what had been done to ʹAmmār. She became angry and took out some of the Messenger of Allāh's hair, his garment, and one of his shoes. She then said, "How quickly you have abandoned the Sunnah of the Prophet! This hair and clothing and shoe of his have remained unharmed [while you have destroyed his religion]!"
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> ʹUthmān became so angry that he could no longer understand what he was saying. Uproar filled the mosque. The people said, "Subḥān Allāh! Subḥān Allāh!" ʹAmr ibn ʹĀṣ was angry at ʹUthmān [at the time] because of his being removed [from the governorship of] Egypt and [because of] the setting into power of ʹAbd Allāh ibn Saʹd ibn Abī Sarḥ [in his stead]. Bewilderment [at what was happening] increased, as did the [people's saying], "Subḥān Allāh!"
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> ʹUthmān was informed of the fact that Hishām ibn Walīd and other members of the Banū Makhzūm had gone to Umm Salamah and of her anger in regards to [what he had done to] ʹAmmār. [ʹUthmān] sent to her [asking], "What is this congregation?" She sent to him [the message], "Cease this, O ʹUthmān, and do not coerce people to accept the decisions of yours that they despise." The people were disgusted by what ʹUthmān had done to ʹAmmār. [News of] the incident spread among them, strengthening their disapproval of him.[4587]

ʹUthmān's seizing the gems from the treasury and handing them over to his family members should be contrasted to when ʹAlī's (ع) treasurer briefly lent a pearl from the treasury to ʹAlī's (ع) daughter. According to Ṭabarī,

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[4584] Refer to chapter 5.

[4585] ʹAmmār's father had a mutual protection agreement with the Banū Makhzūm and his mother Sumayyah was a mawlā of the Banū Makhzūm (Iṣābah 2:1300 #5706, ʹAmmār ibn Yāsir), and they thereby enjoyed protection from that tribe.

[4586] Literally, a "big-stomached man." This phrase could have been a reference to either ʹUthmān himself or Muʹāwiyah or perhaps to any other prominent member of the Banū Umayyah who would be killed in revenge.

[4587] Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:275. Similarly, Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 3:49-50; Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:292.

> Ibn Abī Rāfi´, who was ´Alī's treasurer [said]: One day ´Alī came in and found his daughter had been dressed up in finery and saw her wearing a pearl from the treasury. He recognized it and said, "Where did she get this? It is my duty to Allāh to cut off her hand!"[4588] When I saw that he was serious about that, I said, "By Allāh, Commander of the Faithful, I adorned my brother's[4589] daughter with it. Where would she have gotten it if I had not given it to her?" And he was silent.[4590]

´Ammār was Beaten by ´Uthmān Five Times

´Ammār was beaten by ´Uthmān's orders a total of five times. According to Ibn Kathīr and Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, the first time was when ´Ammār had a dispute with ´Abbās ibn ´Utbah ibn Abī Lahab,[4591] the details of which are not cited. The second time occurred after Abū Dharr's death in exile, when ´Uthmān had ´Ammār beaten because he invoked Allāh's mercy from ´Uthmān's acts that led to Abū Dharr's death in exile.[4592] As discussed earlier in this chapter, he was also severely beaten for his nighttime burial of Ibn Mas´ūd, as well as for his criticism of ´Uthmān's usurpation of gems belonging to the treasury. He was beaten a fifth time towards the end of ´Uthmān's reign when he transmitted the complaints of the companions so that ´Uthmān could rectify his errors. According to Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd,

> Miqdād, ´Ammār, Ṭalḥah, Zubayr, and a group of the companions of the Messenger of Allāh (ص) wrote a letter [to ´Uthmān], in which they listed ´Uthmān's innovations and warned him that they would rise [against him] if he did not rectify [these innovations]. ´Ammār took the letter and carried it to him and read the beginning part to him. ´Uthmān chastised him for being so bold. ´Ammār said, "I am giving you their advice." He said, "You lie, O Ibn Sumayyah!"[4593] ´Ammār replied, "I am, by Allāh, the son of Sumayyah and the son of Yāsir!" ´Uthmān ordered his slaves to attack him. They dragged him by his arms and feet and ´Uthmān kicked his testes with his feet, causing him to develop a hernia. He was weak and old, so he fell unconscious.[4594]

A very similar account has been narrated by Ibn Qutaybah in Imāmah wa Sīyāsah, also claiming that this incident caused him to develop a hernia.[4595] According to ´Iqd al-Farīd,

> The companions of ´Uthmān wrote a letter [detailing] his errors and what people were criticizing him for, and then asked, "Who will take it to him?" ´Ammār said, "I will." So he went to ´Uthmān with it, and when [´Uthmān] read it, he said, "May Allāh snub your nose!" [´Ammār replied], "And the noses of Abū Bakr and ´Umar [as well]?" [´Uthmān] trampled him until he fell unconscious. He then regretted what he had done, so he sent Ṭalḥah and Zubayr to him. They said to him, "Accept one of three—forgiveness, [monetary] recompense, or retribution

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[4588] According to Qur´ān 5:38, the punishment of a thief is amputation of a hand.

[4589] Referring to brother in religion, not biological brother.

[4590] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:230.

[4591] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:191; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 2:159-60.

[4592] Refer to chapter 67.

[4593] Referring to someone as the son of his mother would be considered an insult in this context.

[4594] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 3:50.

[4595] Imāmah wa Sīyāsah 40.

> (qiṣāṣ)." He replied, "By Allāh! I will not accept any of these until I meet Allāh."[4596]

According to Ibn Sa'd, "Some people [erroneously] believe that 'Uqbah ibn 'Āmir was the one who killed 'Ammār [at Ṣiffīn], but he was the one who beat him when 'Uthmān ordered him [to do so]."[4597] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd said, "There is no disagreement among the transmitters [of tradition] that the beating of 'Ammār did occur. The only disagreement is over its cause."[4598] It is apparent from these accounts that 'Uthmān felt that 'Ammār had given him plenty of reasons to beat him repetitively.

One must keep in mind that 'Ammār was killed by the army of 'Uthmān's cousin Mu'āwīyah in the Battle of Ṣiffīn in the year 37 A.H. and he was between ninety-one and ninety-four years old at the time.[4599] This means that when 'Uthmān beat him, 'Ammār was well into his eighties, perhaps even his early nineties. 'Ammār remained patient despite his torture, as the Prophet (ص) had promised him and his parents, "Have patience, O family of Yāsir, for your promised appointment is in paradise!"[4600] He also said, "Allāh is the enemy of 'Ammār's enemy and Allāh despises whoever despises 'Ammār."[4601]

The Prophet (ص) Told 'Ammār that He Would be Fought and Killed by an Army of Transgressors

The most mutawātir and widely transmitted tradition in regards to 'Ammār is the Prophet's (ص) saying, "'Ammār will be killed (taqtuluhu) by an army of transgressors (fi'ah al-bāghīyah)." This tradition appears in various forms, all encompassing grammatical variations of this key phrase, in numerous Sunnī sources, including Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī,[4602] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim,[4603] Sunan Tirmidhī,[4604] Mustadrak Ḥākim,[4605] Musnad Ḥanbal,[4606] Musnad Ṭayālisī,[4607] Mu'jam al-Ṣaghīr Ṭabarānī,[4608] Sunan al-Kubrā Nasā'ī,[4609] Sunan al-Kubrā Bayhaqī,[4610] Fatḥ al-Bārī,[4611] Jāmi' al-Ṣaghīr Suyūṭī,[4612] Kanz al-'Ummāl,[4613] Majma' al-Zawā'id,[4614] Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā,[4615] Khaṣā'iṣ Nasā'ī,[4616]

4596. 'Iqd al-Farīd 4:293.
4597. Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 3:259.
4598. Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 3:49.
4599. Usd al-Ghābah 3:312 #3804 ('Ammār ibn Yāsir); Istī'āb 3:231 #1883 ('Ammār ibn Yāsir); Iṣābah 2:1300 #5706 ('Ammār ibn Yāsir).
4600. Kanz al-'Ummāl #37366; Majma' al-Zawā'id #15590-2 (certifies those in the chains of transmission of #15591 and #15592 as trustworthy); Sīrah Ibn Hishām 211; Iṣābah 2:1300 #5706 ('Ammār ibn Yāsir).
4601. Musnad Ḥanbal #16860; Kanz al-'Ummāl #37387; Majma' al-Zawā'id #15595 (certifies the tradition as authentic); Iṣābah 2:1300 #5706 ('Ammār ibn Yāsir).
4602. Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #4.52.67.
4603. Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #41.6966-70.
4604. Sunan Tirmidhī #3800.
4605. Mustadrak Ḥākim #2652, #2563 (certifies the tradition as authentic by the criteria of Bukhārī), #2663 (certifies the tradition as authentic by the criteria of Bukhārī and Muslim), #5657, #5659 (certifies the tradition as authentic by the criteria of Bukhārī and Muslim), #5660, #5676 (certifies the tradition as authentic), #5697.
4606. Musnad Ḥanbal #6499, #6538, #6926-7, #6929, #11024, #11182, #11237, #11879, #17801, #17813, #21922, #22662-3, #25525, #26605, #26692, #26722.
4607. Musnad Ṭayālisī #603, #649, #1598, #2168, #2202.
4608. Mu'jam al-Ṣaghīr Ṭabarānī #516.
4609. Sunan al-Kubrā Nasā'ī #8275, #8543-8553.
4610. Sunan al-Kubrā Bayhaqī #15563-7.
4611. Fatḥ al-Bārī #436, #3414, #3503, #6704.
4612. Jāmi' al-Ṣaghīr Suyūṭī #5607, #9640.
4613. Kanz al-'Ummāl #25535, #31698, #31716, #31718, #31762, #33531-3, #33547-51, #33555-6, #33558-62, #33564, #37367, #37370, #37372, #37374-5, #37386, #37391-2, #37394-6, #37398-402, #37404-10, #37416.

Iṣābah,[4617] Usd al-Ghābah,[4618] Istī ʿāb,[4619] Sīrah Ibn Hishām,[4620] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr,[4621] Tārīkh Ṭabarī,[4622] Ansāb al-Ashrāf,[4623] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd,[4624] and numerous other Sunnī sources. In fact, Ibn Ḥajar said, "The traditions [stating that] the Prophet (ص) [said], ''Ammār will be killed by an army of transgressors,' are mutawātir, and there is consensus that he was killed [fighting] on the side of ʿAlī in [the Battle of] Ṣiffīn."[4625] Similarly, Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr said, "The accounts of the Prophet (ص) saying, ''Ammār will be killed by an army of transgressors,' are mutawātir and this is among the most sound of traditions."[4626]

Note that the word "taqtuluhu" can refer both to fighting and killing, as words derived from the root "qatala" are used in both senses throughout the Qurʾān. By the definition of fighting, it is clear that ʿĀʾishah, Ṭalḥah, and Zubayr were among the transgressors who fought ʿAmmār in the Battle of Jamal, as was ʿUthmān who beat him publicly and in private. In fact, Sunnī traditions claim that Zubayr was distraught in the Battle of Jamal when he realized that ʿAmmār was in the army of ʿAlī (ع), presumably because of this tradition.[4627] Zubayr, therefore, must have interpreted the word to mean "fight," as he had not killed ʿAmmār. In any case, ʿUthmān set a precedent for attacking this most holy of companions, and these beatings could have easily caused the death of ʿAmmār.

4614. Majmaʿ al-Zawāʾid #12048-55 #12063, #15610-5, #15617-8, #15621-2, #15624, #15626 (certifies traditions #12048, #12049, #12063, #15618, and #15621 as having trustworthy men in their chains of transmission; certifies traditions #15614 and #15626 as good (ḥasan); and certifies traditions #12054 and #15615 as authentic).
4615. Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 1:241, 3:248, 3:251-4 (numerous chains of transmission), 3:259.
4616. Khaṣāʾiṣ Nasāʾī 132-5 (numerous chains of transmission).
4617. Iṣābah 2:1300 #5706 (ʿAmmār ibn Yāsir).
4618. Usd al-Ghābah 3:312 #3804 (ʿAmmār ibn Yāsir).
4619. Istī ʿāb 3:230 #1883 (ʿAmmār ibn Yāsir).
4620. Sīrah Ibn Hishām 344.
4621. Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 3:263-5 (numerous traditions), 6:239-40 (several traditions), 7:267, 7:269, 7:296-301 (numerous traditions), 7:340, 7:345.
4622. Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:69.
4623. Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:73-4 (several traditions), 1:327-8 (several traditions).
4624. Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 8:17, 8:19, 8:24, 10:106, 10:109, 15:177, 18:24, 20:28, 20:38, 20:334.
4625. Iṣābah 2:1300 #5706 (ʿAmmār ibn Yāsir).
4626. Istī ʿāb 3:230 #1883 (ʿAmmār ibn Yāsir).
4627. Refer to chapter 79.

Chapter 66
ʿUthmān Spread Power and Wealth Among His Kinsmen

The main quality that set ʿUthmān ibn ʿAffān ibn Abī al-ʿĀṣ ibn Umayyah ibn ʿAbd Shams apart from his two predecessors was that he would go to any end to empower his relatives and to use the ever-increasing wealth of the treasury to enrich the members of his clan. This was best described by ʿUthmān himself when he said, "ʿUmar used to deny his family and relatives things, seeking Allāh's face[4628], whereas I give freely to my family and relatives, [also] seeking it."[4629] He also claimed, "Abū Bakr and ʿUmar abandoned their rights to [public wealth], but I will take it and divide it among my relatives."[4630] As such, he took funds derived from khums, fayʾ, kharāj, etc., treating them as his own personal properties. Indeed, ʿUthmān's overt nepotism was the key reason for the widespread resentment that build up against him.

Apparently, ʿUthmān justified his usurpation of the khums and fayʾ by claiming that "the close ones" in the verses of khums and fayʾ[4631] referred to the close ones of the Prophet (ص) (i.e. the Ahl al-Bayt [ع]) during his lifetime, and subsequently to the close ones of each caliph. As such, Abū Bakr and ʿUmar had given up the rights of their family members to their share of the close ones, but he would maintain that right for his own family members. Of course, he was wrong, because the close ones specifically referred to the Ahl al-Bayt, and the Prophet (ص) had specifically barred ʿUthmān and the members of his family from having any share in the khums and fayʾ.[4632] According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī,

> Narrated Jubayr ibn Muṭʿim: ʿUthmān ibn ʿAffān and I went to the Prophet and said, "You have given the Banū ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib from the khums of Khaybar's booty and have left us [out] in spite of the fact that we and the Banū ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib are similarly related to you." The Prophet said, "The Banū Hāshim and the Banū ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib only are one and the same." So the Prophet did not give anything to the Banū ʿAbd Shams (ʿUthmān's family) and the Banū Nawfal.[4633]

ʿUthmān Appointed His Relatives as Governors

The following are some of ʿUthmān's family members whom he appointed as governors of various lands:[4634]

4628. i.e. seeking closeness to Allāh.
4629. Tārīkh Ṭabarī 14:141.
4630. Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 3:64; Tārīkh al-Khulafāʾ 141; Tārīkh Damishq 39:251.
4631. Refer to chapter 23 for a discussion of these verses.
4632. Refer to chapter 23.
4633. Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.59.538.
4634. Murūj al-Dhahab 2:343-344. Also refer to Tārīkh Ṭabarī 15:255.

1. Walīd ibn ʿUqbah ibn Abī Muʿayṭ ibn Abī ʿAmr ibn Umayyah, ʿUthmān's maternal half-brother, was appointed as the governor of Kūfah.

2. Saʿīd ibn ʿĀṣ ibn Saʿīd ibn ʿĀṣ ibn Umayyah was appointed as the governor of Kūfah after Walīd was removed.

3. ʿAbd Allāh ibn Saʿd ibn Abī Sarḥ, ʿUthmān's milk-brother, was appointed as the governor of Egypt.

4. Muʿāwīyah ibn Abī Sufyān ibn Ḥarb ibn Umayyah was retained as governor of Syria.

5. ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿĀmir, the son of ʿUthmān's maternal uncle, was put in charge of Baṣrah. He was also related to ʿUthmān by being from the Banū ʿAbd Shams, as his full lineage was ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿĀmir ibn Kurayz ibn Rabīʿah ibn Ḥabīb ibn ʿAbd Shams.[4635] Note that the Umayyads were the descendants of Umayyah ibn ʿAbd Shams.

ʿUthmān Installed Ibn Abī Sarḥ, His Milk-Brother with a History of Apostasy, as the Governor of Egypt

In the year 27 A.H.,[4636] ʿUthmān removed ʿAmr ibn ʿĀṣ and instead appointed his milk-brother, ʿAbd Allāh ibn Saʿd ibn Abī Sarḥ, whom he had previously appointed as governor of al-Maghrib (northern Africa),[4637] as the governor of Egypt.[4638] He was so depraved that he was among the handful of individuals whom the Messenger of Allāh (ص) had ordered to be executed after the conquest of Mecca, as they could not be included in the general amnesty. According to Ibn Isḥāq,

> The Apostle had instructed his commanders when they entered Mecca only to fight those who resisted them, except a small number who were to be killed even if they were found beneath the curtains of the Kaʿbah. Among them was ʿAbd Allāh ibn Saʿd, brother of the Banū ʿĀmir ibn Luʾayy. The reason he ordered him to be killed was that he had been a Muslim and used to write down revelation; then he apostatized and returned to the Quraysh and [after the conquest of Mecca] fled to ʿUthmān ibn ʿAffān whose [milk]-brother he was. The latter hid him until he brought him to the Apostle after the situation in Mecca was tranquil, and asked that he might be granted immunity. They allege that the Apostle remained silent for a long time till finally he said yes. When ʿUthmān left, he said to his companions who were sitting around him, "I kept silent so that one of you might get up and strike off his head!" One of the Anṣār said, "Then why didn't you give me a sign, O Apostle of Allāh?" He answered that a prophet does not kill by pointing.[4639]

This event and the numerous sources citing it were presented previously in the discussion of the conquest of Mecca.[4640] Indeed, this man's specific crime was not just apostasy but also spreading the false claim that he was the source of parts of the Qur`ān.[4641] According to numerous Sunnī works of Qur`ānic commentary, the following verse of the Qur`ān was revealed about him: "Who can be more wicked than the one who invents a lie against Allāh or who says, 'I have received inspiration,' when he has received none, or who says, 'I can reveal the like of what Allāh has revealed'?"[4642,4643] Tārīkh Ṭabarī has cited the following among the events of year 27 A.H.:

[4635] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 15:33-34.
[4636] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:169.
[4637] Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:265; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:187.
[4638] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:169.
[4639] Sīrah Ibn Isḥāq 550. Refer to chapter 25 for other sources citing this event.
[4640] Refer to chapter 25.

> ´Uthmān stripped ´Amr ibn ´Āṣ of [control over] the tax revenues (kharāj) of Egypt and made ´Abd Allāh ibn Sa´d the chief fiscal officer. The two [men] were bitterly at odds. ´Abd Allāh wrote to ´Uthmān saying, "Verily, ´Amr has refused to turn over the tax revenues," while ´Amr wrote, "Verily ´Abd Allāh has used the stratagems of war against me." ´Uthmān wrote ordering ´Amr to depart, and gave ´Abd Allāh ibn Sa´d authority over both the tax revenues and the army. ´Amr arrived [in Madīnah] in a fury, and entered ´Uthmān's presence wearing a Yemeni cloak filled with cotton. ´Uthmān said to him, "What is the filling of your cloak?" He responded, "´Amr." ´Uthmān went on, "I knew that it were filled with ´Amr. I didn't mean that. I was only asking whether it was cotton or something else."[4644]

Ṭabarī has also related that,

> When ´Uthmān stripped ´Amr ibn ´Āṣ of Egypt, ´Amr was intensely angry and was filled with hatred for ´Uthmān. ´Uthmān now sent ´Abd Allāh ibn Sa´d with orders to proceed to Ifrīqīyyah, and charged the people to undertake [the conquest] of that land. Thus 10,000 [troops] from the Quraysh, the Helpers, and the Emigrants set forth... When ´Uthmān sent ´Abd Allāh ibn Sa´d to Ifrīqīyyah, the Patrician of Ifrīqīyyah Gregory (Jurjīr) made peace in return for [a tribute] of 2,520,000 dīnārs... The terms on which ´Abd Allāh ibn Sa´d made peace were 300 qinṭārs of gold, and ´Uthmān commanded it to be [turned over] to the family of Ḥakam.[4645]

Indeed, 1 qinṭār is equal to 100 pounds (raṭls).[4646] Thus, the booty obtained amounted to 30,000 pounds of gold, all of which was turned over to the family of Ḥakam, who had been cursed and exiled by the Prophet (ص).[4647] According to Ibn Kathīr, in one battle, 2,020,000 dīnārs were obtained, which ´Uthmān "turned over in its entirety to the family of Ḥakam in a single day."[4648] In other traditions, it is said that he gave Marwān the khums (one-fifth) of the booty of Ifrīqīyyah,[4649] which according to some accounts amounted to 500,000 dīnārs.[4650] The variation among the numbers may be due to the fact that the conquest of northern Africa occurred in a number of battles, each bringing in significant wealth over a period of time.

[4641] Usd al-Ghābah 2:610 #2976 (´Abd Alāh ibn Sa´d ibn Abī Sarḥ).

[4642] Qur`ān 6:93.

[4643] Tafsīr Qurṭubī, Tafsīr Zamakhsharī, Tafsīr Rāzī, Tafsīr Bayḍāwī, Tafsīr Shawkānī, Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, Tafsīr Tha´labi, and Tafsīr Khāzin, verse 6:93.

[4644] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 15:24.

[4645] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 15:23-24.

[4646] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 15:23, footnote #40.

[4647] Refer to chapter 63.

[4648] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:170.

[4649] Tārīkh al-Khulafā` 141; Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:263, 2:292; ´Iqd al-Farīd 4:271; Imāmah wa Sīyāsah 40; Tārīkh Abū al-Fidā` 1:236; Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 3:64.

[4650] Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 1:485; Tārīkh Abū al-Fidā` 1:233, 1:236.

ʹUthmān Replaced Abū Mūsā al-Ashʹarī with His Cousin ʹAbd Allāh ibn ʹĀmir in Baṣrah

In the year 29 A.H., ʹUthmān removed Abū Mūsā al-Ashʹarī from Baṣrah after six years of governorship, and instead appointed the 25 year old ʹAbd Allāh ibn ʹĀmir, who was the son of ʹUthmān's maternal uncle, as the new governor.[4651] According to Ṭabarī,

> Ghaylān ibn Kharashah al-Ḍabbī went up to ʹUthmān ibn ʹAffān and said, "Indeed you have a youngster whom you should treat as an adult and appoint as governor of Baṣrah. How long will this old man"—that is, Abū Mūsā [al-Ashʹarī]—"govern Baṣrah?" Now he had been governor for six years since the death of ʹUmar. Thus, ʹUthmān deposed him and sent out ʹAbd Allāh ibn ʹĀmir ibn Kurayz ibn Rabīʹah ibn Ḥabīb ibn ʹAbd Shams. This man's mother was Dajjājah bint Asmā` al-Sulamī, and he was the son of ʹUthmān ibn ʹAffān's maternal uncle. He came to Baṣrah in the year 29, at the age of twenty-five.[4652]

ʹUthmān Granted Massive Amounts of Wealth to His Family and Friends

The following is a few of the accounts of ʹUthmān's generous handouts of wealth to his family and friends:

1. ʹUthmān gave Fadak to Marwān ibn Ḥakam.[4653] We discussed the issue of Fadak in great detail earlier.[4654] It was proved that Fadak belonged to Fāṭimah (ع) and that taking it away from her was illegitimate in the first place. Even worse was giving it to Marwān, because regardless of whether it belonged to Fāṭimah (ع) or was charity, ʹUthmān had no right to give it to anyone, definitely not to his own family, and most definitely not to an accursed man like Marwān. To confiscate what was either private or public property and to hand it over to one's family members was clearly unjust, illegitimate, and nepotistic. Moreover, according to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, ʹUthmān had been specifically told by the Prophet (ص) that he and his family had no share in the fay` and khums, as they belonged solely to the Prophet's (ص) family.[4655] Furthermore, Fadak was fay`, and the Qur`ān explicitly states that fay` must "not be traded around merely among the rich men you have,"[4656] as ʹUthmān did.

2. ʹAbd Allāh ibn Khālid ibn Asīd ibn Abī al-ʹĀṣ ibn Umayyah asked ʹUthmān to maintain his family ties, so ʹUthmān gave him 400,000 dirhams.[4657]

3. On the day ʹUthmān gave Marwān ibn Ḥakam 100,000 dirhams, he also gave 200,000 dirhams to Abū Sufyān.[4658]

4. ʹUthmān gave the entirety of the fay` of northwestern Africa, from Tripoli to Tangier, to ʹAbd Allāh ibn Saʹd Abī Sarḥ.[4659]

[4651] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:173; Tārīkh Ṭabarī 15:33.
[4652] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 15:33-34.
[4653] Sunan al-Kubrā Bayhaqī #12516; Tārīkh Abū al-Fidā` 1:236; ʹIqd al-Farīd 4:271; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 1:198.
[4654] Refer to chapters 23 and 49.
[4655] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.59.538. Refer to earlier in this chapter for the text of the tradition.
[4656] Qur`ān 59:7.
[4657] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 1:198. Similarly, ʹIqd al-Farīd 4:271.
[4658] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 1:199.
[4659] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 1:199.

5. ʹUthmān gave one man, whose name Suyūṭī did not mention, one hundred thousand chests full of gold, each one containing 4,000 ūqīyah of gold (1 ūqīyah ≈ 37 grams; 4,000 ūqīyah ≈ 148 kg; total weight of the chests ≈ 14,800 metric tons. Also 1 ūqīyah = 40 dirhams; total contents of chests = 16 billion dirhams).[4660] This may be an exaggeration, but it shows the extent to which ʹUthmān would grant the nation's wealth to his family and circle of friends.

6. Abū Mūsā al-Ashʹarī brought ʹUthmān a number of exquisite items from Iraq. ʹUthmān divided all of them amongst the Banū Umayyah.[4661]

7. ʹUthmān married his daughter ʹĀʾishah to Ḥārith ibn Ḥakam, the brother of Marwān ibn Ḥakam, and gave him 100,000 dirhams from the Bayt al-Māl after Zayd ibn Arqam was removed as its treasurer.[4662]

8. Another time, ʹUthmān gave Ḥārith ibn Ḥakam, his son-in-law, 300,000 dirhams.[4663]

9. ʹAbd Allāh ibn Khālid ibn Asīd ibn Abī al-ʹĀṣ ibn Umayyah came to ʹUthmān with men who had fought alongside him, and ʹUthmān gave him 300,000 dirhams and every man with him 1,000 dirhams.[4664]

10. The Messenger of Allāh (ص) had given away a land near Madīnah as charity. ʹUthmān took it and gave it to Ḥārith ibn Ḥakam.[4665]

11. There were precious jewels in the treasury, which ʹUthmān gave to some of his family members. The people complained with harsh words until ʹUthmān was angered and said, "This is the property of Allāh. I give of it to whomever I wish, and I withhold it from whomever I wish!"[4666]

12. ʹUthmān gave Ṭalḥah 200,000 dīnārs.[4667]

Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd summarized these gifts as follows:

> ʹAbd Allāh ibn Khālid ibn Asīd asked him for maintenance of family ties, so he gave him four hundred thousand dirhams. He returned Ḥakam ibn Abī al-ʹĀṣ [to Madīnah] after the Messenger of Allāh (ص) had exiled him and neither Abū Bakr nor ʹUmar would allow him to return. He then gave him one hundred thousand dirhams. The Messenger of Allāh (ص) gave a region near Madīnah, commonly known as Mahzūr, as charity to the Muslims, but ʹUthmān gave it to Ḥārith ibn Ḥakam, the brother of Marwān ibn Ḥakam. He gave Fadak to Marwān, even though Fāṭimah had asked for it after the death of her father, [both seeking it] as inheritance [from her father] as well as a gift [given to her during the Prophet's (ص) lifetime]. He protected all the pastures around Madīnah from the livestock of the Muslims, except for [those of the] Banū Umayyah. He gave ʹAbd

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[4660] Tārīkh al-Khulafāʾ 140.
[4661] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 1:199.
[4662] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 1:199.
[4663] Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:276.
[4664] Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:279.
[4665] ʹIqd al-Farīd 4:271; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 1:198.
[4666] Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:292.
[4667] Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:255.

> Allāh ibn [Sa´d ibn] Abī Sarḥ the entirety of what Allāh granted him from the conquest of Ifrīqīyyah in al-Maghrib—and that is from Tripoli to Tangiers—without giving a single [other] Muslim a share in it. And he gave Abū Sufyān ibn Ḥarb two hundred thousand [dirhams] from the treasury on the day in which he gave Marwān ibn Ḥakam one hundred thousand [dirhams] from the treasury... Abū Mūsā [al-Ash´arī] brought him exquisite items from Iraq, and he divided them all among the Banū Umayyah. He married Ḥārith ibn Ḥakam to his daughter ´Ā`ishah and gave him a hundred thousand from the treasury after removing Zayd ibn Arqam as his treasurer.[4668]

Summary of ´Uthmān's Gifts

To cite each and every gift ´Uthmān gave from the Islāmic treasury to his family and friends would be unnecessary for the purposes and scope of this book. The following is an adaptation of ´Allāmah Amīnī's summary of ´Uthmān's grants of dīnārs and dirhams based on Sunnī sources:[4669]

Receiver	Dīnārs	Dirhams
´Abd Allāh ibn Abī Sarḥ	100,000	
´Abd Allāh ibn Khālid		900,000
´Abd al-Raḥmān ibn ´Awf	2,560,000	
Abū Sufyān ibn Ḥarb		200,000
Ḥakam ibn Abī al-´Āṣ		300,000
The family of Ḥakam		2,020,000
Ḥārith ibn Ḥakam		300,000
Marwān ibn Ḥakam	500,000	100,000
Sa´īd ibn ´Āṣ		100,000
Sa´d ibn Abī Waqqāṣ		250,000
Ṭalḥah ibn ´Ubayd Allāh	200,000	32,200,000
´Uthmān ibn ´Affān	350,000	30,500,000
Walīd ibn ´Uqbah		100,000
Ya´lā ibn Umayyah	500,000	
Zayd ibn Thābit	100,000	
Zubayr ibn ´Awwām		59,800,000
Total	4,310,000	126,770,000

Estimates of the Wealth of the Companions

Needless to say, thanks to ´Uthmān's generosity, a number of companions became immensely wealthy during his caliphate. According to Ibn Sa´d, when ´Uthmān died, he left behind 30,500,000 dirhams and 150,000 dīnārs.[4670] Mas´ūdī recounted the wealth some of the companions gathered, which is summarized as follows:

> Ṭalḥah's yield from Iraq was 1,000 dīnārs per day, and it is claimed even more. His income from Sarāh[4671] was even greater than that. ´Abd al-Raḥmān ibn ´Awf had 100 horses, 1,000 camels, and 10,000 sheep. After his death, one-thirty-secondth of his wealth was worth 84,000 (making his cumulative wealth

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[4668] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 1:198-199.

[4669] Al-Ghadīr 8:286.

[4670] Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 3:76.

[4671] A land between Tabūk and Syria (Tārīkh Ibn Khaldūn 2:42). It is also referred to as Sharāh.

> 2,688,000[4672]). Ya´lā ibn Umayyah died, leaving behind 500,000 dīnārs, and other belongings worth 300,000 dīnārs. When Zayd ibn Thābit died, he left behind so much gold and silver that axes were needed to break it up.[4673]

Amazingly, during his official recitation of the Qur`ān, Zayd ibn Thābit must have overlooked the following verse: "Those who hoard gold and silver and who do not spend it in the way of Allāh, announce unto them a most grievous penalty."[4674] And he perhaps did not recited to ´Uthmān and his clan,

> Fair in the eyes of men is the love of things they covet—women and sons, heaped-up hoards of gold and silver, horses branded [for blood and excellence], and [wealth of] cattle and well-tilled land. Such are the possessions of this world's life; but in nearness to Allāh is the best of goals.[4675]

Zubayr's Wealth According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī

According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, Asmā` bint Abī Bakr who was married to Zubayr said, "When Zubayr married me, he had no real property or any slave or anything else except a camel which drew water from the well and his horse."[4676] This shows the extent of poverty that the companions started off with. This must be contrasted with what some of them came to possess by the end of the caliphate of ´Uthmān. According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, ´Abd Allāh ibn Zubayr reported that when Zubayr died, he had "eleven houses in Madīnah, two in Baṣrah, one in Kūfah and one in Egypt." Moreover, "Zubayr had four wives, and after one-third of his property was excluded [in accordance with his will], each of his wives received one million and two hundred thousand. So the total amount of his property was fifty million and two hundred thousand."[4677] According to my calculation, he would have left behind 57,600,000, because one-fourth of one-eighth of two-thirds of this number equals 1,200,000, which is what each wife reportedly received. In any case, by citing this tradition, Bukhārī shed some light onto the extreme wealth that the companions had accumulated during the caliphate of ´Uthmān. Moreover, the existence of this tradition in Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī makes it difficult for the Salafis to deny what has been claimed regarding the immense wealth accrued by some of the Prophet's (ص) companions during ´Uthmān's caliphate. It should also be noted that Zubayr died soon after the death of ´Uthmān in the Battle of Jamal, making it certain that this wealth was accumulated during the reign of the first three "rightly-guided" caliphs.

Ibn Arqam Quit as ´Uthmān's Treasurer

According to Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd,

> Zayd ibn Arqam, the custodian of the Bayt al-Māl (treasury), came with its key and put it in front of ´Uthmān and sobbed. ´Uthmān said, "Do you cry because I have maintained my blood ties?" He replied, "No, but I cry because I suspect that there is a difference between the way you take this wealth now and the way you gave it away in the path of Allāh during the lifetime of the Messenger of Allāh (ص). By Allāh, if you give Marwān a hundred dirhams it is too much."

[4672] It is not specified whether these are dīnārs or dirhams.
[4673] Murūj al-Dhahab 2:342-343.
[4674] Qur`ān 9:34.
[4675] Qur`ān 3:14.
[4676] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #7.62.151.
[4677] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #4.53.358.

> [ʹUthmān] said, "Return the keys, O son of Arqam. We will find someone other than you."[4678]

Note that Balādhurī believed that the treasurer was ʹAbd Allāh ibn Arqam, not Zayd ibn Arqam. According to Balādhurī,

> ʹUthmān ordered [Ibn Arqam to pay] ʹAbd Allāh [ibn Khālid ibn Asīd ibn Abī al-ʹĀṣ] three hundred thousand dirhams and to every man accompanying him one thousand dirhams... Ibn Arqam refused to give it to them. ʹUthmān said, "You are only our treasurer, so what would make you do what you did (i.e. refuse to follow my orders)?" Ibn Arqam said, "I used to see myself as the treasurer of the Muslims. Your [personal] treasurer is your slave. By Allāh, I will no longer take charge over the treasury for you." He brought the keys and hung them on the pulpit, or as is [also] said, gave them to ʹUthmān. ʹUthmān then gave the keys to Nātil, his freedman (mawlā), and then put Zayd ibn Thābit al-Anṣārī in charge of the treasury and gave him the keys... He sent ʹAbd Allāh ibn Arqam 300,000 dirhams, but he would not accept it.[4679]

Indeed, ʹUthmān gave Zayd ibn Thābit 100,000 dirhams,[4680] presumably to make sure that his new treasurer would comply with whatever he was asked to do. Of course, money kept flowing to this new treasurer, as when he died, axes were needed to divide his hoards of gold and silver.[4681]

ʹUthmān Rejected ʹAlī's (ع) Advice that He Follow the Sunnah with Respect to the Distribution of Charitable Properties

According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī,

> Narrated [Muḥammad ibn ʹAlī] al-Ḥanafiyyah: Some people came to [ʹAlī] and complained about the zakāt officials of ʹUthmān. ʹAlī then said to me, "Go to ʹUthmān and say to him, 'This document contains the regulations of spending the ṣadaqah (charity) of Allāh's Apostle, so order your zakāt officials to act accordingly.'" I took the document to ʹUthmān. ʹUthmān said, "Take it away, for we are not in need of it." I returned to ʹAlī with it and informed him of that. He said, "Put it whence you took it."[4682]

ʹAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʹAwf's Relationship with ʹUthmān Soured

When ʹAbd al-Raḥmān pledged allegiance to ʹUthmān, ʹAlī (ع) said, "By Allāh, you have not done it except for your harboring the hope your companion (i.e. ʹUmar) had in regards to his companion (i.e. Abū Bakr). May Allāh set cast between the two of you a great separation."[4683] What he was referring to was the fact that ʹAbd al-Raḥmān was hoping that by pledging allegiance to ʹUthmān, ʹUthmān would appoint him caliph upon his death, just as ʹUmar was appointed caliph by Abū Bakr in appreciation of ʹUmar's putting him in power at the Saqīfah.

[4678] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 1:199.

[4679] Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:279. A similar account appears in Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:292.

[4680] Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:276.

[4681] Murūj al-Dhahab 2:342.

[4682] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #4.53.343.

[4683] Ibn Abi al-Ḥadīd 1:188.

Indeed, the relationship between ʼAbd al-Raḥmān and ʼUthmān soured. It got to a point that, according to Balādhurī, "ʼAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʼAwf swore never ever to speak to ʼUthmān again."[4684] According to ʼIqd al-Farīd, this appears to have started as follows:

> When people denounced ʼUthmān for his innovations regarding his appointment of his family to power over the great companions of the Prophet (ص), they told ʼAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʼAwf, "This is your doing and your choice [of caliph] for the nation of Muḥammad (ص)." He replied, "I never suspected that he would do this." He went to ʼUthmān and told him, "I selected you so that you would act in accordance with the sīrahs of Abū Bakr and ʼUmar, but you have gone against them." He replied, "ʼUmar severed his blood ties for Allāh, but I maintain mine for Allāh." [ʼAbd al-Raḥmān said], "Allāh will be [a witness] upon me that I will never speak to you again!" So ʼAbd al-Raḥmān died without ever speaking to ʼUthmān [again].[4685]

Their relationship remained bitterly tense. According to Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, ʼAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʼAwf sent a message to ʼUthmān in which he said, "I witnessed Badr while you did not witness it; I witnessed the pledge of allegiance of Riḍwān while you did not witness it; and I remained on the day of Uḥud while you fled."[4686] According to Ṭabarī,

> Some camels were brought to ʼUthmān as legal alms (ṣadaqah), and he made a gift of them to one of the descendants of Ḥakam. Having learned of this, ʼAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʼAwf sent to Miswar ibn Makhramah and ʼAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Aswad ibn ʼAbd Yaghūth. They took the camels, and ʼAbd al-Raḥmān [ibn ʼAwf] then distributed them among the people while ʼUthmān stayed at home.[4687]

According to Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd,

> When ʼUthmān built his palace in Zawrāʼ[4688], he prepared a lot of food and invited people to it. Among them were ʼAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʼAwf. When he saw the building and food, he said, "O son of ʼAffān, we were right about you. We did not lie about you. I seek refuge with Allāh from having pledged allegiance to you." ʼUthmān was angered and said [to his slave], "Send him away from me, O slave." He was thrown out. People were ordered to no longer meet with [ʼAbd al-Raḥmān]. No one would visit him except for Ibn ʼAbbās who would go to him to learn [what he knew of] the Qurʼān and Islāmic rituals. [When] ʼAbd al-Raḥmān became sick, ʼUthmān visited him and spoke to him, but he did not speak to ʼUthmān until he died.[4689]

Indeed, ʼUthmān's relationship with ʼAbd al-Raḥmān may have soured even earlier when ʼAbd al-Raḥmān became the most outspoken critic of ʼUthmān in regards to his alterations of the prayers at Minā.[4690] When ʼAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʼAwf died in the year

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[4684]. Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:278.
[4685]. ʼIqd al-Farīd 4:292.
[4686]. Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 1:196, 15:21-22.
[4687]. Tārīkh Ṭabarī 15:182.
[4688]. According to Muʼjam al-Buldān (3:156), "Zawrāʼ is the [location of] ʼUthmān's house in Madīnah."
[4689]. Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 1:196.
[4690]. Refer to chapter 63.

33 A.H., he stated in his will that ʿUthmān not pray upon him, so Zubayr or Saʿd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ performed his funeral prayers.[4691]

Jabalah Became the First to Threaten ʿUthmān

ʿUthmān's unrelenting empowerment of his corrupt family members made him widely despised. The first person to openly threaten to kill him was Jabalah ibn ʿAmr. According to Ṭabarī,

> The first man who dared to insult ʿUthmān was Jabalah ibn ʿAmr al-Sāʿidī. Once, while he was sitting among his kinsmen holding a rope in his hand, ʿUthmān passed by him. ʿUthmān greeted them as he was passing by, and they greeted him in return. Then Jabalah said, "Why do you answer a man who did such-and-such a thing?" Jabalah then approached ʿUthmān and said, "By Allāh, I will throw this rope around your neck unless you abandon your personal entourage." "What entourage," asked ʿUthmān? "By Allāh, I do not choose favorites among the people." [Jabalah] answered, "Marwān, and Muʿāwīyah, and ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿĀmir ibn Kurayz, and ʿAbd Allāh ibn Saʿd—all of these you have favored. Among them are men who are condemned in the Qurʾān, men whose blood the Messenger of Allāh has declared lawful." ʿUthmān departed, and the people have continued to talk spitefully about him to this day.[4692]

4691. Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:278.

4692. Tārīkh Ṭabarī 15:182. Other accounts of the exchanges between ʿUthmān and Jabalah can be found in Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:274.

Chapter 67
The Torture and Exile of Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī

Abū Dharr's Exile to Syria

One of the worst atrocities ´Uthmān committed that contributed greatly to the widespread discontent of the Prophet's (ص) companions with his rule was his exile of Abū Dharr in the year 30 A.H. A brief summary of the events surrounding his exile is presented here. Those interested in further research into the subject should refer to a number of Sunnī sources that have addressed this event.[4693] According to Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd,

> When ´Uthmān gave Marwān ibn Ḥakam and others housefuls of wealth and earmarked some of it for Zayd ibn Thābit, Abū Dharr kept saying among the people and in the roads and streets, "Promise the disbelievers (kāfirīn) a grievous penalty!"[4694] He would raise his voice while [saying] this and would [also] recite [the verse], "Those who hoard gold and silver and who do not spend it in the way of Allāh, announce unto them a most grievous penalty."[4695] ´Uthmān was repeatedly informed of this, but he remained quiet. [Eventually, ´Uthmān] sent one of his slaves [to Abū Dharr, saying], "Stop doing what I have been informed of." Abū Dharr asked, "Does ´Uthmān prohibit me from reciting the Book of Allāh, the oft-high, [when] he is at fault for abandoning the commands of Allāh? By Allāh, it is better for me [to continue what I am doing]. I prefer for Allāh to be satisfied me with while ´Uthmān is angry at me than for Allāh to be angry at me while I enjoy ´Uthmān's satisfaction." ´Uthmān was angered at this, but he kept it in memory and waited until one day ´Uthmān was asked publicly, "Is it permissible for the ruler to borrow something from [public] property and return it whenever he pleases?" Ka´b al-Aḥbār replied, "There is no problem in doing that." Abū Dharr said, "O son of two Jews! Do you teach us our religion?!" ´Uthmān said, "Your popularity has been rising among my companions as you harass me more and more. Go to Syria!" So he left [Madīnah] for [Syria].[4696]

A similar account also appears in Ansāb al-Ashrāf.[4697] According to Mas´ūdī,

> ´Uthmān asked, "Do you see any rights for others in one's properties when one has paid his zakāt?" Ka´b al-Aḥbār replied, "No, O Commander of the Faithful."

[4693] For other accounts refer to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #2.24.488-9, #6.60.183; Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:276-8; Murūj al-Dhahab 2:348-350; Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 4:219-237; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 8:252-262; Fatḥ al-Bārī #67, #1341-2; ´Umdah al-Qārī 2:42, 8:248.

[4694] His phrase is similar to Qur`ān 9:3.

[4695] Qur`ān 9:34.

[4696] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 8:256.

[4697] Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:276-7.

> Abū Dharr struck Ka´b's chest and said, "You lie, O son of a Jew!" He then recited, "It is not righteousness that you turn your faces towards the east or the west [during the physical act of prayer]. Rather, righteousness is to believe in Allāh, the Last Day, the angels, the Book, and the messengers, and to spend of your wealth, out of love for Him, for the near of kin, for the orphans, for the needy, for the wayfarer, for those who ask, and for the ransom of slaves."[4698] ´Uthmān asked, "Do you consider it improper for us to take property from the treasury of the Muslims and give it away [as we please]?" Ka´b said, "There is nothing wrong with this." Abū Dharr raised his cane and hit Ka´b's chest with it and said, "O Son of a Jew, how dare you speak in regards to our religion?!" ´Uthmān told him, "You harass me so much! Hide your face from me, for you have harassed us." Abū Dharr left for Syria.[4699]

According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, what Abū Dharr said that the people did not like was, "Inform those who hoard wealth that a stone will be heated in hell-fire and will be put on the nipples of their breasts till it comes out from the bones of their shoulders and then [it will be] put on the bones of their shoulders till it comes through the nipples of their breasts; [the whole while], the stone will be moving and hitting."[4700]

Abū Dharr was Sent Back to Madīnah and then Exiled to Rabadhah

According to Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd and Balādhurī,

> [In Syria, Abū Dharr] faulted Mu´āwīyah for the things he did. Mu´āwīyah sent him three hundred dīnārs but Abū Dharr [refused to accept them], telling [Mu´āwīyah's] messenger, "If it is of my share that you have deprived me of this year, I will accept it. But if it is for 'maintaining family ties,'[4701] I have no need for it," and returned [the money] to him. Then [when] Mu´āwīyah built the Green [Palace] in Damascus, Abū Dharr said, "O Mu´āwīyah, if this is from the property of Allāh, it is a betrayal [of the public trust], and if it from your property, it is extravagance (isrāf)." Abū Dharr would say in Syria, "By Allāh, he has invented acts that I do not recognize [as being part of Islām]! By Allāh, it is neither in the Book of Allāh nor in the Sunnah of His Prophet (ص)! By Allāh, I see the truth extinguished while falsehood is given life! [I see that] the truthful are rejected, those with influence lack piety, and the righteous are subjugated!" Ḥabīb ibn Maslamah al-Fihrī told Mu´āwīyah, "Abū Dharr has indeed corrupted Syria against you. Assert control over its people if you have any need for Syria [remaining under your control]."[4702]

As such, Abū Dharr was brought to Mu´āwīyah. Mu´āwīyah said, "If I were to kill a man from the companions of Muḥammad without the permission of the Commander of the Faithful (´Uthmān), I would kill you, but I will [instead] ask him what to do with you."[4703] According to Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd,

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[4698] Qur`ān 2:177.

[4699] Murūj al-Dhahab 2:349.

[4700] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #2.24.489.

[4701] Here Abū Dharr was referring to ´Uthmān's excuse that all the wealth he plundered from the Islāmic treasury and gave out to his family and friends was purportedly for the noble act of "maintaining family ties."

[4702] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 8:256-257; Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:277.

[4703] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 8:257.

> [Abū Dharr] said, "I am neither an enemy of Allāh nor of His Messenger (ص). Rather, you and your father are the two enemies of Allāh and His Messenger (ص). You profess Islām [externally] while hiding disbelief (kufr) [in your hearts]. The Messenger of Allāh (ص) indeed cursed you and prayed many times that you never get full. I heard the Messenger of Allāh (ص) say, 'When a man who eats constantly and who never gets full takes power over the nation (ummah), the nation must take heed from him.'" Mu'āwīyah said, "I am not this man." Abū Dharr said, "But you most definitely are this man. The Messenger of Allāh (ص) informed me of this. I heard him say—and he [said] it many times—'O Allāh, curse him and do not satiate his hunger except with dirt.' And I heard him say, 'Mu'āwīyah's buttocks [will be] in the fire.'" Mu'āwīyah laughed and ordered his imprisonment and wrote to 'Uthmān in regards to him."[4704]

Mu'āwīyah wrote to 'Uthmān, "The masses have gathered around Abū Dharr. There is no guarantee that he will not corrupt them against you. If you have any need for the people [of Syria], I will have him sent to you."[4705] According to Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd and Balādhurī,

> 'Uthmān wrote to Mu'āwīyah, "Send Jundub[4706] to me on the harshest and roughest of riding animals." [Mu'āwīyah] sent him with one who traveled with him by day and night, and had him ride on an old camel on which was nothing but its hump until he reached Madīnah. [By that point], his meat was falling off from his thighs due to this endeavor.[4707]

Balādhurī has related a very similar account as well.[4708] According to Mas'ūdī,

> Abū Dharr was sent on a camel with a dried and hardened hump. His conditions were so bad that, by the time he arrived in Madīnah, he was skinned [alive] and was about to die. He was told, "You will die from this!" He said, "How preposterous! I will not die except in exile." He then told them everything that would happen to him afterwards, as well as who would [be the one to] take care of his burial. He went to 'Uthmān's place one day and talked to the objects there. He mentioned the traditions stating that the servants of Allāh would be treated as livestock when the number of the descendants of 'Āṣ would reach thirty, and mentioned many other things.
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> One day, 'Uthmān was dividing 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Awf's inheritance. Abū Dharr stood between 'Uthmān and another man. 'Uthmān said, "I have found good in 'Abd al-Raḥmān. He paid charity (ṣadaqah), entertained guests, and has left what you see." Ka'b al-Aḥbār said, "You are telling the truth, O Commander of the Faithful." Abū Dharr hit Ka'b on the head with his cane and, disregarding Ka'b's pain, said, "O son of a Jew! You say in regards to a man who has died and left behind [all] this wealth, 'Allāh has granted him the good of this world and the good of the hereafter.' You try to reason against Allāh by [saying] this. But I have heard the Messenger of Allāh (ص) say, 'It does not make me happy to die and to say farewell to what weighs a carat.'" 'Uthmān

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[4704] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 8:257-8.

[4705] Murūj al-Dhahab 2:349. Similarly, Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:277.

[4706] Abū Dharr's name, according to the most famous account, was Jundub ibn Junādah (Iṣābah 4:2218 #9865, Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī).

[4707] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 8:258.

[4708] Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:277.

told him, "Hide your face from me!" Abū Dharr asked, "Shall I travel to Mecca?" [ʿUthmān] said, "By Allāh, no!" [Abū Dharr] asked, "Do you prevent me from serving my Lord in His House until I die?" [ʿUthmān] said, "By Allāh, I do [prevent you from doing that]!" [Abū Dharr] asked, "To Syria?" [ʿUthmān] said, "By Allāh, no!" [Abū Dharr] asked, "To Baṣrah?" [ʿUthmān] replied, "By Allāh, no! Choose from other than these lands."[4709]

[Abū Dharr] said, "No, by Allāh, I will not choose other than those [places] I have mentioned to you. If you leave me in my house of emigration [in Madīnah], I will not seek any [other] land, [but you may] send me wherever you wish among the lands." ʿUthmān said, "I will send you to Rabadhah." Abū Dharr said, "Allāh is greater! The Messenger of Allāh (ص) was right! He informed me of all that I have encountered." ʿUthmān said, "What did he tell you?" [He] replied, "He informed me that I will be prevented from [living in] Mecca and Madīnah and that I will die in Rabadhah. My burial would be taken care of by people returning from Iraq who are headed to Ḥijāz."

Abū Dharr sent for a camel he owned and he put his wife or, as is [also] said, his daughter on it. ʿUthmān ordered people to be harsh with him until he left for Rabadhah. When Abū Dharr was leaving Madīnah, Marwān went to send him off. ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib appeared along with his two sons (Ḥasan and Ḥusayn), his brother ʿAqīl, [his nephew] ʿAbd Allāh ibn Jaʿfar, and [his companion] ʿAmmār ibn Yāsir [to bid Abū Dharr farewell]. Marwān objected and said, "O ʿAlī, the Commander of the Faithful has forbidden people from talking to Abū Dharr during his trip and [has banned anyone from appearing for his] farewell. If you were not aware of this, I have just informed you." ʿAlī hit Marwān's camel between its ears and said, "Go, for Allāh will send you to the fire." He stayed with Abū Dharr, sent him off [after] bidding farewell, and returned. When ʿAlī was about to return, Abū Dharr cried and said, "May Allāh have mercy on you, O Ahl al-Bayt. When I see you, O Abū al-Ḥasan, and your sons, I remember the Messenger of Allāh (ص)."

Marwān complained to ʿUthmān about what ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib had done. ʿUthmān said, "O Muslims, who can bring me an excuse for ʿAlī repelling my messenger when he confronted him and for doing what [he did]? By Allāh, we will give him what he deserves!" When ʿAlī returned, the people greeted him and said, "The Commander of the Faithful is angry because of your bidding farewell to Abū Dharr." ʿAlī said, "It is the anger of a horse over its reins (i.e. a useless anger)."[4710]

Abū Dharr's Martyrdom and Burial in Rabadhah

Not long passed before Abū Dharr died in exile. According to Ibn Ḥajar,

> His death occurred in Rabadhah in the year 31 [A.H.], and it is said in the year after that (i.e. 32 A.H.)... ʿAbd Allāh ibn Masʿūd prayed upon him in an account whose chain of transmission has no deficiencies. Al-Madāʾinī said that ʿAbd

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4709. A similar exchange of words regarding the location of Abū Dharr's exile appears in Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:277.
4710. Murūj al-Dhahab 2:349-350.

> Allāh ibn Mas´ūd prayed upon him in Rabadhah and then went to Madīnah and died soon thereafter.[4711]

Ibn Mas´ūd, who was with a group of people from Kūfah when passing through Rabadhah, tended to his burial and performed the funeral prayer for him.[4712] According to Ṭabarī,

> When ´Uthmān exiled Abū Dharr, he came down to al-Rabadhah, where he died and there was no one with him except his wife and slave. [Abū Dharr] instructed them to wash him and to wrap him in a shroud and lay him on the open road and to tell the first caravan that passed by that he was Abū Dharr, a companion of the Messenger of Allāh, and that they should help [his wife and slave] bury him. When he died, they did [as they were told] and put his body on the open road. ´Abd Allāh ibn Mas´ūd had been approaching that place with a group of men from Iraq [who were] on a lesser pilgrimage when suddenly they noticed the bier on the road, the camels nearly treading on it. [Abū Dharr's] slave went to them and said, "This is Abū Dharr, the Messenger of Allāh's companion. Help us to bury him." ´Abd Allāh ibn Mas´ūd broke into tears saying, "The Messenger of Allāh spoke the truth. You will walk alone, die alone, and be raised alone." Then he and his companions got down and buried him.[4713]

´Uthmān Had ´Ammār Beaten for His Comments Regarding Abū Dharr's Death in Exile

Upon Ibn Mas´ūd's entrance to Madīnah, news of Abū Dharr's death in exile in a desolate land was not well received by the companions. According to Balādhurī,

> When ´Uthmān was informed of Abū Dharr's death in Rabadhah, he said, "May Allāh have mercy on him." ´Ammār ibn Yāsir said, "Yes, may Allāh have mercy on him from all of our own selves." ´Uthmān said, "That bites! Are you regretting his exile?" [´Uthmān] gave an order, so [´Ammār] was hit in the back of his neck. [´Uthmān said], "Go join his place [of exile]!" When ´Ammār prepared to leave, the Banū Makhzūm went to ´Alī and asked him to talk to ´Uthmān about it. ´Alī told him, "O ´Uthmān, fear Allāh! You have [already] sent into exile a righteous man from among the Muslims and he died in your exile, and now you want to banish someone [who is] like him [in merit]." Words got exchanged between the two until ´Uthmān said, "You are more deserving of exile than he is!" ´Alī said, "Order this if you wish." The Muhājirīn gathered and told [´Uthmān], "It just cannot be permitted for you to banish and exile every man who speaks to you!" So ´Uthmān let go of ´Ammār.[4714]

´Alī (ع) then went to ´Abd al-Raḥmān ibn ´Awf, who was the one who had picked ´Uthmān as caliph, and after mentioning what ´Uthmān had done to Abū Dharr, he said, "This is [all] your doing!"[4715] This statement confirms the fact that one who installs an illegitimate caliph shares responsibility for all of the caliph's illegitimate actions.

Comments

4711. Iṣābah 4:2220 #9865 (Abū Dharr).
4712. Mustadrak Ḥākim #4373 (certifies the tradition as authentic); Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:278.
4713. Tārikh Ṭabarī 9:56.
4714. Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:277.
4715. Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:278.

This is a summary of the treatment ʿUthmān meted out to Abū Dharr because he enjoined virtue. When this noble companion was asked in his exile, "What has brought you to Rabadhah?" he replied, "My advice to ʿUthmān and Muʿāwīyah."[4716] According to Ibn Athīr, "[Abū Dharr was] among the greatest and most virtuous of the companions and among the first to accept Islām; it is said that he accepted Islām after four and was [thus] the fifth [to accept Islām]."[4717] According to a widely narrated tradition that appears in the ṣiḥāḥ sittah, the Prophet (ص) said, "The earth has not been stepped upon and the sky has not cast shadows upon a man more truthful in his speech than Abū Dharr."[4718] It was Abū Dharr's truthfulness that was unbearable to ʿUthmān and his accomplices. To continue to embezzle public funds, they needed to quiet this truth-telling pious companion of the Prophet (ص), so they exiled him to a desolate land, where he died soon thereafter. The Prophet (ص) predicted this when he said, "May Allāh bless Abū Dharr. He will live alone [in exile], die alone [in exile], and be raised [from the grave] alone [from a desolate land]."[4719]

Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim's Accounts of Abū Dharr's Words

The following are five of Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim's accounts of the sorts of statements Abū Dharr would make:

1. Abū Dharr reported that the Prophet said, "What I desire is that Uḥud be gold with me and three nights should pass and there not be left with me any dīnārs but one coin which I would keep to pay debt. [I would love] to spend it among the servants of Allāh like this," and he pointed in front of him, and to his right side, and to his left side.[4720]

2. Abū Dharr reported that the Prophet said, "The rich will be poor on the Day of Judgment, except for he who spent like this and like this and like that."[4721]

3. Aḥnaf ibn Qays reported: While I was in the company of the [elites] of Quraysh, Abū Dharr came there and he was saying, "Give glad tidings to the hoarders of riches that their backs would be branded [so deeply] that [the hot iron] would come out of their sides, and when the backs of their necks are branded, it would come out of their foreheads." When Abū Dharr was questioned about this, he said, "I said nothing but only that which I heard from their Prophet."[4722]

4. Abū Dharr reported Allāh's Messenger as having said that Allāh, the exalted and glorious, said, "My servants, I have made oppression unlawful for Me and unlawful for you, so do not commit oppression against one another."[4723]

[4716] Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:278.

[4717] Usd al-Ghābah 4:436 #5870 (Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī).

[4718] Sunan Tirmidhī #3801-2; Sunan Ibn Mājah #156; Mustadrak Ḥākim #5461-2, #5467, #8478 (certifies the tradition as authentic by the criteria of Muslim); Musnad Ḥanbal #6519, #6630, #7078, #21772, #27533; Jāmiʿ al-Saghīr Suyūṭī #7825; Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #33122, #33220-1, #33225-9; Majmaʿ al-Zawāʾid #15816-7; Tārīkh Damishq 21:413, 21:414, 66:190 (three traditions), 68:114; Sīrah Ḥalabīyyah 1:451; Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 4:228; Iṣābah 4:2219-2220, #9865 (Abū Dharr); Istiʿāb 4:218 #2974 (Abū Dharr).

[4719] Mustadrak Ḥākim #4373 (certifies the tradition as authentic); Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #33232; Iṣābah 4:2220 #9865 (Abū Dharr); Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 5:12; Tārīkh Damishq 66:186; Usd al-Ghābah 4:438 #5870 (Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī).

[4720] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #5.2174.

[4721] Saḥīḥ Muslim #5.2174.

[4722] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #5.2177.

[4723] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #32.6246. Similarly, Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #32.6247.

5. Abū Dharr reported Allāh's Messenger as having said, "Verily there would arise from my nation after me or soon after me a group [of people] who would recite the Qur`ān, but it would not go beyond their throats, and they would pass clean through their religion just as the arrow passes through the prey, and they would never come back to it."[4724]

It is clear that ʹUthmān and his cronies took the proclamation of these prophetic traditions as personal affronts. The last tradition is noteworthy because Sunnīs claim that it pertains to the Khārijītes, yet it appears that Abū Dharr may have taken it to refer to ʹUthmān and his family and associates.

Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī's Accounts of Abū Dharr's Exile

Abū Dharr's exile is addressed in Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, although not to the level of detail that appears in historical texts. According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī,

> Narrated Zayd ibn Wahb: I passed by a place called Rabadhah and by chance I met Abū Dharr and asked him, "What has brought you to this place?" He said: I was in Syria and differed with Muʹāwīyah on the meaning of [the verse of the Qur`ān], "They who hoard up gold and silver and spend them not in the way of Allāh."[4725] Muʹāwīyah said, "This verse was revealed regarding the People of the Book." I said, "It was revealed regarding us and also the People of the Book." So we had a quarrel, and Muʹāwīyah sent a complaint against me to ʹUthmān. ʹUthmān wrote to me to come to Madīnah, so I came to Madīnah. Many people came to me as if they had not seen me before. So I told this to ʹUthmān who said to me, "You may depart and live nearby if you wish." That was the reason for my being here, for even if an Ethiopian had been nominated as my ruler, I would have obeyed him.[4726]

Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī also cites the following tradition:

> Narrated Aḥnaf ibn Qays: While I was sitting with some people from the Quraysh, a man with very rough hair, clothes, and appearance came and stood in front of us, greeted us, and said, "Inform those who hoard wealth that a stone will be heated in hell-fire and will be put on the nipples of their breasts till it comes out from the bones of their shoulders and then [it will be] put on the bones of their shoulders till it comes through the nipples of their breasts; [the whole while], the stone will be moving and hitting." After saying that, the person retreated and sat by the side of the pillar. I followed him and sat beside him, and I did not know who he was. I said to him, "I think the people disliked what you said." He said, "These people do not understand anything, although my friend told me [all of it]." I asked, "Who is your friend?" He said, "The Prophet said [to me], 'O Abū Dharr! Do you see the mountain of Uḥud?' And on that I started looking towards the sun to judge how much remained of the day, as I thought that Allāh's Apostle wanted to send me to do something for him and I said, 'Yes!' He said, 'I do not love to have gold equal to the mountain of Uḥud unless I spend it all [in Allāh's cause], except for three dīnārs [to spend on my

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[4724] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #5.2335.

[4725] Qur`ān 9:34.

[4726] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #2.24.488.

> sustenance].' These people do not understand and [instead] collect worldly wealth. No, by Allāh! I neither ask for worldly benefits from them, nor am I in need of their religious advice till I meet Allāh, the honorable, the majestic."[4727]

About the best defense that has been mustered for 'Uthmān regarding his atrocities against Abū Dharr is the claim that Abū Dharr left for Rabadhah voluntarily and was not exiled there. Not only does this not fit the historical accounts, it even directly contradicts some, such as the following account of Balādhurī,

> [Ḥawshab] said: I passed through Rabadhah and there was a man with white hair and a white beard. I asked, "Who is this?" They said, "Abū Dharr, the companion of the Messenger of Allāh (ص)." ...I said, "By Allāh! This land is not a place for the Banū Ghifār [to live in]!" [They] said, "He was exiled [here] by force."[4728]

Moreover, if it is true that Abū Dharr, who was absolutely truthful, preferred life in a desolate land to life in Madīnah with 'Uthmān as caliph, it speaks mountains of truths regarding 'Uthmān and his caliphate. In fact, it is even worse for 'Uthmān if Abū Dharr left to die in solitude on his own account than it is if he was forced to do so. Abū Dharr would only leave if 'Uthmān's caliphate was so unbearable that he considered Madīnah no longer to be a city where he could reside. This would be similar to how Bilāl and Sa'd ibn 'Ubādah preferred to leave Madīnah than submit to the likes of Abū Bakr and 'Umar. Self-imposed exile is clearly a worse sign for a caliph than illegitimately-imposed exile, especially when a pious man adopting a life of exile would keep proclaiming, "Promise the disbelievers a grievous penalty!" Indeed, as the Prophet (ص) guaranteed, Abū Dharr spoke only the truth. Furthermore, it would have been impossible for Abū Dharr to willingly adopt the life of a Bedouin after emigrating from Mecca to Madīnah, as the Prophet had cursed those who became Bedouins after emigration,[4729] and as he had cited this act among the seven major sins.[4730]

Another companion who was similar to Abū Dharr in terms of truthfulness was Khuzaymah ibn Thābit, also known as Dhū al-Shahādatayn (the possessor of the double-testimony). He earned this title when the Prophet (ص) said that he was so truthful that his testimony alone would suffice to settle a matter, as it counted as the testimony of two men.[4731] He was among the most truthful of the companions and therefore remained an ardent Shī'ah of 'Alī (ع), becoming a commander in his army. He informed others that the Prophet (ص) had told him that he would not be killed until 'Ammār was killed by the army of transgressors.[4732] He was eventually martyred by Mu'āwiyah's forces in the Battle of Ṣiffīn shortly after the martyrdom of 'Ammār.[4733] It is clear that the truly truthful companions were the ones most devoted to 'Alī (ع). As such, Ibn Kathīr tried to deny that the Khuzaymah ibn Thābit who died during the Battle of Ṣiffīn was the same as

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[4727] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #2.24.489.

[4728] Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:278.

[4729] Sunan Nasā'ī #5102; Mustadrak Ḥākim #1430 (certifies the tradition as authentic by the criteria of Muslim); Musnad Ḥanbal #4428; Sunan al-Kubrā Bayhaqī #17569.

[4730] Majma' al-Zawā'id #385, #390

[4731] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #4.52.62, #6.60.307; Sunan Abū Dāwūd #3607; Mustadrak Ḥākim #2187 (certifies the tradition as authentic); Musnad Ḥanbal #21683, #21695, #21933; Iṣābah 1:485 #2253 (Khuzaymah ibn Thābit); Usd al-Ghābah 2:119 #1446 (Khuzaymah ibn Thābit); Istī'āb 2:31 #663 (Khuzaymah Ibn Thābit).

[4732] Usd al-Ghābah 3:312 #3804 ('Ammār ibn Yāsir); Iṣābah 1:485 #2253 (Khuzaymah ibn Thābit).

[4733] Musnad Ḥanbal #21695; Iṣābah 1:485 #2253 (Khuzaymah ibn Thābit); Usd al-Ghābah 2:119 #1446 (Khuzaymah ibn Thābit); Istī'āb 2:31 #663 (Khuzaymah ibn Thābit).

Dhū Shahādatayn,[4734] but the tradition in Musnad Ḥanbal is explicit that it was indeed the same person.[4735]

[4734] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:261.
[4735] Musnad Ḥanbal #21695.

Chapter 68
The Exile of Mālik al-Ashtar and His Companions to Syria and Ḥimṣ

The Exile of Mālik al-Ashtar and His Companions to Syria

After ʿUthmān was forced to withdraw Walīd from the governorship of Kūfah due to drinking,[4736] he appointed Saʿīd ibn ʿĀṣ, his maternal uncle's son, as the governor there.[4737] According to Ṭabarī,

> Saʿīd [ibn ʿĀṣ] said, "This sawād (agricultural hinterland) is but a garden for the Quraysh." [Mālik ibn Ḥārith al-Nakhaʿī[4738]] al-Ashtar replied, "Do you claim that the sawād, which Allāh made booty for us by our swords, is a garden for you and your tribe (qawm)? Allāh gives no additional share in it even to the most deserving of you; on the contrary, he should be like one of us." The whole group spoke in his support.
>
> ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Asadī, who was in command of Saʿīd's guard (shurṭah), said, "Do you dispute the governor's statement?" He berated them harshly. Then al-Ashtar said, "Everyone here, this man must not get away from you." They jumped on him and trampled him severely until he passed out. Then he was dragged by the leg, tossed out, and showered with water. When he came to [consciousness], Saʿīd said to him, "Are you alive?" He answered, "Those whom you have chosen for their Islām—so you claim—have killed me." Then [Saʿīd] said, "By Allāh, not one of them will ever attend evening sessions with me again."
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> [The dissidents] began sitting in their meeting places (majālis) and houses, vilifying ʿUthmān and Saʿīd. The people assembled together around them until those who were frequenting them had become numerous. Saʿīd wrote to ʿUthmān informing him about all this as follows: "There is a gang among the Kūfans"—he gave him ten names—"who are inciting them and banding together to disgrace you and me and to impugn [the sincerity of] our religion. If their movement gets firmly established, I fear they will become numerous." Thus, ʿUthmān wrote to Saʿīd, [directing him] to send them in exile to Muʿāwīyah, who at the time held authority over Syria, and [Saʿīd] did so.[4739]

[4736] Refer to chapter 64.

[4737] Refer to chapter 66.

[4738] Iṣābah 3:1913-4 #8344 (Mālik ibn Ḥārith ibn ʿAbd Yaghūth ibn Maslamah ibn Rabīʿah ibn Ḥārith ibn Jadhīmah ibn Mālik ibn Nakhaʿ, maʿrūf bi-al-Ashtar).

[4739] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 15:120-121.

These events are also cited in Ansāb al-Ashrāf,[4740] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd,[4741] Murūj al-Dhahab,[4742] Tārīkh Ibn Athīr,[4743] and summarily in Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr.[4744] The ten who were exiled from Kūfah to Syria in the year 33 A.H., according to Ṭabarī, were Mālik ibn Ḥārith al-Ashtar, Thābit ibn Qays al-Nakha'ī, Kumayl ibn Zīyād al-Nakha'ī, Zayd ibn Ṣūḥān al-'Abdī, Ṣa'ṣa'ah ibn Ṣūḥān, Jundub ibn Zuhayr al-Ghāmidī, Jundub ibn Ka'b al-Azdī, 'Urwah ibn al-Ja'd, 'Amr ibn al-Ḥamiq al-Khuzā'ī, and Ibn al-Kawwā'.[4745] These clearly included a number of the devoted Shī'ah of 'Alī (ع).

Mālik al-Ashtar and His Companions were Sent Back to Kufāh and then Exiled to Ḥimṣ

The exile to Syria had a paradoxical effect, as the anti-'Uthmān and pro-'Alī (ع) group of dissidents led by Mālik al-Ashtar were given an opportunity to spread their words to the people of Syria. Mu'āwīyah realized the gravity of the situation and asked 'Uthmān to send them back to Kūfah to prevent the spread of their message throughout the lands under his control. There are numerous accounts of the exchanges between these exiles and Mu'āwīyah, which are lengthy and therefore beyond the scope of this work.[4746] Ṭabarī has related a rather lengthy account of their interactions with Mu'āwīyah, a summary of which is as follows:

> Ṣa'ṣa'ah said, "If the armor is pierced (i.e. 'Uthmān's government is weakened), will matters not be in our hands?" Mu'āwīyah replied, "The armor will not be pierced, so think about the Quraysh in the most favorable manner... The Quraysh recognized that Abū Sufyān was the noblest among them and the son of the noblest..." Ṣa'ṣa'ah replied, "You lie! They are sons to a better man that Abū Sufyān... Among [the people] are the pious and the sinner, the stupid and the clever."
>
> That night [Mu'āwīyah] departed from them. Then he came to them the following night and spoke at length among them. He said, "O band of men, answer me properly or be still. Reflect and consider what will bring benefit to you, your households, your tribes, and the whole community (jamā'ah) of Muslims..." Ṣa'ṣa'ah replied, "You are not worthy of that, nor is your noble rank such that you should be obeyed in defiance of Allāh." [Mu'āwīyah] said, "Did I not begin by commanding you to fear Allāh and obey Him and His Prophet...?" "On the contrary," they answered, "you have commanded schism and opposition to what the Prophet has brought."
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> [Mu'āwīyah] said, "Well then, I command you now. If I have done [what you say], I turn to Allāh and His Prophet [in repentance], and I command you to fear Him and obey His Prophet, to adhere to the community and to abhor schism, to revere your imāms and to direct them, so far as you are able, to every good thing, and to admonish them gently and graciously concerning anything that comes from them."

[4740] Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:270-2.
[4741] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 2:129.
[4742] Murūj al-Dhahab 2:346.
[4743] Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:2-4.
[4744] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:185 (summarily).
[4745] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 15:125.
[4746] Refer to Tārīkh Ṭabarī 15:121-5; Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:272-4; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 2:130-3; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:185-6 (summarily).

Ṣa´ṣa´ah replied, "And we then command you to resign your office, for among the Muslims there is one who has a better right to it than you." [Mu´āwīyah] asked, "Who is that?" Ṣa´ṣa´ah answered, "Someone whose father had a higher standing in Islām than did yours, and who himself has a higher standing than you." [Mu´āwīyah] said, "By Allāh, I have some standing in Islām... ´Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb was of this opinion, and had there been a man more capable than I, ´Umar would not have been indulgent in regard to me or anyone else... Indeed I fear for you, lest you become so entangled in submission to Satan that submission to Satan and rebellion against the Merciful One will cause you to reside in the abode of humiliation from Allāh's vengeance in the present and [in the abode of] everlasting abasement in the future."

They then jumped on him and seized his head and beard. [Mu´āwīyah] said, "Hey, this is not the province of Kūfah! By Allāh, if the Syrians saw what you have done to me, their imām, I could not restrain them from killing you... I shall never enter your presence again as long as I live." Then he wrote to ´Uthmān [as follows]: "...You sent me certain bands of men speaking with the tongue of devils, saying things which [the devils] were dictating to them... If they remain in the midst of the Syrians, I worry that they may delude them with their sorcery and depravity. Send them back to their garrison town (i.e. Kūfah)..."

´Uthmān wrote and commanded him to send them back to Sa´īd ibn ´Āṣ in Kūfah, and [Mu´āwīyah] did so. But when they returned, they were even more inflammatory [than before]. Sa´īd wrote to ´Uthmān complaining intensely about them, and... [´Uthmān] wrote to al-Ashtar and his associates, "To proceed: I am exiling you to Ḥimṣ. When this letter of mine reaches you, go there..." When al-Ashtar read the letter, he said, "O Allāh, [´Uthmān] is the worst of us in his concern for his subjects and the one who does most to arouse rebellion among them, so hasten [your] vengeance against him!" Sa´īd wrote to ´Uthmān about that, and al-Ashtar and his associates traveled to Ḥimṣ.[4747]

The Kūfans Revolted and Deposed Sa´īd ibn ´Āṣ

The exile of Mālik al-Ashtar did not last long. Shortly after arriving at Ḥimṣ, ´Uthmān recalled his governors to Madīnah for consultations. According to Balādhurī, the Kūfans sensed that this was an opportune moment for them to mobilize, given the absence Sa´īd ibn ´Āṣ from Kūfah and Mu´āwīyah from Syria. As such, according to Balādhurī, "[The Kūfans] wrote to their brethren in Ḥimṣ, inviting them to return [to Kūfah], emboldening them to do so, and informing them that they would [no longer] obey ´Uthmān, as he persisted in performing unacceptable acts."[4748] They returned to Kūfah to a public welcome, and they promised never to allow Sa´īd ibn ´Āṣ back.[4749] They expelled Thābit ibn Qays, who had been put in charge of Kūfah by Sa´īd ibn ´Āṣ to manage the province during his absence, from the governor's mansion.[4750] Al-Ashtar then camped at Jara´ah near Qādisīyyah,[4751] and he sent a number of battalions to defend the entire area from potential attacks by ´Uthmān and his supporters.[4752] Al-Ashtar wielded a sword and proclaimed, "By Allāh, he"—that is, Sa´īd—"will not enter [our city] against us while we still bear our swords."[4753] Sa´īd ibn ´Āṣ tried to return to Kūfah, but was repelled by Mālik ibn Ka´b al-Arḥabī and his men and was forced to return to Madīnah. Mālik ibn Ka´b told Sa´īd ibn ´Āṣ, "No, by Allāh! You will not drink a drop from the waters of the Euphrates."[4754] ´Uthmān wrote to Mālik al-Ashtar, telling him to follow his command. Mālik al-Ashtar wrote back,

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[4747] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 15:121-5.
[4748] Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:273.
[4749] Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:273.
[4750] Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:273.
[4751] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 15:135, 15:139.
[4752] Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:273.

> From Mālik ibn Ḥārith to the afflicted, erring caliph who deviates from the Sunnah of his Prophet (ص) and who tosses the commands of the Qur`ān behind his back. To proceed: We have read your letter. It is you and your governors who [rule by] oppression and tyranny and the exile of the righteous. We enjoin upon you to obey us. You think that we have oppressed our own souls. This is your guess based on [the fact that] you take injustice to be justice and falsehood to be the truth... Only if you put ´Abd Allāh ibn Qays Abū Mūsā al-Ash´arī or Ḥudhayfah in charge of our city will we accept [your appointee]. Keep your Walīd and your Sa´īd away from us, as well as anyone whom the fancies of your household call you to [appoint as our governor], Allāh willing.[4755]

As such, by the year 34 A.H., ´Uthmān was faced with little choice but to appoint Abū Mūsā al-Ash´arī to the governorship of Kūfah.[4756] Mālik al-Ashtar's choice of Abū Mūsā al-Ash´arī was because of the fact that Abū Mūsā had served as the governor of Kūfah before, was acceptable to the Kūfans, had led them acceptably in the past, and had been dismissed from his post for no reason other than ´Uthmān's nepotism. Mālik al-Ashtar, however, remained firmly in charge of Kūfan public opinion and led the Kūfan army when they joined the revolt against ´Uthmān that led to his execution. Kūfah, however, was not the only place where public opinion was turning against ´Uthmān. As will be discussed in the next chapter, ´Uthmān's popular support in Ḥijāz was eroding rapidly, and parallel developments in Egypt would also ensure his downfall.

[4753] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 15:139.
[4754] Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:273.
[4755] Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:273.
[4756] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 15:139-40; Tārīkh Abū al-Fidā` 1:235.

Chapter 69
The Spread of Mass Discontent with ʹUthmān Throughout the Provinces

The Shift in Public Opinion against ʹUthmān

According to Suyūṭī, Ibn Saʹd, and Ibn ʹAsākir, Zuhrī said,

> ʹUthmān was in charge of the caliphate for twelve years. He acted for six years in such a way that the people were not vengeful against him. He was more popular with the Quraysh than ʹUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb was because ʹUmar was strict with them. When ʹUthmān took power over them, he bonded with them. He then put his relatives and family members [in charge] in the last six [years], wrote for a fifth of [the booty from] Ifrīqīyyah [to be handed over to] Marwān, gave generously to his relatives and family members, and interpreted this to represent the maintenance of family ties which Allāh has ordered [in the Qurʾān], and said, "Truly, Abū Bakr and ʹUmar abandoned from this what belonged to them, and I take it and divide it amongst my close ones." The people renounced this.[4757]

According to Suyūṭī, Balādhurī, Ibn ʹAsākir, and Ibn ʹAbd Rabbih, Saʹīd ibn Musayyab said,

> When ʹUthmān took power, a number of the companions disliked his rule because ʹUthmān loved his clan (qawm). He was in power [over] the people for twelve years and many of those who were made governors were members of the Banū Umayyah who lacked companionship with the Messenger of Allāh (ص). [Acts] used to emerge from his governors that were denounced by the companions of Muḥammad (ص), and ʹUthmān would censure them but would not remove them [from power]. This was [the situation] in the year 35. During the last six [years], he monopolized [all the positions of power among] his cousins and did not [allow anyone] to share [power] with them. [Instead], he ordered them to fear Allāh. He made ʹAbd Allāh ibn Abī Sarḥ the governor of Egypt, where he remained in charge for some years, causing the people of Egypt to come complaining about him and his injustice. And before this, there was ʹUthmān's handling of ʹAbd Allāh ibn Masʹūd, Abū Dharr, and ʹAmmār ibn Yāsir. The Banū Hudhayl and Banū Zuhrah resented [ʹUthmān] because of what had happened to Ibn Masʹūd. The Banū Ghifār and its allies and those angry about [what had happened to] Abū Dharr resented him [as well]. And the Banū

[4757] Tārīkh al-Khulafāʾ 141; Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 3:64; Tārīkh Damishq 39:251.

Makhzūm were furious at ʹUthmān because of what had happened to ʹAmmār ibn Yāsir.[4758]

Muḥammad ibn Abī Ḥudhayfah and Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr Caused an Upheaval in Egypt

ʹAmr ibn ʹĀṣ remained the governor of Egypt from its conquest until ʹUthmān removed him and instead appointed his milk-brother, ʹAbd Allāh ibn Saʹd ibn Abī Sarḥ. Although ʹAmr ibn ʹĀṣ possessed little in terms of virtue, ʹAbd Allāh ibn Saʹd was even more depraved, as he was one of the few men ordered to be killed by the Messenger of Allāh (ص) when Mecca was conquered, and a man in regards to whom the following verse of the Qurʹān was revealed: "Who can be more wicked than the one who invents a lie against Allāh or who says, 'I have received inspiration,' when he has received none, or who says, 'I can reveal the like of what Allāh has revealed'?"[4759] The revolt of those in Egypt started in the year 31 A.H. with the words of Muḥammad ibn Abī Ḥudhayfah. According to Ṭabarī,

> The first thing heard from Muḥammad ibn Abī Ḥudhayfah occurred while the people were at sea in the year 31. When ʹAbd Allāh ibn Saʹd ibn Abī Sarḥ led the people in the afternoon prayer, Muḥammad ibn Abī Ḥudhayfah proclaimed, "Allāh is most great!" He raised his voice until the imām ʹAbd Allāh ibn Saʹd ibn Abī Sarḥ had finished. Upon leaving, [ʹAbd Allāh ibn Saʹd] asked, "What is this?" He was told, "That is Muḥammad ibn Abī Ḥudhayfah proclaiming Allāh's greatness." So ʹAbd Allāh ibn Saʹd summoned him and said, "What is this innovation and novelty?" [Muḥammad] replied, "This is no innovation or novelty, for there is no harm in proclaiming the greatness of Allāh." [ʹAbd Allāh] said, "You are not to do it again."
>
> Thus Muḥammad ibn Abī Ḥudhayfah was silenced. But when ʹAbd Allāh ibn Saʹd led the prayer at sunset, Muḥammad ibn Abī Ḥudhayfah proclaimed Allāh's greatness even more loudly than before. [ʹAbd Allāh] sent to him [as follows]: "You are a foolish boy. Indeed, by Allāh, were I not uncertain that the Commander of the Faithful would agree, I would drag you away in fetters." Muḥammad ibn Abī Ḥudhayfah replied, "By Allāh, you have no way to do that. If you were determined to do so you could not." [ʹAbd Allāh] said, "Leave off! [It will be] better for you. By Allāh, you are not sailing with us." [Muḥammad] responded, "Shall I sail with the Muslims [at all]?" [ʹAbd Allāh ibn Saʹd] said, "Go wherever you want."
>
> So [Muḥammad ibn Abī Ḥudhayfah] sailed by himself, in a ship with no one but the Copts, until they reached [the site of] the Battle of the Masts. [There] they encountered the Byzantine forces... So they fought bitterly. At length Allāh aided the believers, and they made a great slaughter among the Byzantines, among whom only those who fled made it to safety.
>
> ʹAbd Allāh remained at [the site of] the Battle of the Masts for some days after the enemy had fled, then turned about to come back. Muḥammad ibn Abī Ḥudhayfah began saying to the army, "Yes, by Allāh, in reality we have left the

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[4758] Tārīkh al-Khulafāʹ 141; Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:264; Tārīkh Damishq 39:415-6; ʹIqd al-Farīd 4:275.

[4759] Qurʹān 6:93. Refer to chapters 25 and 66 for a discussion of Ibn Abī Sarḥ's apostacy and to chapter 66 for a discussion of the revelation of this verse in regards to Ibn Abī Sarḥ.

> jihād behind us." His listener would ask, "What jihād?" Then [Muḥammad ibn Abī Ḥudhayfah] would say, "ʹUthmān ibn ʹAffān has done this and done that." He continued until he had corrupted the people. By the time they approached their own country he had corrupted them, for they were openly saying things that they had not [previously] uttered.[4760]

Ṭabarī, Ibn Kathīr, and Ibn Athīr have also related that,

> Muḥammad ibn Abī Ḥudhayfah and Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr set out when ʹAbd Allāh ibn Saʹd did. They publicly proclaimed the shameful deeds of ʹUthmān and how he had altered and contradicted [the policies] of Abū Bakr and ʹUmar, and [they declared] that ʹUthmān's blood was lawful. They would say, "[ʹUthmān] named ʹAbd Allāh ibn Saʹd as governor—a man whose blood the Messenger of Allāh declared lawful, and one whose unbelief was revealed in the Qurʹān. The Messenger of Allāh exiled a certain clan (i.e. the family of Ḥakam) and [ʹUthmān] permitted them to return. [ʹUthmān] has removed from office the companions of the Messenger of Allāh and appointed Saʹīd ibn ʹĀṣ [to Kūfah] and ʹAbd Allāh ibn ʹĀmir [to Baṣrah]." Word of this got to ʹAbd Allāh ibn Saʹd ibn Abī Sarḥ, and he said, "You two will not sail with us." Thus they sailed on a ship upon which there was not a single Muslim.
>
> The Muslims had met the enemy, while these two were the feeblest in battle of [all] the Muslims. People spoke to them about this, but they replied, "How shall we fight alongside a man whose authority it is not right to accept? ʹAbd Allāh ibn Saʹd was appointed by ʹUthmān, and ʹUthmān has done thus and so." Thus, they corrupted the participants in this battle, having censured ʹUthmān in the severest terms. ʹAbd Allāh ibn Saʹd sent to them, absolutely forbidding them [to act in this manner]. He said, "By Allāh, were I not uncertain that the Commander of the Faithful would agree, I would punish and imprison you both."[4761]

This event shows that Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr and Muḥammad ibn Abī Ḥudhayfah did not consider the wars of ʹUthmān to be religiously valid and therefore avoided any serious engagement in battle. Of note, according to Ibn Kathīr, the strategy of ʹUthmān and Ibn Abī Sarḥ in Egypt up to that point had been to "busy" the Muslims with endless battles, particularly in al-Maghrib (northern Africa), the Birbir lands, and Andalūs.[4762] The claim that these wars were illegitimate would put a huge damper on this strategy. Indeed, it is clear that after the death of the Prophet (ص), the illegitimate caliphs, including the first three "rightly-guided" ones, led wars only to strengthen their own rules and to expand their territories, not to spread Islām. As such, by the end of the Umayyad dynasty, less then ten percent of the populations of Iran, Iraq, Syria, Egypt, Tunisia, and Spain were Muslim.[4763] This is in sharp contrast to the Prophet (ص), for whom spreading Islām was the main goal of his military expeditions. According to Ṭabarī, "[ʹUmar ordered that] pressure to accept Islām was to be exerted by the Arab tribesmen only on those tribesmen living in the [Arabian] Peninsula itself," and that the jizyah for non-Muslims was to be set as "the same as the alms tax paid by Muslims."[4764] As such, only Arabs living in the Arabian Peninsula were to be pressured to convert and no financial motives for conversion were to be created for others in order to ensure that non-Arabs would not convert to Islām and that Arab ascendancy would be maintained. Furthermore, the first three caliphs abandoned the Sunnah of the Prophet (ص) because they would not personally appear in major battles, as the Prophet (ص) had repeatedly done and as ʿAlī (ع) would subsequently do during his caliphate. Rather, they mandated endless wars for their subjects, while themselves resting in the comfort of their homes in Madīnah.

[4760] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 15:75-7.

[4761] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 15:77; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:177-8; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 1:494.

[4762] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:191.

[4763] Albert Hourani, A History of the Arab Peoples, New York:Grand Central Publishing, 1991, p. 46.

[4764] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 13:62.

Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr and Muḥammad ibn Abī Ḥudhayfah incited the Egyptians against ʿUthmān until they and their followers succeeded in executing ʿUthmān. Of note, Muḥammad was Abū Bakr's son from Asmāʾ bint ʿUmays and, according to Sunnī accounts, he was three years old when his father died, as his mother gave birth to him on her way to the Prophet's (ص) Farewell Pilgrimage.[4765] Asmāʾ bint ʿUmays, who had supported the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) against Abū Bakr during his caliphate,[4766] married ʿAlī (ع) soon after Abū Bakr's death.[4767] Thus, Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr was raised in ʿAlī's (ع) household from a young age. Not only was he an ardent Shīʿah of ʿAlī (ع), but was also among the trusted commanders of ʿAlī (ع) during his caliphate. When ʿAlī (ع) appointed him as the governor of Egypt, Muʿāwīyah ibn Ḥudayj, who was one of Muʿāwīyah's military commanders, defeated him, captured him, martyred him, and had his body burnt.[4768] This event, combined with the poisoning of Mālik al-Ashtar at Muʿāwīyah's behest while he was on his way to Egypt,[4769] as well as the martyrdom of ʿAmmār[4770] and Dhū al-Shahādatayn Khuzaymah ibn Thābit[4771] during the Battle of Ṣiffīn were truly the greatest losses ʿAlī (ع) suffered during his caliphate.

ʿĀʾishah Turned Against ʿUthmān

ʿĀʾishah strongly supported the caliphate of Abū Bakr and ʿUmar. This support was rewarded with material wealth and great respect. ʿĀʾishah also supported ʿUthmān's government at the beginning but shifted her position later on in his caliphate. In the early caliphate, she did what she did best—inventing traditions to support the caliph. The following tradition, whose content has every sign of forgery, appears in Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim:

> ʿĀʾishah reported: Allāh's Messenger was lying in the bed in my apartment with his thigh or his shank uncovered when Abū Bakr sought permission to come in. It was given to him and he conversed in the very same state. Then ʿUmar sought permission for coming in and it was given to him and he conversed in that very state. Then ʿUthmān sought permission for coming in; Allāh's Messenger sat down and he set right his clothes. Muḥammad (one of the narrators) said, "I do not say that it happened on the same day." [ʿUthmān] then entered and conversed and, as he went out, ʿĀʾishah said, "Abū Bakr entered and you did not stir and did not observe much care [in arranging your clothes], then ʿUmar entered and you did not stir and did not arrange your clothes, then ʿUthmān entered and you got up and set your clothes right."

[4765] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #7.2803; Iṣābah 3:1903 #8297 (Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr).

[4766] Refer to chapter 50.

[4767] Iṣābah 3:1903 #8297 (Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr); Istīʿāb 3:422 #2348 (Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr).

[4768] Istīʿāb 3:422 #2348 (Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr). Similarly, Iṣābah 3:1903 #8297 (Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr) mentions this except for the name of Muʿāwīyah ibn Ḥudayj. Refer to chapter 88 for an account of the martyrdom of Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr.

[4769] Iṣābah 3:1914 #8344 (Mālik ibn Ḥārith). Refer to chapter 88.

[4770] Refer to chapters 65, 83, and 84.

[4771] Refer to chapter 67.

> Thereupon he said, "Should I not show modesty to one to whom even the angels show modesty."[4772]

This tradition is obviously an invention because, as is typical of many invented traditions, Abū Bakr, ʹUmar, and ʹUthmān somehow magically appeared in that exact order. Moreover, even the narrator realized that this story was so improbable as to be nearly impossible, so he felt compelled to interject, saying that these visits may not have happened on the same day, even though the text of the tradition makes it appear as though they did, particularly because the Prophet (ص) was dressed and positioned in the same way all three times. ʹĀʹishah liked ʹUthmān because he allowed her greater freedom, and she was allowed to perform the ḥajj as she pleased during his caliphate. In that regards, ʹĀʹishah said,

> When ʹUmar was [the caliph], he prevented us from performing ḥajj and ʹumrah until his last year [in power]. He then gave us permission, and we performed the ḥajj with him. When ʹUmar died and ʹUthmān took power, Umm Salamah, Maymūnah, Umm Ḥabībah, and I sent to ʹUthmān and asked permission to perform the ḥajj. He said, "ʹUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb did what you saw and I will perform the ḥajj with you as ʹUmar did. Whoever among you wishes to perform the ḥajj, I will perform it with her." So ʹUthmān performed the ḥajj with all but two of us—Zaynab who had died during the caliphate of ʹUmar and with whom ʹUmar did not perform the ḥajj, and Sawdah bint Zamʹah who did not leave her house after the Prophet.[4773]

The exact date of ʹĀʹishah's turning away from ʹUthmān is not known, as it was likely a gradual process that drove ʹĀʹishah and ʹUthmān apart. However, it is known that ʹĀʹishah was among the first to publicly oppose ʹUthmān and to incite people against him. This may have started when ʹUthmān stopped paying her the 2,000 dirhams which ʹUmar would give her annually in addition to the 10,000 he gave to the other wives.[4774] Although Ṭabarī went to great lengths not to expose ʹĀʹishah's role in the insurrection by primarily citing Sayf's fictitious accounts,[4775] he could not completely deny ʹĀʹishah's role. He quoted ʹUbayd ibn Umm Kilāb as having said to ʹĀʹishah, "By Allāh! You were the first to incline the blade against ʹUthmān and were saying, 'Kill Naʹthal, for he has become a disbeliever.'"[4776] Naʹthal was the insulting title ʹĀʹishah used for ʹUthmān, as it alluded to similarities between the long beard of ʹUthmān and an Egyptian Jew named Naʹthal.[4777]

It is possible that ʹĀʹishah joined the insurrection against ʹUthmān simply because, like the other companions in Madīnah, she could no longer tolerate his injustice, nepotism, and repeated maltreatment of the eminent companions of the Prophet (ص). Yet another reason for ʹĀʹishah joining the insurrection may have been the fact that it became apparent to everyone in Madīnah that ʹUthmān was going to be deposed. The uprising against ʹUthmān was orchestrated on several fronts by the Shīʹah of ʹAlī (ع). Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr and Muḥammad ibn Abī Ḥudhayfah had aroused the Muslims of

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[4772] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #31.5906. Similarly, Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #31.5907.

[4773] Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 8:209.

[4774] Tārikh Yaʹqūbī 2:175. However, Ṭabarī states that ʹĀʹishah refused to accept the 2,000 extra dirhams from ʹUmar (Tārīkh Ṭabarī 12:202).

[4775] Refer to chapter 74 for a discussion on Sayf.

[4776] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 16:52-3.

[4777] Tārīkh Damishq 39:327 states that Naʹthal was from Egypt. A tradition cited in chapter 45 states that he was Jewish.

Egypt by recounting the atrocities of ´Uthmān and his governors. In Kūfah, Mālik al-Ashtar, Ṣa´ṣa´ah ibn Ṣūḥān, Kumayl ibn Zīyād, and others among the well-known supporters of ´Alī (ع) had spread the virtues of ´Alī (ع) and the evils of the caliphate among the population to the point that they were able to successfully depose ´Uthmān's governor from their province. In Madīnah, Abū Dharr, ´Ammār, and Ibn Mas´ūd had discredited ´Uthmān and made the illegitimacy of his caliphate evident. When it became clear to ´Ā`ishah that the Shī´ah of ´Alī (ع) would succeed in overthrowing ´Uthmān, she became concerned that they would stop short of nothing but restoring the caliphate to the Ahl al-Bayt (ع). As such, she had to join the insurrection to have a chance at helping choose a caliph who would be acceptable to her when ´Uthmān would finally be deposed. To do so, she primarily concentrated on arousing the Meccans against ´Uthmān, as she knew that they generally did not like ´Alī (ع) because he had slaughtered their men during the lifetime of the Prophet (ص). As such, two of the children of Abū Bakr, Muḥammad and ´Ā`ishah, became intimately involved in the uprising, one in favor of ´Alī (ع), and the other in opposition to him.

People Openly Complained to ´Uthmān

According to Ṭabarī and Ibn Athīr, in the year 34 A.H.,

> A body of Muslims gathered together to review the deeds and conduct of ´Uthmān. They concurred in a decision to dispatch a man to speak to him and inform him of his blameworthy innovations (aḥdāth). To him they sent ´Āmir ibn ´Abd Allāh al-Tamīmī al-´Anbarī, who is the one known as ´Āmir ibn ´Abd Qays. [´Āmir] came and entered [´Uthmān's] presence, saying, "A body of Muslims have met together and examined your actions, and they find that you have committed grave misdeeds. So fear Almighty Allāh; turn to Him in repentance and refrain from [such acts]." ´Uthmān said to him, "Look at this man! The people assert that he is a man learned in the Qur`ān, and then he comes to speak to me about utterly trivial things. By Allāh, he does not know where Allāh is." ´Āmir responded, "So I do not know where Allāh is?" "Yes, by Allāh," said [´Uthmān], "you do not know where Allāh is." ´Āmir said, "Yes, indeed, by Allāh! I know that Allāh is lying in watch for you (la-bil-mirṣād)."[4778]

´Āmir's last statement is an apparent reference to the following verses of the Qur`ān:

> Have you not considered how your Lord dealt with ´Ād...? And with Thamūd...? And with Pharaoh...? [All] these transgressed beyond bounds in the lands and made great mischief therein. Therefore your Lord poured on them a scourge of diverse chastisements, for your Lord is lying in watch for you (la-bil-mirṣād).[4779]

´Uthmān Recalled His Governors to Madīnah, Seeking Their Advice

When the situation became grave with ´Uthmān fearing a general uprising in Egypt, Iraq, and Ḥijāz, he recalled his governors and advisors to Madīnah for consultations in the year 34 A.H. According to Ṭabarī,

> Then ´Uthmān sent to Mu´āwīyah ibn Abī Sufyān, to ´Abd Allāh ibn Sa´d ibn Abī Sarḥ, to Sa´īd ibn ´Āṣ, to ´Amr ibn ´Āṣ ibn Wā`il al-Sahmī, and to ´Abd Allāh

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[4778] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 15:135-6; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:6.

[4779] Qur`ān 89:6-14. "La-bil-mirṣād" may be more literally translated as, "is on the watch-tower."

> ibn ʿĀmir. He brought them together in order to consult with them about his situation, about what had been demanded of him, and about what he had learned from them. When they had assembled at his residence, he said to them, "Every man has ministers and counselors. Now you are my ministers, my counselors, and my trusted men. The people have acted as you see, demanding that I depose my governors, and that I turn away from that which they hate toward that which they love. So decide what you think is right and advise me."
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> ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿĀmir said to him, "My advice to you, Commander of the Faithful, is that you command them to undertake a jihād that will divert their attention from you, and that you keep them on campaign until they act humbly before you. In this way, every one of them will be concerned only about himself, about the saddle sores of his pack animal, and about the lice on his scalp."
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> Then ʿUthmān came to Saʿīd ibn ʿĀṣ and asked him for his opinion. He said, "O Commander of the Faithful, if you desire our opinion, cure yourself of the disease and amputate from yourself what you fear. Follow my advice, and you will attain your goal." "What is it?" said [ʿUthmān]. [Saʿīd] answered, "Every group has leaders. When these are eliminated, they will disperse and will be unable to agree on anything." ʿUthmān said, "This would indeed be the right opinion, were it not for what it involves!"
>
> He approached Muʿāwīyah and said, "What is your view?" He answered, "O Commander of the Faithful, I think it best for you to send your governors back, on condition that they administer their provinces with care, and I will be the guarantor for you of my province."
>
> Then [ʿUthmān] came to ʿAbd Allāh ibn Saʿd and said, "What do you think?" He answered, "O Commander of the Faithful, in my opinion the people are greedy. Bestow upon them some of this wealth and their hearts will incline to you."
>
> Then [ʿUthmān] approached ʿAmr ibn ʿĀṣ and sought his opinion. He said, "I think that you have perpetrated things against the people that they detest, so resolve to do justice. If you reject [this course], then make up your mind to abdicate. If you reject [that], then be firm in your resolve and continue straight ahead." ʿUthmān replied, "What is wrong with you? May your scalp crawl with lice! Are you serious about this?" ʿAmr refused to answer him for some time, until [the rest of] the assembly had dispersed. Then ʿAmr said, "No, O Commander of the Faithful, you are dearer to me than that, but I knew that the people would hear about the statements of every man among us. I wanted them to learn what I said so that they would trust me, and thereby I would bring you good and ward off evil."[4780]

The details of these consultations have also been related in a number of other historical sources, including Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr,[4781] Tārīkh Ibn Athīr,[4782] Ansāb al-Ashrāf,[4783] and Imāmah wa Sīyāsah.[4784] According to Ibn Qutaybah, Muʿāwīyah's advice was for

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[4780] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 15:136-137. A similar account of their advice also appears in Tārīkh Ṭabarī 15:137-138.

[4781] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:187.

[4782] Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:6.

[4783] Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:272.

[4784] Imāmah wa Sīyāsah 38-39.

ʹUthmān to allow him to behead ʹAlī (ع), Ṭalḥah, and Zubayr, but ʹUthmān refused. Muʹāwīyah then said, "If you do not kill them, they will kill you."[4785]

The Kūfans Refused to Allow Their Governor to Return

According to Ṭabarī,

> Then ʹUthmān sent his governors back to their provinces, commanding them to maintain stringent control of those under their authority and to keep the people tied up on campaigns. He decided also to deny them their stipends, so that they would submit to him and be in need of him. He sent Saʹīd ibn ʹĀṣ back as governor of Kūfah, but the Kūfans came forth in arms against him, confronted him, and made him return [to Madīnah]. They said, "No, by Allāh, he will not rule over us while we still bear our swords." ...When Saʹīd ibn ʹĀṣ returned to ʹUthmān, having been expelled [from Kūfah], he sent Abū Mūsā [al-Ashʹarī] to be governor in Kūfah, and [the Kūfans] confirmed him in authority over them.[4786]

The uprising of the Kūfans against ʹUthmān was addressed in the previous chapter, so the details will not be repeated here.

ʹAlī's (ع) Advice to ʹUthmān

After ʹUthmān's meeting with his governors and the success of the Kūfans in repelling ʹUthmān's governor there, the revolutionaries were emboldened to travel to Madīnah to consult with ʹAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib (ع). According to Ṭabarī,

> In the year 34, certain of the companions of the Messenger of Allāh wrote to others [as follows]: "Come, for if you desire jihād, then the jihād is here with us." The people maligned ʹUthmān and censured him in the harshest language ever used against anyone, while the companions of the Messenger of Allāh were giving their opinions and listening, and among them no one forbade or prevented this save a few individuals: Zayd ibn Thābit, Abū Usayd al-Sāʹidī, Kaʹb ibn Mālik, and Ḥassān ibn Thābit.
>
> The people assembled and spoke to ʹAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib, and he entered ʹUthmān's presence and said, "The people stand behind me, and they have spoken to me about you. By Allāh, I do not know what to say to you. I know nothing of which you are ignorant, nor can I point out to you any affair with which you are not well-acquainted. Indeed you know what we know. We have not perceived something before you have, so that we must inform you of it. Nor have we gained sole knowledge of anything so that we must bring it to your attention... Remember Allāh! You are not being given your sight after you were blind, by Allāh, nor are you being instructed after you were in ignorance. Verily the path is manifest and clear, and the signposts of true religion are standing upright. Know, ʹUthmān, that the best of Allāh's servants in His eyes is a just imām, one who has been guided aright and who himself gives right guidance, for he upholds accepted prescriptions (sunnah maʹlūmah) and destroys rejected innovations (bidʹah matrūkah). By Allāh, everything is clear. Sound

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[4785] Imāmah wa Sīyāsah 38-39.
[4786] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 15:138-140.

> prescriptions stand clearly marked, as do blameworthy innovations. The worst of men in Allāh's sight is a tyrannical imām, one who has gone astray himself and by whom others are led astray, for he destroys an accepted prescription and revives a rejected innovation. Verily, I heard the Messenger of Allāh say, 'The Day of Judgment will be brought by the tyrannical imām; he will have no helper and no advocate, so that he will be cast into hell, turning about in hell as the mill turns, and then he will plunge into the fiery flood of hell.' I tell you to beware of Allāh and His sudden assault and His vengeance, for His punishment is harsh and painful indeed. I tell you to beware lest you be the murdered imām of this community. Indeed it is said that an imām will be killed in this community, and that bloody strife will be loosed upon it until the Day of Judgment, and its affairs will become hopelessly entangled. [Allāh] will leave them as sects, and they will not see the truth due to the great height of falsehood. They will toss therein like waves and wander in confusion."
>
> Then ʹUthmān replied, "By Allāh, I knew that [people] would be saying what you have said. But by Allāh, if you were in my place, I would not have berated you nor left you in the lurch nor shamed you nor behaved foully. If I have favored kinsmen, filled a need, sheltered an impoverished wretch, and appointed as governors men like those whom ʹUmar used to appoint, [then what have I done wrong]? I adjure you by Allāh, O ʹAlī, do you know that Mughīrah ibn Shuʹbah[4787] is not there?" "Yes," he answered. [ʹUthmān] said, "Do you know that ʹUmar made him a governor?" "Yes," he answered. Then [ʹUthmān] said, "So why do you blame me for having appointed Ibn ʹĀmir, simply because of his close kinship [with me]?"
>
> ʹAlī said, "I will tell you that everyone appointed by ʹUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb was kept under close scrutiny by him. If [ʹUmar] heard a single word concerning him he would flog him, then punish him with the utmost severity. But you do not do [that]. You have been weak and easygoing with your relatives." "They are your relatives as well," answered ʹUthmān. ʹAlī said, "By my life, they are closely related to me indeed, but merit is found in others." ʹUthmān said, "Do you know that ʹUmar kept Muʹāwīyah in office throughout his entire caliphate, and I have only done the same." ʹAlī answered, "I adjure you by Allāh, do you know that Muʹāwīyah was more afraid of ʹUmar than was ʹUmar's own slave Yarfaʹ?" "Yes," said [ʹUthmān]." ʹAlī went on, "In fact Muʹāwīyah makes decisions on issues without [consulting] you and you know it. Thus, he says to the people, 'This is ʹUthmān's command.' You hear of this, but do not censure him." Then ʹAlī left him and ʹUthmān went out on his heels.[4788]

Similar accounts of this exchange can also be found in Ansāb al-Ashrāf,[4789] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr,[4790] Tārīkh Ibn Athīr,[4791] ʹIqd al-Farīd,[4792] and Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd.[4793]

ʹUthmān's Non-Conciliatory Public Speech

[4787] Mughīrah was ʹUmar's governor in Baṣrah. After he committed adultery, ʹUmar deposed him and later made him governor of Kūfah instead (chapter 60) until he was deposed by ʹUthmān (chapter 64).

[4788] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 15:140-3.

[4789] Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:280.

[4790] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:188-9.

[4791] Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:7-8.

[4792] ʹIqd al-Farīd 4:294-5.

[4793] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 9:264-5.

According to Ṭabarī,

> Then [ʹUthmān] took his seat upon the pulpit and said, "To proceed: For everything there is some bane and in every situation there is some defect. The bane of this community (ummah) and the defect in this [divinely bestowed] beneficence are the maligners and slanderers who let you see what is pleasing to you and conceal what is hateful to you. They talk and talk to you. Men who resemble ostriches follow the first one to make a noise... By Allāh, you have surely blamed me for things like those which you accepted from [ʹUmar] ibn al-Khaṭṭāb. But he trampled you underfoot, smote you with his hand, and subdued you by his tongue, and so you submitted to him whether you liked it or not. I have been lenient with you. I let you tread on my shoulders while I restrained my hand and tongue, and therefore you have been insolent toward me. By Allāh, I am stronger [than he] in kinsmen, I have allies closer at hand, [and] I posses more supporters. It is more fitting for me [than for him] to say 'Come!' and have [men] come to me. I have appointed over you your peers. I have cheerfully lavished benefits upon you. But you have attributed to me a nature that I do not possess and statements that I have not uttered. Restrain your tongues and your slandering and maligning of your rulers (wulāt), for I have kept from you a man[4794] who would satisfy you with less than these words of mine were he the one [now] speaking to you. Nay, but which of your rights are you deprived of? By Allāh, I have achieved no less than did my predecessors or those about whose [standing in the community] you have not disagreed. There is a surplus of wealth, so why should I not do as I wish with the surplus? Why otherwise did I become imām?"
>
> Then Marwān ibn Ḥakam stood up and said [to the assembly], "If you wish, by Allāh, we will cause the sword to judge between us and you—ourselves and you, by Allāh! As the poet has said,
>
> > We have exposed our honor to your abuse;
> > unfit for you are
> > the overnight encampments which you erect
> > in the dung lying on the ground."[4795]

Similar accounts can also be found in Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr,[4796] Tārīkh Ibn Athīr,[4797] and Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd.[4798]

The Meeting of the Revolutionaries in Mecca

Clearly, ʹUthmān's words did not console the believers. As such, the Muslims who had gathered for the ḥajj pledged to one another that they would give ʹUthmān one year to mend his ways. They promised to gather at the house of ʹUthmān in one year, and, unless he were to follow their advice, they would decide what to do with him then. According to Balādhurī,

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[4794] An apparent reference to Marwān ibn Ḥakam.

[4795] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 15:143-4.

[4796] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:189.

[4797] Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:8.

[4798] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 9:265.

> The people of the three cities—Kūfah, Baṣrah, and Egypt—met in the Masjid al-Ḥarām one year before the killing of ʹUthmān. The head of the people of Kūfah was Kaʹb ibn ʹAbdah al-Nahdī, the head of the people of Baṣrah was Muthannā ibn Mukharribah al-ʹAbdī, and the head of the people of Egypt was Kīnānah ibn Bishr ibn ʹAttāb ibn ʹAwf al-Sakūnī. They gathered and recalled the ways (sīrah) of ʹUthmān, his alteration [of the Sunnah of the Prophet (ص)], and his going back on his own promises that he had sworn to Allāh he would keep. They said, "We will never be content with this." They decided by consensus that each of the three would return to his city and be a messenger to all those like-minded ones in their [respective] cities who [planned on] being present in Mecca [the following year]. They would gather around ʹUthmān's house the next year to censure him. If he were to respond [to their censure, then they would leave him alone], otherwise, they would decide what to do with him [then]. They did this and when it was time [to meet again], [Mālik] al-Ashtar came to Madīnah with two hundred [men], Ḥukaym ibn Jabalah al-ʹAbdī came with one hundred [men] and fifty others joined him afterwards to make one hundred and fifty [men], and four hundred or seven hundred or six hundred of the people of Egypt came... When they gathered at the door of ʹUthmān, a group of the people of Madīnah rushed to join them. Among them were ʹAmmār ibn Yāsir al-ʹAnsī, Rifāʹah ibn Rāfiʹ al-Anṣārī who had been present at Badr, Ḥajjāj ibn Ghazīyyah who was a companion, and ʹĀmir ibn Bukayr who was one of the Banū Kinānah. They surrounded ʹUthmān [in what became] the first siege.[4799]

As such, by the twelfth month (Dhū al-Ḥijjah) of the year 34 A.H., the Muslims had accosted ʹUthmān about the errors of his ways. Since ʹUthmān did not agree to any fundamental changes, they decided to give him one year to mends his ways and agreed to regroup a year later during the ḥajj season. During the seventh month (Rajab) of the year 35 A.H., the Egyptians arrived at the outskirts of Madīnah on their way to performing the ʹumrah (lesser pilgrimage), and they again demanded that ʹUthmān repent from his sins and change his ways of governance. ʹUthmān, finding himself threatened with no reliable base of support in Madīnah, agreed to their demands and wrote a letter to Ibn Abī Sarḥ, telling him to mend his ways. Ibn Abī Sarḥ refused to obey his new instructions and beat the messengers, killing one of them. As such, the Egyptians returned to Madīnah early in the eleventh month (Dhū al-Qiʹdah). The Egyptians left only when ʹUthmān agreed to depose Ibn Abī Sarḥ, but despite their departure, the siege of ʹUthmān by the people of Madīnah continued under the leadership of Ṭalḥah. On their way back to Egypt, the Egyptians caught ʹUthmān's slave carrying a letter sealed by ʹUthmān telling Ibn Abī Sarḥ to behead and otherwise punish them. As such, the Egyptians returned to Madīnah in Dhū al-Ḥijjah of the year 35 A.H. to demand justice from the writer of the letter. At that time, rebels from Kūfah, Baṣrah, and elsewhere were on their way to Madīnah as well. Thus, the final siege of ʹUthmān began, which lasted seven days until he was killed. The details of these events are the subject of the next three chapters.

4799. Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:279.

Chapter 70
ʹUthmān's Empty Promises to Deflect the Besieging Egyptians

By the year 35 A.H., the people of Madīnah and the other provinces had become intent on overthrowing ʹUthmān because of his continued refusal to mend his ways. The companions of the Prophet (ص) informed the Muslims of other lands to join them in overthrowing ʹUthmān. According to Ṭabarī,

> When the people saw what ʹUthmān was doing, the companions of the Prophet in Madīnah wrote to the companions who were scattered throughout the frontier provinces: "You have gone forth but to struggle in the path of Almighty Allāh for the sake of Muḥammad's religion. In your absence, the religion of Muḥammad has been corrupted and forsaken. Come then and reestablish Muḥammad's religion." Thus they came from every direction.[4800]

The first to arrive in Madīnah was Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr, who departed Egypt with a group of Muslims under the pretext of performing the ʹumrah pilgrimage. They arrived in Madīnah, complaining of their governor and demanding that ʹUthmān remove him from power or resign. Unfortunately, Sunnī sources have not provided details of their complaints, as Ṭabarī said, "There are [complaints] that I refuse to mention because I find them offensive."[4801] He also said, "We have avoided mentioning," many of the complaints against ʹUthmān, because they "should not be included here."[4802] Subsequent Sunnī historians have primarily picked traditions from Ṭabarī that they have found to be appealing, so the bulk of the complaints against ʹUthmān have been censored from Sunnī historical works.

The Egyptians were only sent back after ʹAlī (ع) obtained guarantees from ʹUthmān that he would fundamentally alter the way he ruled. According to Ṭabarī,

> Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr and Muḥammad ibn Abī Ḥudhayfah were in Egypt inciting [people] against ʹUthmān. Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr came [to Madīnah] while Muḥammad ibn Abī Ḥudhayfah remained in Egypt. When the Egyptians set out [for Madīnah], ʹAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʹUdays al-Balawī took five hundred [men] with him. Claiming that they intended to perform the lesser pilgrimage (ʹumrah), they set out in Rajab. ʹAbd Allāh ibn Saʹd (the governor of Egypt) dispatched a messenger who journeyed eleven nights to inform ʹUthmān that Ibn ʹUdays and his comrades were heading toward him, and that Muḥammad

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[4800] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 15:184. Similarly, Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 2:149.

[4801] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 15:170.

[4802] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 15:181.

> ibn Abī Ḥudhayfah had accompanied them as far as ʿAjrūd[4803] and then turned back.
>
> In public Muḥammad stated, "This band of men (qawm) has set out to perform the lesser pilgrimage." But in secret he said, "This band of men has set out to confront their imām. If he abdicates, [well and good], but otherwise they will kill him." The dissidents proceeded... until they established camp at Dhū Khushub. ʿAbd Allāh ibn Saʿd's messenger having reached him before they arrived, ʿUthmān said, "This is a band of Egyptians who claim to be performing the lesser pilgrimage. By Allāh, I do not believe that this is their intention..."
>
> When the dissidents established their camp at Dhū Khushub, the news spread that they intended to kill ʿUthmān if he did not abdicate. At night their envoy came to ʿAlī, Ṭalḥah, and ʿAmmār ibn Yāsir successively. Muḥammad ibn Abī Ḥudhayfah had joined them in writing a letter to ʿAlī; they brought this to ʿAlī, but he did not examine its contents. When ʿUthmān perceived all this, he came to ʿAlī. He entered his house and said, "O cousin, nothing owed to me can be neglected; my kinship [with you] is close, and I have a strong claim upon your support. You see the trouble caused by this band of dissidents when they came to me today. I know that you enjoy prestige among the people and that they will listen to you. I want you to rise out to them and send them away from me. I do not wish them to come before me, for that would be an insolent act toward me on their part. Let others hear of this as well."
>
> ʿAlī said, "On what grounds shall I send them away?" [ʿUthmān] replied, "On the grounds that I shall carry out what you have counseled me to do and thought right, and that I will not deviate from your direction." Then ʿAlī said, "In fact I have spoken to you time after time, and you and I have discussed such matters at length. All this is the doing of Marwān ibn Ḥakam, Saʿīd ibn ʿĀṣ, [ʿAbd Allāh] ibn ʿĀmir, and Muʿāwīyah. You have heeded them and defied me." ʿUthmān said, "Then I shall defy them and heed you." [ʿAlī] thus issued orders to the people, and both Emigrants and Helpers rode forth with him [to meet with the dissidents]... ʿAlī rode out to the Egyptians and sent them away from [ʿUthmān]; and they departed and headed back [toward Egypt].[4804]

Similar accounts appear in Ansāb al-Ashrāf,[4805] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr,[4806] Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā,[4807] and Murūj al-Dhahab.[4808] The Egyptians agreed to leave after ʿUthmān wrote a letter for them to take to Ibn Abī Sarḥ ordering him to mend his ways. Once they arrived in Egypt, Ibn Abī Sarḥ, however, refused to heed the contents of the letter, and instead beat the messengers, killing one of them in the process. As such, by the Dhū al-Qiʿdah of the year 35 A.H., the Egyptians were back in Madīnah, demanding that Ibn Abī Sarḥ be punished for murder. According to Ṭabarī,

> [The Egyptians] said [to ʿUthmān], "Remove from us your sinful governors and appoint others over us who are not accused [of taking] our lives and property. Respond to our grievances." ʿUthmān said, "How do I look if I name officials

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[4803] ʿAjrūd is a stopping station (Muʿjam al-Buldān 1:292).

[4804] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 15:172-174.

[4805] Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:280.

[4806] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:191.

[4807] Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 3:65.

[4808] Murūj al-Dhahab 2:352-3.

> whom you desire and remove those hateful to you? Authority (al-amr) would then belong to you." They said, "By Allāh, you must do either [what you promised], abdicate, or be killed. See to things yourself or leave [them to us]." But he refused, saying, "I am not one to remove a robe that Allāh has placed upon me." So they besieged him for forty nights, and in the meantime Ṭalḥah led the people in worship.[4809]

However, under duress, ʿUthmān agreed to depose Ibn Abī Sarḥ, so he wrote a letter for the Egyptians demanding that Ibn Abī Sarḥ abandon his post in Egypt and appointing Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr as the governor of Egypt instead, thereby getting the Egyptians to agree to leave. According to Tārīkh al-Khulafā`, Tārīkh Damishq, and ʿIqd al-Farīd,

> [ʿUthmān] told [the Egyptians], "Choose a man and I will appoint him to rule over you in his place." They advised him [to appoint] Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr, and said, "Appoint for us Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr." He wrote a covenant appointing him to power.[4810]

ʿUthmān also promised to fundamentally alter the way he ruled. According to Balādhurī, ʿUthmān wrote the following to show his commitment to change his acts based on ʿAlī's (ع) advice:

> This is a covenant from the servant of Allāh ʿUthmān, the Commander of the Faithful, with those believers and Muslims who have criticized him: I will act among you in accordance with the Book of Allāh and the Sunnah of His Prophet. [Rights] will be restored to those deprived [of them]. Those fearing [retaliation] will be guaranteed security. The exiled will be returned. The troops will not be kept in alien lands indefinitely. Booty will be divided equally. ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib will be the guarantor of ʿUthmān to the believers and Muslims that [ʿUthmān] will fulfill [the terms of] this covenant.[4811]

According to Balādhurī, "Zubayr ibn ʿAwwām, Ṭalḥah ibn ʿUbayd Allāh, Saʿd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ, ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar, Zayd ibn Thābit, Sahl ibn Ḥunayf, and Abū Ayyūb Khālid ibn Zayd became witnesses to this letter in the month of Dhū al-Qiʿdah of the year 35."[4812] As such, the Egyptians agreed to leave.

ʿUthmān's Public Repentance

The arrival of the Egyptians seeking to depose ʿUthmān sent chills down ʿUthmān's spine. As such, he sought to calm Madīnah by offering a public repentance. According to Ṭabarī,

> ʿAlī came to ʿUthmān after the Egyptians had gone and said to him, "Make a statement which the people will testify that they have heard from you, and Allāh will be witness as to whether or not you desire to repent in your heart. The provinces are in turmoil against you, and I fear another company of riders may come from Kūfah. You will say, 'ʿAlī, ride out to meet them,' but I cannot go out

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[4809]. Tārīkh Ṭabarī 15:189.

[4810]. Tārīkh al-Khulafā` 142; Tārīkh Damishq 39:416; ʿIqd al-Farīd 4:276. Refer to chapter 71 for the full text of this account.

[4811]. Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:281.

[4812]. Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:281.

> and get [them] to listen to any excuse. Still other riders will come from Baṣrah, and you will say, 'O ʿAlī, ride out to meet them.' If I do not do that, you will think I have betrayed our bond of kinship and belittled your claims [of blood ties to me]."
>
> Thus, ʿUthmān went out and preached the sermon in which he laid before the people his heartfelt desire to repent... [He said], "By Allāh, O people, if any one of you has censured [me], he has not done so for anything that is unknown to me. I have done nothing unknowingly. But my soul has raised vain hopes within me and lied to me, and my rectitude has slipped away from me. I heard the Messenger of Allāh say, 'Let him who slips repent, and let him who errs turn back and not persist in his own ruin. Verily he who persists in tyranny is very far from the true path.' Now I am the first to take warning. I ask Allāh's forgiveness for what I have done and I turn to Him [in repentance]. A man like me yearns to repent. When I step down [from the pulpit], let your notables (ashrāf) come to me and inform me of their opinion. By Allāh, if the truth turns me into a slave, then I shall tread the slave's path, I shall humble myself like a slave, and I shall be like the bondsman. If he is held in servitude, he shows patience; if he is set free, he is grateful. There is no escape from Allāh, save by returning to Him. The best men among you will not fail to draw near me. If my right hand refuses, then my left hand will surely obey me."
>
> Then the people had pity on him, and some among them wept. Saʿīd ibn Zayd stood up before him and said, "O Commander of the Faithful, no one comes to you who does not support you. Fear Allāh, in your soul fear Allāh, and fulfill what you have said!"[4813]

Accounts similar to this can also be found in Ansāb al-Ashrāf,[4814] Tārīkh Ibn Athīr,[4815] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr,[4816] and Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd.[4817] Abū Ḥabībah described the aftermath of ʿUthmān's repentance as follows:

> I have never seen more men and women weeping than on that day. Afterwards, as ʿUthmān preached to the people, Jahjāh al-Ghifārī came up to him and cried, "ʿUthmān, we have brought this old she-camel, and on it there are a robe and a rope. Get down! We will dress you in the robe, throw the rope around your neck, carry you off on the camel, and then throw you into the mountain of smoke."[4818]

Ibn Athīr noted that Jahjāh al-Ghifārī was a companion of the Prophet (ص) and that he died early in the caliphate of ʿAlī (ع).[4819]

ʿUthmān's Public Repentance was Undone by Marwān ibn Ḥakam

According to Ṭabarī and others,

[4813] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 15:176-179.
[4814] Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:282.
[4815] Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:12.
[4816] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:192-3.
[4817] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 2:145.
[4818] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 15:183; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:196-7.
[4819] Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:107.

> When ʹUthmān descended [from the pulpit], he found Marwān [ibn Ḥakam], Saʹīd [ibn ʹĀṣ], and a few of the Banū Umayyah at his home. They had not been present at the sermon, and when [ʹUthmān] took his seat, Marwān... said, "You are as dear to me as my father and my mother! By Allāh, I wish that you had made this statement [before the people] while you were still strong and invincible... However, you have said these things when the girth has reached the two teats and the torrent has overflowed the hilltops and when a humiliated man has submitted to humiliation. By Allāh, to persist in an error for which you must seek Allāh's forgiveness is better than to repent because you are afraid. If you so will, you may seek repentance without acknowledging error. The people have piled up at the gate against you like a mountain." ʹUthmān said, "Go out and speak to them, for I am ashamed to do so."
>
> So Marwān went to the gate, where the people were clambering on top of one another. He said, "Why have you gathered here like looters? Your faces are deformed, and every man is holding the ear of his confederate! Whom are you after? You have come to snatch our power (mulk) from us. Go! By Allāh, if you mean us [any harm], you will encounter something distasteful from us, and you will not praise the result of your opinions. Return to your homes, for by Allāh we are not men to be robbed of our possessions."
>
> The people retreated, and one of them went to see ʹAlī and informed him of the news. Then ʹAlī came in a rage to ʹUthmān and said, "Surely you have satisfied Marwān, but he is satisfied with you only if you deviate from your religion and reason, like a camel carrying a litter that is led around at will. By Allāh, Marwān is devoid of sense in regard to his religion and his soul. I swear by Allāh, I think he will bring you in and then not send you out again. After this visit I will not come again to chide you. You have destroyed your own honor and you have been robbed of authority (amr)."[4820]

Ṭabarī and Ibn Athīr have also related that,

> ʹUthmān remained at home that day, until Marwān came to him the next day and said, "Speak and inform the people that the Egyptians have gone back, and that what they had heard about their imām was false. Your sermon (khuṭbah) will spread throughout the lands before the people can gather against you from their garrison towns [in such numbers] that you are unable to fend them off." ʹUthmān refused to go out, but Marwān kept after him until he went forth and took his seat upon the pulpit.
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> [ʹUthmān] praised and extolled Allāh, and then said, "To proceed: As to this band of Egyptians, a certain matter concerning their imām had come to their attention. But when they were certain that what they had heard about was false, they returned to their own land." Then from one side of the mosque ʹAmr ibn ʹĀṣ called out to him, "Fear Allāh, O ʹUthmān, for you have borne great dangers, as we have done along with you. Turn to Allāh [in repentance], and we shall turn to Him!" ʹUthmān shouted back, "So you are over there, Ibn al-Nābighah. By Allāh, your robe has become louse-ridden since I removed you from office." From another direction someone else shouted, "Turn to Allāh and

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[4820] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 15:177-178. Similarly, Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:282; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:13; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:192-4; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 2:145-7.

> show repentance. Then the people will restrain themselves from you." ʿUthmān stretched out his hands and turned to face the qiblah saying, "O Allāh, verily I am the first to repent." Then he went back to his house, while ʿAmr ibn ʿĀṣ proceeded to his residence in Palestine. [ʿAmr] used to say, "By Allāh, If I were to run across a shepherd, I would incite him against [ʿUthmān]."[4821]

According to Ṭabarī and Ibn Kathīr, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Ḥāṭib said,

> I was watching ʿUthmān as he preached leaning on the Prophet's staff—the staff on which [the Prophet], Abū Bakr, and ʿUmar used to lean while they preached. Jahjāh said to him, "You hyena (Naʿthal), get down from the pulpit!" Seizing the staff, Jahjāh broke it over his right knee. A wood splinter pierced [the knee], and the wound remained open for so long that it became infected with gangrene, and I saw it swarming with maggots. ʿUthmān descended from the pulpit and was taken away. He ordered the staff to be repaired, and it was bound together with a strip of iron. From that day until he was besieged and killed, ʿUthmān went out only one or two times.[4822]

ʿAlī (ع) was Frustrated by ʿUthmān's Intransigence

Throughout these events, one can see that ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib (ع) offered ʿUthmān constant advice on how to repent and mend his ways and would tell the insurgents to return so that ʿUthmān could be given a chance to show his repentance, demonstrate his remorse, and make amends. However, ʿUthmān's continued deference to Marwān made ʿAlī (ع) withhold any further moral support for ʿUthmān. According to Ṭabarī,

> Shuraḥbīl ibn Abī ʿAwn [narrated from] his father: I heard ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Aswad ibn ʿAbd Yaghūth mention Marwān ibn Ḥakam. He said: May Allāh disfigure Marwān! ʿUthmān went out to the people and gave them satisfaction. He wept as he stood on the pulpit, and the people wept also, until I saw his beard soaked with tears. He was saying, "O Allāh, I turn to Thee in repentance. O Allāh, I repent, I repent! By Allāh, if it is right for me to become a mere slave, I will be content with that. When I enter my house, all of you come before me, and by Allāh I will not seclude myself from you. On the contrary, I will give you satisfaction in full measure and more, and I will send Marwān and his kin away."
>
> When [ʿUthmān] entered [his house], he commanded that the gate be thrown open. When he went into his house, Marwān came to him and worked ceaselessly to delude him, until at last he beguiled him from his better judgment and eradicated his original intentions. For three days ʿUthmān stayed inside and would not go out, for he was ashamed to face the people. Then Marwān went out to the people and said, "May your faces be deformed! Whom are you after? Go back to your homes. If the Commander of the Faithful needs any of you, he will send for him. Otherwise, he will remain in his house."
>
> ʿAbd al-Raḥmān continues: So I came to ʿAlī, and found him in [in the mosque] between the [Prophet's] grave and the pulpit. With him were ʿAmmār ibn Yāsir and Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr, and they were saying, "Marwān has acted badly

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[4821] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 15:175-176; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:12. This also appears summarily in Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 2:143.

[4822] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 15:183; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:196. Accounts of Jahjāh al-Ghifārī breaking the staff also appear in Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:14; Tārīkh Damishq 39:329-30 (three traditions); Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 2:149.

> toward the people." ʿAlī came over to me and asked, "Were you present at ʿUthmān's sermon?" "Yes," I said. ʿAlī went on, "And were you present when Marwān spoke to the people?" "Yes," I answered. ʿAlī said, "Allāh forbid, O Muslims, that if I remain in my house, [ʿUthmān] should accuse me of abandoning him in spite of his kinship [with me] and his rights. And Allāh forbid that if I speak [to him] and things turn out as he desired, Marwān would trick him and he would become like a captured beast driven by him at will—[all this] despite his advanced age and his having been a companion of the Messenger of Allāh."
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> [ʿAlī] kept on until ʿUthmān's envoy arrived and said, "Come with me." ʿAlī responded in a loud, angry voice, "Tell him that I will not come before him again." The messenger departed. I tried without success to meet with ʿUthmān two nights later. I asked his servant where the Commander of the Faithful had been, and he said, "He was with ʿAlī."
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> So I took my leave and paid a visit to ʿAlī. He said to me, "ʿUthmān came to me yesterday and began to accuse me of refusing to see him again and of working [against him]. So I said to him, 'After what you said on the pulpit of the Messenger of Allāh, and after [the promises] you gave of your own free will, you entered your house, and Marwān went out before the people, reviling and insulting them at your gate.' [ʿUthmān] responded, saying, 'You have severed the bonds of kinship with me. You have abandoned me and emboldened the people against me.' I (i.e. ʿAlī) replied, 'By Allāh, I am your strongest defender against the people. But whenever I have brought to you any matter that I think you will find agreeable, [Marwān] brings another. You have heard Marwān speak against me and have invited him to enter our presence.'" Then he left and went home. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Aswad continues: I constantly saw ʿAlī avoiding [ʿUthmān] and not acting as he formerly had.[4823]

Indeed, ʿAlī (ع), as the rightful imām, did everything he could to guide ʿUthmān. He even sent his son al-Ḥasan (ع) to ʿUthmān. According to ʿIqd al-Farīd,

> When people complained about ʿUthmān to ʿAlī, he sent his son Ḥasan to him [to give him advice]. When it became too much for him, he said, "Your father thinks that no one knows what he knows. We know what we do better, so leave us alone." So ʿAlī did not send his son [to ʿUthmān] for anything after that.[4824]

ʿUthmān was Stoned at the Pulpit

When people realized that ʿUthmān had no real intentions of mending his ways, public discontent grew even more fierce. According to Ṭabarī,

> ʿUthmān stood upon the pulpit on Friday, and praised and extolled Allāh. Then a man stood up and said, "Carry out the Book of Allāh." ʿUthmān said, "Sit down." He did so. Three times he stood up, ʿUthmān ordered him to sit down, and he did so. Then they began throwing pebbles until the sky could not be

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[4823] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 15:179-81. This account appears partially in Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:13 and Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 2:147-8.

[4824] ʿIqd al-Farīd 4:295.

seen. [ʹUthmān] fell from the pulpit and was carried off unconscious to his house.[4825]

[4825] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 15:181.

Chapter 71
The Final Siege of ʿUthmān

After the Egyptians were initially sent back by ʿAlī's (ع) intervention, they returned to Egypt carrying a letter from ʿUthmān to ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Abī Sarḥ, ʿUthmān's governor in Egypt, giving him new instructions on how to conduct his affairs. Ibn Abī Sarḥ refused to obey ʿUthmān's instructions and instead beat the messengers and killed one of them. The Egyptians returned to Madīnah to demand that he be deposed and tried for murder and demanded that Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr be their governor in his stead. ʿUthmān, sensing the gravity of the situation, acceded to their demands. However, on their way back to Egypt, Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr and his companions caught a messenger speeding towards Egypt with a letter bearing ʿUthmān's seal, telling the governor to execute the protestors. They therefore returned to Madīnah, demanding to know ʿUthmān's pretext for sentencing them to death. ʿUthmān denied writing the letter, even though it bore his own personal seal. ʿUthmān was told that if he wrote the letter, he must be deposed, and that if he did not write it but could not control his own seal, he was clearly not qualified to rule. ʿUthmān vehemently refused to resign, and also refused to surrender Marwān ibn Ḥakam, in whose handwriting the letter was written, to the Egyptians for interrogation. As such, ʿUthmān was executed.

This is a summary of the basic series of events leading up to ʿUthmān's final siege and execution that appears consistently in Sunnī accounts of the subject such as Tārīkh Ṭabarī,[4826] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr,[4827] Tārīkh Ibn Athīr,[4828] Tārīkh al-Khulafā`,[4829] Sīrah Ḥalabīyyah,[4830] Murūj al-Dhahab,[4831] Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā,[4832] Ansāb al-Ashrāf,[4833] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd,[4834] ʿIqd al-Farīd,[4835] Tārīkh Abū al-Fidā`,[4836] Iṣābah,[4837] Imāmah wa Sīyāsah,[4838] Tārīkh al-Khamīs,[4839] and Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah.[4840] It should be noted that Sunnī scholars, for obvious reasons, have absolved ʿUthmān of any responsibility for writing the letter. A few of the accounts fleshing out the details are presented in this chapter and the execution of ʿUthmān is the subject of the next chapter.

[4826] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 15:181-199.
[4827] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:194-6.
[4828] Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:14-19.
[4829] Tārīkh al-Khulafā` 141-3.
[4830] Sīrah Ḥalabīyyah 2:270-272.
[4831] Murūj al-Dhahab 2:352-3.
[4832] Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 3:64-72.
[4833] Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:282-4.
[4834] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 3:22-3.
[4835] ʿIqd al-Farīd 4:275-7.
[4836] Tārīkh Abū al-Fidā` 1:237.
[4837] Iṣābah 2:1239 #5450 (ʿUthmān Ibn ʿAffān).
[4838] Imāmah wa Sīyāsah 44-50.
[4839] Tārīkh al-Khamīs 2:258-60.
[4840] Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:59-66.

ʿUthmān's Slave was Caught Carrying a Letter to ʿAbd Allāh ibn Abī Sarḥ

According to Tārīkh al-Khulafāʾ, Tārīkh Damishq, and ʿIqd al-Farīd, Saʿīd ibn Musayyab said,

> The people of Egypt came complaining about Ibn Abī Sarḥ, so [ʿUthmān] wrote him a letter threatening him in it. Ibn Abī Sarḥ refused to accept what ʿUthmān was dissuading him from and beat some of the Egyptians who had brought [the letter] to him from ʿUthmān, killing one of them. As a result, seven hundred Egyptian men left [for Madīnah], descending upon the [Prophet's (ص)] Mosque. They would complain to the companions at the times of prayer about what Ibn Abī Sarḥ had done to them. Ṭalḥah ibn ʿUbayd Allāh rose and spoke with ʿUthmān with harsh words, and ʿĀʾishah sent to him, saying, "The companions of Muḥammad have come to you asking you to remove this man [from power], and you refuse?! A man from amongst them has just been killed, so exact justice for them from you governor." ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib entered and said, "They are only asking you to [put] one man in the place of [another] man whose hands they claim are tainted with the blood [of an innocent Muslim]. So remove him from [power over] them and judge amongst them. If the accusations are proved true, then exact justice from him."
>
> [ʿUthmān] told [the Egyptians], "Choose a man and I will appoint him to rule over you in his place." They advised him [to appoint] Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr, and said, "Appoint for us Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr." He wrote a covenant appointing him to power. A group of the Muhājirīn and Anṣār left with [the Egyptians] to see what was [going on] between the people of Egypt and Ibn Abī Sarḥ. Muḥammad and those with him left. When they were on the road three days from Madīnah, they noticed a black slave on a camel. He was striking [the camel] so hard that it was as if he was either chasing someone or being chased. The companions of Muḥammad [ibn Abī Bakr stopped him and] said, "What is your story and what is your situation? It is as though you are either fleeing or chasing." He told them, "I am the slave of the Commander of the Faithful. He sent me to the governor of Egypt." A man told him, "This (i.e. Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr) is the governor of Egypt." [The slave] said, "This is not the one I want."
>
> Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr was informed of the situation, so he sent a man to bring [the slave] to him. He took hold of him and brought him to him. He asked, "Whose slave are you?" One time he would say, "I am the slave of the Commander of the Faithful," and the next time he would say, "I am the slave of Marwān," until a man recognized him as the slave of ʿUthmān. Muḥammad asked him, "Who are you being sent to? He replied, "To the governor of Egypt." He asked, "For what?" He replied, "For a message." He asked, "Do you have a letter?" He replied, "No." So they searched him and did not find any letter, but he had a canteen containing no water, but there was something inside it that shook. They tried to take it out, but it would not come out, so they broke the canteen in half, and in it was a letter from ʿUthmān to Ibn Abī Sarḥ. Muḥammad gathered the Muhājirīn, Anṣār, and others who were with him, and then unsealed the letter in their presence. In it was [written], "When Muḥammad [ibn Abī Bakr], so-and-so, and so-and-so come to you, kill them, destroy [Muḥammad's] letter [of appointment from ʿUthmān], and keep doing what you have been doing until another decision of mine arrives. Imprison

> whoever [tries to] come to me to complain of your injustices. My opinion on [what to do next] will come to you soon, Allāh willing."
>
> When they read the letter, they were shocked and changed their destination to Madīnah. Muḥammad sealed the letter with the seals of a number of those with him, and he gave the letter to a man amongst them [for safekeeping]. They returned to Madīnah and gathered Ṭalḥah, Zubayr, ʿAlī, Saʿd, and those who were the companions of the Messenger of Allāh (ص). They opened the letter in their presence, informed them of the story of the slave, and read the letter to them. Not a single person remained in Madīnah who was not enraged at ʿUthmān. This added anger and rage to the wrath that was already there because of [what had happened to] Ibn Masʿūd, Abū Dharr, and ʿAmmār ibn Yāsir. [After seeing the letter], the companions of Muḥammad (ص) got up and went to their homes. There was not a single one among them who was not upset after reading the letter. The people besieged ʿUthmān in the year 35. Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr brought against him the Banū Taym and others.[4841]

According to Ṭabarī, ʿUthmān's letter to Ibn Abī Sarḥ said, "Look for so-and-so and so-and-so and behead them if they come to you. Look also for certain other men, and punish them in such-and-such a way." Ṭabarī added, "These persons included a few of the companions of the Messenger of Allāh as well as a body of the successors."[4842]

The Egyptians Demanded Immediate Justice

The following is a condensed compilation of the exchange between the Egyptians and ʿUthmān as recounted in several traditions:

> They sent to ʿUthmān and said, "Did we not leave you when you claimed that you had repented of your unlawful innovations and turned away from things hateful to us? Have you not given us a compact and covenant before Allāh?" He answered, "I have indeed, and I hold to that." Then [ʿAmr ibn Ḥazm al-Anṣārī] said, "So what is this letter that we found in the possession of your messenger, written by you to your governor?" [ʿUthmān] responded, "I did not write it, and I don't know what you are talking about." They said, "It was your messenger on your camel, a letter [written] by your secretary and bearing your seal."[4843]
>
> They presented the letter, but ʿUthmān denied that he had written it. "This is a forgery," he said. "The letter is written by your scribe," they replied. "Indeed," said [ʿUthmān], "but he did not write it on my orders." They said, "The messenger on whom we discovered the letter is your slave." "That is so," he said, "but he set out without my permission." "The camel is your camel," they said. "Yes," he replied, "but it was taken without my knowledge."[4844] [They said], "Your slave is sent on a camel paid by the Muslims as alms tax, your seal is forged, and your governor is written to concerning these grave matters, while you know nothing?" "Yes," he replied. They said, "A man like you should not govern. Remove yourself from this office (amr), as Allāh has removed you from it."[4845] They also said, "If you did write it, then you betrayed [us], and if you did

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[4841] Tārīkh al-Khulafāʾ 141-142; Tārīkh Damishq 39:416-7; ʿIqd al-Farīd 4:275-7.

[4842] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 15:184.

[4843] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 15:189.

[4844] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 15:194-5.

[4845] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 15:194. The last sentence also appears in Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:15.

not write it but it was written on your behalf, then you are incompetent. [In either case], it is not fitting for the likes of you to be caliph, either due to your betrayal or due to your incompetence."[4846]

They [also] said, "You are either truthful or a liar. If you are lying, you deserve to be deposed because you have unjustly ordered our blood to be shed. If you are telling the truth, you deserve to be deposed because of your weakness and neglect, as well as the wickedness of your entourage. It is not right that we allow someone whose commands are ignored due to his weakness and neglect to have authority over us." They continued, "You have beaten some of the Prophet's companions and others when, in denouncing various acts of yours, they have admonished you and commanded you to return to righteousness. Have yourself chastised, then, in recompense for those whom you have wrongfully beaten... You have introduced grave innovations, and for them you deserve to be deposed. When people spoke to you about them, you declared your repentance, but then you did the same things again. Then we came to you and you claimed that you would repent and return to righteousness. Muḥammad ibn Maslamah[4847] remonstrated with us on your behalf and gave us guarantees as to what would happen. But you betrayed him, and he declared that he would have nothing more to do with you. We returned [to Egypt] the first time in order to deprive you of any pretext and to give you every possible excuse, even as we sought the aid of Almighty Allāh against you. Then we intercepted a letter from you to your governor over us, in which you ordered him to kill and mutilate and crucify us. You allege that [this letter] was written without your knowledge. But it was carried by your slave on your camel, it was written in the hand of your scribe, and it bore your seal. All this has aroused ugly suspicions against you, together with what we already knew about your tyrannical rule, your selfishness in sharing out [booty], your freehanded punishments against the people, and your feigned repentance followed by reversion to error. We went away, but we should not have gone before deposing you and replacing you with a companion of the Messenger of Allāh—a man who had not introduced the innovations that we have endured from you, and who is not subject to the suspicion that falls upon you. Give back our caliphate and abdicate, for that is our surest recourse against you and your surest recourse against us."[4848]

[ʿUthmān replied], "As for your telling me to abdicate, I shall not remove a shirt that Almighty Allāh has placed upon me, and by which He has honored me and set me apart from others. However, I will repent and desist [from sin], and I will never again do anything that the Muslims find blameworthy. By Allāh, I am a man who needs Allāh and fears Him."[4849]

They said, "Were this the first innovation that you had introduced, and had you then repented and not repeated it, we would have to accept [your repentance] and depart from you. But you know of previous innovations on your part. When we departed from you the first time, neither we nor the man through whom you

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[4846] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:208.

[4847] Most of the accounts suggest that the person who played this role was ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib (ع), although this may be referring to one particular incident involving Muḥammad ibn Maslamah. Furthermore, one account in Tārīkh Ṭabari (15:193) says, "But ʿAlī and Muḥammad ibn Maslamah sent us back," suggesting that both of them had a mediating role between ʿUthmān and the insurgents.

[4848] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 15:195-6. Similarly, Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:15.

[4849] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 15:196.

> had excused your conduct suspected that you would write the things that we found in the letter carried by your slave. How can we accept your repentance when we know by experience that as soon as you display repentance for a sin, you do it again? We shall not depart from you [now] until we have deposed you and replaced you. If your supporters—fellow tribesmen, kinsmen, or men devoted to you—choose battle, then we shall fight them until we reach you and kill you, or until you dispatch our souls to Allāh."[4850]
>
> ʹUthmān resounded, "As for surrendering my office (imārah), I would rather be crucified than give up the mandate (amr) of Almighty Allāh and His caliphate. As for your statement that you will fight whoever defends me, I shall not order anyone to fight you. Whoever fights for me will not do so on my orders. By my life, if I wished to fight you, I would have written to the commanders of the garrisons, and they would have brought troops and dispatched men [to my aid]. I might also have linked up with my supporters in Egypt or Iraq. Fear Allāh, fear Allāh and save yourselves. If you do not spare my life, if you kill me, you will bring about bloodshed by this affair."[4851]

According to Suyūṭī and Ibn ʹAsākir,

> [ʹUthmān] swore by Allāh, "I did not write this letter and I did not order it [to be written], and I did not send this slave to Egypt." Regarding the handwriting, they recognized that it was the handwriting of Marwān, and were unsure of ʹUthmān's collusion. They asked ʹUthmān to hand Marwān over to them, but he refused, [even though] Marwān was with him in the house. The companions of Muḥammad [ibn Abī Bakr] left [ʹUthmān's house] in rage, unsure of his involvement, but thinking that ʹUthmān would not swear to something false. A group said, "ʹUthmān will not be acquitted in our hearts unless he hands over Marwān to us so that we can interrogate him and find out the story of the letter and how he could unjustly command the execution of a man from the companions of Muḥammad (ص). If ʹUthmān wrote it, we will remove him [from power], and if Marwān wrote it from the tongue of ʹUthmān, we will [depose ʹUthmān and decide] what we should do in regards to Marwān." They kept to their homes. ʹUthmān refused to send Marwān to them, fearing he would be killed. The people surrounded ʹUthmān and prevented water from [being taken] to him.[4852]

ʹUthmān was very upset by his siege and the fact that he was denied water. According to Ṭabarī, Ibn Athīr, Ibn ʹAsākir, and Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd,

> ʹUthmān gazed down upon them [from his rooftop] and said, "Peace be upon you." But he heard no reply from any of the people, unless someone perchance responded silently. [ʹUthmān said], "I adjure you, by Allāh, do you know that with my own money I purchased [the well] of Rūmah, highly esteemed for its sweet water, and that I made it available to every Muslim." "Yes," they answered. He said, "Why am I kept from drinking from it, so that I have to break my fasting with salt water? I adjure you by Allāh, do you know that I bought such-and-such a piece of land and added it to the [Prophet's] mosque?"

[4850] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 15:196-197.
[4851] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 15:197.
[4852] Tārīkh al-Khulafā` 142-3; Tārīkh Damishq 39:417-8.

> "Yes," they responded. He went on, "And do you know anyone among the people except me who is prevented from worshipping there?"[4853]

ʹAlī (ع) Arranged Another Agreement

According to Ṭabarī,

> When [ʹUthmān] feared he would be killed, he consulted his advisers and the members of his family and said, "You see what the dissidents have done. What is the way out?" They counseled him to send for ʹAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib and to ask him to turn the people away by granting for them their requests in order to stall them until reinforcements could get to him. ʹUthmān replied, "The dissidents will not be put off. My promises were empty and I did nothing the first time they came. If I give them my promise again they will demand that I fulfill it." Marwān ibn Ḥakam said, "O Commander of the Faithful, dealing discreetly with them until you gain strength is preferable to struggling with them at close range. Give them what they ask and put them off so long as they delay in regard to you. They rebelled against you, so they possess no binding commitment [from you]."
>
> ʹUthmān sent for ʹAlī... ʹAlī said [to ʹUthmān], "The people desire your justice more than your death. I see a band of men who will be content only with full satisfaction. When they first came to you, you gave them your promise in Allāh's name that you would turn them back from everything that they denounced, and thus you [were able to] send them away. Then you failed to carry out any of that. Do not tempt me with anything this time, for I will give them justice against you." "Yes," said ʹUthmān. "Give them justice, and by Allāh I will carry it out in full."
>
> So ʹAlī went out to the people and said, "O people, you have demanded justice and [now] it is granted to you. ʹUthmān claims that he will do you justice, whether it be against himself or anyone else, and that he will abandon everything that you detest. Accept this from him and affirm it." The people answered, "We accept it. Make a compact with him for us, for by Allāh, we will not be content with words instead of deeds." ʹAlī said to them, "You will have it." Then he entered ʹUthmān's presence and told him the news.
>
> ʹUthmān said, "Arrange a delay between them and me so that I will have time to act, for I cannot do away with the things they detest in one day." ʹAlī responded, "There can be no delay concerning matters here in Madīnah. As to the matters elsewhere, you may delay as long as it takes your orders to get there." ʹUthmān said, "All right, but give me a delay of three days for affairs in Madīnah." ʹAlī agreed. Then he went to the people and informed them of this. He wrote out a document between [the people] and ʹUthmān that gave him a three-day grace period to do away with every injustice and remove every governor whom they disliked. Then he bound him in this document as tightly as Allāh had ever bound one of His creatures by compact or covenant. [ʹAlī] had [the document] witnessed by a body of the leading Emigrants and Helpers."[4854]

[4853]. Tārīkh Ṭabarī 15:204; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:17; Tārīkh Damishq 39:338; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 2:154.

[4854]. Tārīkh Ṭabarī 15:187-188. Similarly, Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:15; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 2:151-2.

ʹUthmān Made Preparations for War

According to Ṭabarī,

> Thus, the people turned back from [ʹUthmān] and withdrew until he should fulfill the promises that he had freely given them. But [ʹUthmān] began preparing for war and gathering arms. He had already formed a strong army from among the slaves acquired as part of the caliph's one-fifth share.[4855]

According to Ibn Athīr, when ʹUthmān was put under siege, "He wrote to Muʹāwīyah and Ibn ʹĀmir and the military leaders, ordering them to hurry up and send troops to him."[4856] According to Ṭabarī,

> He wrote Muʹāwīyah ibn Abī Sufyān in Syria: "...The Medinese have become disbelievers; they have abandoned obedience and renounced their oath of allegiance. Therefore send to me the Syrian soldiers who are at your disposal, on every camel you have, whether docile or stubborn." When Muʹāwīyah got the letter, he delayed action on it, for he did not wish to differ openly with the companions of the Messenger of Allāh, since he knew that they concurred [on this matter]. When ʹUthmān became aware of the delay, he wrote to seek aid from Yazīd ibn Asad ibn Kurz and the Syrians... A great number heeded him and went with him until, having learned at Wādī al-Qurā of ʹUthmān's murder, they returned. ʹUthmān also wrote ʹAbd Allāh ibn ʹĀmir a copy of his letter to the Syrians, commanding him to send the Baṣrans to him... [They heeded his call] but when the people made camp at Rabadhah... they learned of ʹUthmān's murder.[4857]

When the three days ʹUthmān was allotted to mend things in Madīnah lapsed while he had done nothing to alter any of the things that were hateful to the people and he had not removed any of his governors from power, the final stretch of ʹUthmān's siege began.

ʹAbd Allāh ibn Saʹd Lost Power in Egypt While Other Rebels Arrived in Madīnah

According to Ṭabarī,

> ʹAbd Allāh ibn Saʹd set out toward ʹUthmān on the heels of the Egyptians, having sought and received his permission to come. Upon reaching Aylah[4858], Ibn Saʹd learned that the Egyptians had returned against ʹUthmān and put him under siege.
>
> Now Muḥammad ibn Abī Ḥudhayfah was in Egypt; when he heard that ʹUthmān was under siege and that ʹAbd Allāh ibn Saʹd had left [the country], he seized power in Egypt, and [the Egyptians] submitted to his authority. ʹAbd Allāh ibn Saʹd turned back toward Egypt, but Ibn Abī Ḥudhayfah fended him off. Thus he made his way to Palestine (which was under the control of Muʹāwīyah) and resided there until ʹUthmān was murdered.

[4855] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 15:188. Similarly, Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:16; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 2:152.

[4856] Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:15.

[4857] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 15:185-186.

[4858] Aylah is a location on the Gulf of ʹAqabah between the Arabian Peninsula and what was then considered Syria (Muʹjam al-Buldān 1:292).

> The Egyptians advanced and made camp at Aswāf[4859], and laid siege to ʹUthmān. Ḥukaym[4860] ibn Jabalah came from Baṣrah with a troop of horsemen, and [Mālik] al-Ashtar arrived with the Kūfans. [All the parties] met in Madīnah, then al-Ashtar and Ḥukaym ibn Jabalah withdrew [to camp outside Madīnah and guard against any reinforcements that might come for ʹUthmān], so that Ibn ʹUdays and his comrades, numbering five hundred men, were the ones besieging ʹUthmān. They sustained the siege for forty-nine days, until at last he was killed on Friday, eighteen nights having passed in Dhū al-Ḥijjah, in the year 35.[4861]

ʹUthmān Met with Mālik al-Ashtar

ʹUthmān asked to meet with Mālik al-Ashtar, who was the leader of the Kūfan contingent of the rebellion. As related by Ṭabarī and others,

> [ʹUthmān] said, "Ashtar, what do the people want from me?" "You cannot avoid doing one of three things," he said. "What are they?" asked [ʹUthmān]. [Al-Ashtar] said, "They ask you to choose between [the following]: You may turn their affairs over to them and say, 'This is your affair; choose whomever you will for it.' Second, you may have yourself punished. If you reject these two choices, then this band of men (qawm) will kill you." [ʹUthmān] replied, "As for my turning their affairs over to them, I am not one to remove a robe that Almighty Allāh has placed upon me... As for having myself punished, by Allāh, you know that two of my associates[4862] were punished before me, and my body cannot endure punishment."[4863]

Ṭalḥah Led the Siege of ʹUthmān

According to Ṭabarī, Ibn Athīr, and Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd,

> Ṭalḥah ibn ʹUbayd Allāh passed by; he stopped and said, "Where is Ibn ʹUdays?" He was told, "He is over there." Ibn ʹUdays came over to [Ṭalḥah] and whispered something to him, then he went back to his comrades and said, "Do not let anyone go in to see this man or leave his house." ʹUthmān said, "These are Ṭalḥah ibn ʹUbayd Allāh's orders." He continued, "O Allāh, protect me from Ṭalḥah ibn ʹUbayd Allāh, for he has incited all these people against me. By Allāh, I hope nothing will come of it and that his blood will be shed. He has abused me unlawfully."[4864]

Moreover,

> ʹAlī said to Ṭalḥah, "I adjure you by Allāh, send the people away from ʹUthmān." [Ṭalḥah] replied, "No, by Allāh, not until the Banū Umayyah voluntarily submit to what is right."[4865]

[4859] A location in Madīnah near Baqīʹ (Muʹjam al-Buldān 1:191).

[4860] Also transliterated as Ḥakīm ibn Jabalah, but Ḥukaym appears to be the correct transliteration.

[4861] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 15:198-199.

[4862] This is an apparent reference to Walīd ibn ʹUqbah who was whipped for drinking and someone else.

[4863] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 15:190. Similarly, Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:206; Tārīkh Damishq 39:404; ʹIqd al-Farīd 4:280-1.

[4864] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 15:199; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:17; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 2:155.

[4865] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 15:235; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 10:5. A similar account also appears in Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 2:161.

Indeed, Ṭalḥah's siege was so stringent that even water not allowed to pass through to ʹUthmān and his family:

> [ʹAlī] spoke with Ṭalḥah when [ʹUthmān] was under siege, to the effect that [at least] waterskins should be [allowed to be] taken to him. [ʹAlī] was extremely upset about that, until at last waterskins were brought in to ʹUthmān.[4866]

According to Ṭabarī, the siege of ʹUthmān lasted "forty nights, and in the meantime Ṭalḥah led the people in worship."[4867] This siege of forty nights or forty-nine days[4868] apparently refers to the siege of ʹUthmān by the companions of the Prophet (ص) in Madīnah, as the final siege after the return of the Egyptians upon their interception of the letter bearing ʹUthmān's seal lasted only one week. According to Ṭabarī, "ʹUthmān was under siege before the Egyptians' arrival. The Egyptians arrived on one Friday and killed him on the following Friday."[4869]

ʹĀʹishah Became Further Involved in the Insurrection

Sensing that ʹUthmān was doomed, ʹĀʹishah decided to get more directly involved on behalf of Ṭalḥah, her brother-in-law[4870] and tribesman[4871], to make sure that he would be the one to become caliph after ʹUthmān was deposed. ʹĀʹishah used the ḥajj pilgrimage as an excuse to leave Madīnah for Mecca, where she could call her tribe of Banū Taym and their allies to revolt against ʹUthmān. According to Ibn Saʹd, Marwān ibn Ḥakam and others pled with her not to go, but she refused.[4872] According to Ṭabarī and Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd,

> Ibn ʹAbbās recounts: ʹUthmān said to me, "I have named Khālid ibn ʹĀṣ ibn Hishām to be governor in Mecca. The Meccans have heard about what the people have done [here in Madīnah], and I fear that they will bar him from office. He will refuse [to accept that] and will fight them in the sanctuary of Almighty Allāh, in which He has established His peace—both [the Meccans] and those people 'who have come from every deep ravine that they may witness things profitable to them.'[4873] Therefore I have thought it best to give you authority over the pilgrimage." Along with all this, [ʹUthmān] wrote a letter to the pilgrims, asking them to uphold his rights against those who were besieging him.
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> Ibn ʹAbbās set out and encountered ʹĀʹishah in Ṣulṣul.[4874] She said, "Ibn ʹAbbās, I entreat you by Allāh, abandon this man [and] sow doubt about him among the people, for you have been given a sharp tongue. Their powers of discernment have been clarified, the beacon light is raised high to guide them, and [the caliph's associates] have milked the lands that once abounded in good

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[4866] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 15:181; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:13. Also refer to Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:285, Tārīkh al-Khulafāʹ 143, and Murūj al-Dhahab 2:353 for other accounts of ʹAlī (ع) sending water to ʹUthmān during the siege.

[4867] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 15:189.

[4868] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 15:199.

[4869] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 15:220.

[4870] Ṭalḥah was married to Umm Kulthūm bint Abī Bakr (Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 8:462), who was the half-sister of ʹĀʹishah.

[4871] Ṭalḥah's lineage was Ṭalḥah ibn ʹUbayd Allāh ibn ʹUthmān ibn ʹAmr ibn Kaʹb ibn Saʹd ibn Taym (Iṣābah 2:949-50 #4269, Ṭalḥah ibn ʹUbayd Allāh). Abū Bakr's lineage was Abū Bakr ibn ʹUthmān ibn ʹĀmir ibn ʹAmr ibn Kaʹb ibn Saʹd ibn Taym (Refer to chapter 52).

[4872] Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 5:36-7.

[4873] Qurʹān 22:27-28.

[4874] Ṣulṣul is a locality near Madīnah, some seven on the road towards Mecca (Muʹjam al-Buldān 3:421).

> things. I have seen Ṭalḥah ibn ʿUbayd Allāh take possession of the keys of the public treasuries and storehouses. If he becomes caliph, he will follow in the path of his paternal cousin Abū Bakr."
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> [Ibn ʿAbbās] said, "O Mother [of the Believers], if some evil were to befall that man (namely, ʿUthmān), the people would seek asylum only with our companion (namely, ʿAlī)." She replied, "Be quiet! I have no desire to defy or quarrel with you."[4875]

Other accounts of ʿĀʾishah's involvement in the overthrow of ʿUthmān can be found in Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā,[4876] Tārīkh Ibn Athīr,[4877] Ansāb al-Ashrāf,[4878] and Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd,[4879] and her role is discussed further in chapter 72.

The Status of the Siege

The siege of ʿUthmān lasted around forty days in which Ṭalḥah led a group of companions and successors from Mecca and Madīnah, barring ʿUthmān from leaving his house as well as barring supplies, including water, from entering his residence. Upon ʿAlī's (ع) insistence, Ṭalḥah allowed water in so that ʿUthmān and his supporters would not die of thirst. The siege intensified when rebels from Baṣrah and Kūfah arrived and when the Egyptians returned to Madīnah after intercepting a letter spelling out their punishments. ʿUthmān's supporters in Madīnah included his family from the Banū Umayyah, an army he had raised from his personal slaves and freedmen, and four of the companions, namely Zayd ibn Thābit, Abū Usayd al-Sāʿidī, Kaʿb ibn Mālik, and Ḥassān ibn Thābit.[4880] ʿUthmān's strategy was to use a variety of delay tactics so that reinforcements could arrive from the provinces. Muʿāwīyah had decided that it was best not to support ʿUthmān. However, a number of tribes from Iraq and Syria did heed his call, and reinforcements were on their way.

ʿAlī's (ع) role during these events was to guide ʿUthmān and to reluctantly serve as an intermediary between ʿUthmān and the rebels so that Muslim blood would not be needlessly shed. On the one hand, he knew that the complaints of the rebels were valid and he knew that ʿUthmān was being disingenuous in his promises. Yet, he feared the consequences of ʿUthmān's execution, a fear that turned out to be based solidly in knowledge of what was to happen, as ʿUthmān's execution led to decades of continuous strife afflicting the Muslim nation.

[4875] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 15:238-9; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 10:6. Also refer to Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:287 for an account of ʿĀʾishah's insistence of going on the hajj despite the fact that Marwān plead for her not to go.

[4876] Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 5:36-7.

[4877] Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:28-9.

[4878] Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:275, 2:284, 2:285, 2:292, 2:293.

[4879] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 3:43, 3:49.

[4880] These four individuals were the only companions outside of ʿUthmān's family who supported him (Tārīkh Ṭabarī 15:141, Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:280; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:7; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 9:264).

Chapter 72

The Execution of ´Uthmān and His Disgraceful Burial in Ḥashsh Kawkab

There were two immediate factors that led those placing ´Uthmān under siege to execute him. First was the fear that reinforcements were arriving from the other provinces and that bloodshed would ensue were the reinforcements to arrive. According to Ṭabarī, "They were driven to fight by the news that reinforcements from Baṣrah had made camp in Ṣirār, a night's journey from Madīnah, while the Syrians were approaching as well."[4881] As such, the rebels said, "We must deal quickly with [´Uthmān], before the reinforcements arrive."[4882] But perhaps the immediate impetus was the murder of one of the protestors. This occurred when, according to Ṭabarī, ´Uthmān's slave threw a stone from the roof of the house at a man of [the tribe of] Aslam named Nīyār and killed him. They sent to ´Uthmān, demanding the man's killer. ´Uthmān responded, "I do not know who killed him," so they spent the night berating ´Uthmān and his clan. The next morning, the rebels entered ´Uthmān's house from a neighboring house and set part of his house on fire.[4883] According to another account cited by Ṭabarī, Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, and Ibn Athīr,

> One of the Prophet's companions, a venerable old man named Nīyār ibn ´Iyāḍ arose... and implored [´Uthmān] in Allāh's name to dissociate himself from [his evil associates]. And while he was speaking, one of ´Uthmān's associates shot and killed him with an arrow. [´Uthmān's opponents] claimed that the man who shot him was Kathīr ibn Ṣalt al-Kindī, and at this they said to ´Uthmān, "Turn the murderer of Nīyār ibn ´Iyāḍ over to us so that we may kill him in retaliation." He replied, "I will not kill a man who has defended me while you intend to murder me." When they perceived this, they rushed at [´Uthmān's] door and set it ablaze.[4884]

Thus, a fierce battle broke out in which a number of people were killed. According to Ṭabarī,

> The people continued to fight until ´Amr ibn Ḥazm al-Anṣārī opened the door of his residence, which lay adjacent to ´Uthmān ibn ´Affān's house. He shouted to the people, and they advanced through his house against [the defenders of ´Uthmān], fighting them in the courtyard of [´Uthmān's] house until they fled and the door was abandoned to [the rebels]. [The defenders] fled into the streets of Madīnah, while ´Uthmān remained behind with a few associates and

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[4881] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 15:203.

[4882] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 15:221; Tārīkh Damishq 39:400.

[4883] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 15:201.

[4884] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 15:203; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 2:155. This account also appears in condensed form in Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:17.

> members of his household. ´Uthmān was killed, and they were killed along with him.[4885]

The Execution of ´Uthmān

When ´Uthmān realized that his execution was imminent, he hid behind the Qur`ān, saying, "The Book of Allāh is between you and me."[4886] That, however, did not stop them from killing him. Indeed, when he was killed, his blood dripped over the Qur`ān.[4887] According to Ṭabarī,

> Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr came with thirteen men and went up to ´Uthmān. He seized his beard and shook it until I (the narrator) heard his teeth chattering. [Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr] said, "Mu´āwīyah was no help to you, nor was Ibn ´Āmir, nor your letters." [´Uthmān] said, "Let go of my beard, son of my brother! Let go of my beard!" Then I saw [Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr] signaling with his eye to one of the rebels. He came over to him with a broad iron-headed arrow and stabbed him in the head with it... [Then] they gathered round him and killed him.[4888]

Ṭabarī has related another account of this incident that is corroborated by very similar accounts in other historical sources:

> Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr, accompanied by Kinānah ibn Bishr ibn ´Attāb, Sūdān ibn Ḥumrān, and ´Amr ibn Ḥamiq, reached ´Uthmān by climbing over the wall from the house of ´Amr ibn Ḥazm. They found ´Uthmān, with his wife Nā`ilah, reading the Sūrah of the Cow (Baqarah)[4889] from the Qur`ān. Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr came up to them and seized ´Uthmān's beard. "May Allāh disgrace you, you hyena (Na´thal[4890])," he said. ´Uthmān replied, "I am no hyena. I am Allāh's servant and the Commander of the Faithful." Muḥammad said, "Neither Mu´āwīyah nor anyone else has been of any use to you." ´Uthmān said, "Son of my brother, let go of my beard. Your father would not have gripped it like this." Muḥammad replied, "Had my father seen you doing these things, he would have denounced you for them, and I mean to do worse to you than grab your beard." ´Uthmān said, "I seek Allāh's help and support against you." Then [Muḥammad] pierced his forehead with a broad iron-tipped arrow that he was holding. Kinānah ibn Bishr raised some arrows of the same kind that he was holding and plunged them from the base of ´Uthmān's ear down to his throat. Then he fell on him with his sword until he killed him.[4891]

In another account, "Kinānah ibn Bishr struck [´Uthmān's] forehead with an iron bar. He pitched forward, face down, and Sūdān ibn Ḥumrān al-Murādī beat him after he had fallen and killed him."[4892] According to Ṭabarī, "As to ʿAmr ibn Ḥamiq, he jumped on ʿUthmān and sat on his chest—he was still barely alive—and stabbed him nine times. ʿAmr said, 'I stabbed him three times for Allāh's sake, and six times because of the anger in my breast against him.'"[4893]

[4885] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 15:204. Similarly, Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:18.

[4886] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 15:205; Tārīkh Damishq 39:411.

[4887] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 15:205; Tārīkh Damishq 39:411; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:18-19.

[4888] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 15:190-191; Tārīkh Damishq 39:404.

[4889] Qur`ān, sūrah 2.

[4890] The word is "Na´thal", which more likely refers to the similarity of ´Uthmān's beard to that of Na´thal than to his being a hyena (Tārīkh Damishq 39:327). According to Tārīkh Damishq (39:327), Na´thal was from Egypt. A tradition cited in chapter 45 states that he was Jewish. Na´thal was the derogatory name that ´Ā`ishah would commonly use to refer to ´Uthmān (refer to later in this chapter).

[4891] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 15:219; Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 3:73; Tārīkh Damishq 39:409; Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:296 (minor differences exist among these accounts). Similarly, Imāmah wa Sīyāsah 50; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 2:157; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:18.

Marwān ibn Ḥakam was also struck on his neck and left for dead, as no pulse could be detected.[4894] Attempts at further strikes were stopped by his milk-mother, who said, "If you only want to kill the man, he has already been killed. But if you mean to toy with his flesh, that is shameful."[4895] The Banū Umayyah were grateful to her for saving Marwān and even appointed her son Ibrāhīm as an administrator in one of the provinces.[4896] Marwān survived this to become an Umayyad caliph himself, but he had a permanently bent neck because the sword cut one of his neck muscles.[4897]

The accounts of ʿUthmān's assassination are undoubted, and they more or less unanimously include the presence of Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr among the group the entered and killed him. Those interested in further studies of this topic should refer to the numerous sources that address his execution.[4898] Of note, many of the sources, including Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd and Masʿūdī, claim that although Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr entered upon ʿUthmān with the intention of killing him, when ʿUthmān cited his father's name, Muḥammad desisted and repented.[4899] Yet, this appears rather unlikely, as had he repented, he would have ordered his followers not to kill ʿUthmān. Moreover, a number of the accounts are explicit that he was the first to strike ʿUthmān. Accounts in which he is claimed to have told ʿAlī (ع) that he did not know who the killer was are also rather suspicious, as he had to have some idea of who else went into the room with him, so that they could at least be questioned regarding who actually killed ʿUthmān. These accounts appear to be later inventions to make it appear that Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr, whom Sunnīs classify as a companion for having seen the Prophet (ص) while an infant and toddler, was not complicit in the slaying of ʿUthmān, and that ʿAlī (ع) was utterly unable to identify the executioner of ʿUthmān, as opposed to having no particular interest in identifying and punishing ʿUthmān's killer.

Stories narrated in Sunnī histories about how ʿAlī (ع), Ṭalḥah, and Zubayr supported ʿUthmān to the point that they sent their own sons to fight off the rebels on behalf of ʿUthmān all suffer from weak chains of transmission as well as numerous textual inaccuracies.[4900] Indeed, it makes no sense For Ṭalḥah and Zubayr to place ʿUthmān under siege with the intention of deposing and/or killing him, cut off water so that ʿUthmān would die of thirst, and yet send their own sons to defend ʿUthmān. In fact, when Zayd ibn Thābit, one of the few supporters of ʿUthmān, asked ʿAlī (ع) to help send away the rebels from ʿUthmān, ʿAlī (ع) replied, "By Allāh! I neither instructed them to do anything nor will I become involved in their affair."[4901] According to one account in

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[4892] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 15:219.
[4893] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 15:220.
[4894] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 15:201-2.
[4895] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 15:202; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:18.
[4896] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 15:202; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:18.
[4897] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 15:220.
[4898] Accounts of the execution of ʿUthmān are found in many sources including Tārīkh Ṭabarī 15:200-223; Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 3:72-5; Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:289-99; Imāmah wa Siyāsah 50-2; ʿIqd al-Farīd 4:287-8; Murūj al-Dhahab 2:353-5; Istīʿāb 3:159-161 #1797 (ʿUthmān ibn ʿAffān); Tārīkh Damishq 39:405-415; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:18-19; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 2:155-8; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:206-10; Tārīkh al-Khamīs 2:263-4; Tārīkh Abū al-Fidāʾ 1:237.
[4899] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 3:67; Murūj al-Dhahab 2:354.
[4900] Refer to al-Ghadīr 9:218-247.
[4901] ʿIqd al-Farīd 4:285.

Ṭabarī, Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr appears to have killed ʿUthmān with the tacit approval of ʿAlī (ع):

> [Abū Ḥabībah said]: Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr came and whispered to ʿAlī. Then ʿAlī took my hand and arose, saying, "What good is his repentance now?" And by Allāh, I no sooner reached my house than I heard the cry that ʿUthmān had been killed.[4902]

Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr appears to have taken ʿAlī's words as a tacit agreement that ʿUthmān's repentance was no longer valid and that killing him was permissible. The celebrations began immediately after ʿUthmān's death, and the first to celebrate were Ṭalḥah's supporters. Sūdān ibn Ḥumrān came out proclaiming, "Where is Ṭalḥah ibn ʿUbayd Allāh? We have killed [ʿUthmān] ibn ʿAffān!"[4903]

ʿUthmān's Age when He Died

The majority opinion is that ʿUthmān was killed on the 18th of Dhū al-Ḥijjah of the year 35 A.H.[4904] There is difference in regards to his age at time of death. It is related that he was 75, 82, 84, 86, 88, 89, or 90.[4905] According to Ṭabarī, Sayf ibn ʿUmar claimed that a body of informants had told him that ʿUthmān was 63 years old when he died.[4906] However, Sayf, as will be discussed later,[4907] was a known liar and clearly wanted to make ʿUthmān's age at death equal that of the Prophet (ص) when he died. Amazingly, some have claimed that Abū Bakr and ʿUmar died at the age of 63 as well, as that was the exact age at which the Prophet (ص) died.[4908] Reports of ʿUmar's age, however, have cited his age at death as having been 53, 55, 60, 61, or 63 years.[4909] Apparently, the fact that the best accounts suggest that ʿAlī (ع) died at the age of 63,[4910] the same age the Prophet (ص) died, made some people feel compelled to attribute the same age of death to the first three caliphs as well.

The Burial of ʿUthmān in Ḥashsh Kawkab

In regards to ʿUthmān's burial, Ṭabarī said,

> When ʿUthmān was killed, [his assassins] tried to cut off his head, but Nāʾilah and Umm al-Banīn (two of his wives[4911]) fell upon him and stopped them. The two women screamed and beat [their] faces and rent their clothing. In the face of this, Ibn ʿUdays said, "Leave him." And thus ʿUthmān, his corpse still unwashed, was taken out and brought to Baqīʿ. [The mourners] wanted to perform the funeral prayer for him in the place set aside for funerals, but the Helpers refused [to allow that]. ʿUmayr ibn Ḍābiʾ appeared while ʿUthmān was

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[4902] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 15:198.
[4903] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 15:200.
[4904] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 15:250; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:19; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:203, 7:212.
[4905] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 15:252; Istīʿāb 3:162 #1797 (ʿUthmān ibn ʿAffān); Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:212.
[4906] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 15:252.
[4907] Refer to chapter 74.
[4908] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 1:132.
[4909] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 14:98-99.
[4910] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:226 says in regards to the report that ʿAlī (ع) died at the age of 63, "This last report is the best option." Similar comments appear in Usd al-Ghābah 3:303 #3789 (ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib).
[4911] Nāʾilah bint Farāfiṣah and Umm al-Banīn bint ʿUyaynah were two of the wives of ʿUthmān (Tārīkh Ṭabarī 15:254).

> stretched out upon a door. [ʻUmayr] jumped on him and broke one of his ribs, saying, "You left Ḍābiʼ in prison until he died there."[4912]

It is similarly related that,

> ʻUthmān['s corpse] was thrown aside and left unburied for three days. Then Ḥakīm ibn Ḥizām al-Qurashī, who was a member of the clan of Asad ibn ʻAbd al-ʻUzzā, and Jubayr ibn Muṭʻim ibn ʻAdī ibn Nawfal ibn ʻAbd Manāf spoke to ʻAlī about his burial, seeking his permission for [ʻUthmān's] family to see to that. ʻAlī granted them his permission, but when news of this spread, people lay in wait for [ʻUthmān's body] by the road, armed with stones. A few members of his family set out with [his body], intending to take him to an enclosure in Madīnah named Ḥashsh Kawkab, where the Jews used to bury their dead. Now when [ʻUthmān's body] was brought out before the people, they stoned his bier and were bent on throwing him to the ground. When ʻAlī heard that, he sent and demanded that they leave him alone. They did so, and [ʻUthmān's body] was hurried along and interred in Ḥashsh Kawkab. When Muʻāwīyah ibn Abī Sufyān gained supremacy over the Muslims, he ordered that enclosure to be razed and [thereby] transferred [ʻUthmān's gravesite] to Baqīʻ. Then he commanded the people to bury their dead around his grave, until ultimately [those graves] adjoined the cemetery of the Muslims.[4913]

Of note, Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd specifically cited Zubayr ibn ʻAwwām as being among the twelve men who barred ʻUthmān from being buried in Baqīʻ.[4914] Ṭabarī has also related the following three traditions about ʻUthmān's burial:

1. Mālik ibn Abī ʻĀmir [said]: I was one of ʻUthmān's pallbearers when he was killed. We carried him upon a door, and his head was bumping up and down (ṭaq ṭaq) on the door because we were walking so fast. We were possessed with fear until we interred him in his grave in Ḥashsh Kawkab.[4915]

2. When he was laid down so that the funeral prayer could be performed for him, a band of the Helpers came and forbade them to perform the prayer. These included Aslam ibn Aws ibn Bajrah al-Sāʻidī and Abū Ḥayyah al-Māzinī[4916], among several others. They forbade [ʻUthmān's supporters] to bury him at Baqīʻ. Abū Jahm said, "Bury him, for Allāh and His angels have blessed him." "No, by Allāh," they said, "he will never be buried in the Muslims' cemetery." So they buried him in Ḥashsh Kawkab. When the Banū Umayyah reigned, they had that garden included in Baqīʻ, and it is today the cemetery of the Banū Umayyah.[4917]

3. ʻUthmān was buried at twilight. Only Marwān ibn Ḥakam, three of his freedmen (mawālī), and his fifth daughter were present at his funeral. His daughter wailed in mourning and raised her voice in lament for him. The people took stones and hooted "Long-bearded old idiot!" She was nearly stoned. Then they said, "[Go

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[4912] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 15:248-249.
[4913] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 15:246; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:19.
[4914] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 10:7.
[4915] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 15:249. Similarly, Muʻjam al-Kabīr Ṭabarānī 1:78-9; Tārīkh Damishq 39:532.
[4916] Abū Ḥayyah al-Māzinī has been cited among the Anṣār who fought at Badr (Usd al-Ghābah 4:412 #5796, Abū Ḥabbah al-Anṣārī, also referred to as Abū Ḥayyah and Abū Ḥannah).
[4917] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 15:248. This appears summarily in Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:291.

to] the compound, the compound." And thus he was interred in a compound outside.[4918]

The summary of the accounts of ʿUthmān's burial is that his body was abandoned for three days, as no one dared to take his body to be washed or buried. Finally, when the rotting of his body became a problem, his family members tried to have him buried. However, the companions, particularly the Anṣār, had set up round-the-clock guards around the cemetery of Baqīʿ to make sure that he would not be buried there, as they considered him unsuitable for burial in a Muslim cemetery. Attempts to take him to Baqīʿ were unsuccessful. The Muslims standing guard attacked his corpse and even shattered some of his ribs in the ensuing brawl. His family members feared they would be killed if they insisted any further, so they dumped ʿUthmān's body on a door and ran off. As they scuttled away, ʿUthmān's head kept banging with every step, making his teeth clatter. ʿUthmān was buried in the old and abandoned Jewish cemetery, called Ḥashsh Kawkab. Later on, Muʿāwīyah tore down the enclosures separating Ḥashsh Kawkab from Baqīʿ and had other Umayyads buried around ʿUthmān to turn the cemetery into a "Muslim" one. Until the destruction of Baqīʿ by the Wahhābīs, it remained apparent that ʿUthmān's grave was quite a distance from that of the Prophet's Ahl al-Bayt (ع), wives, and companions and who were buried in the Muslim cemetery. Indeed, pictures surviving from the Ottoman period clearly depict this fact.[4919]

Accounts of ʿUthmān's burial in Ḥashsh Kawkab are mutawātir and widely transmitted in Sunnī sources, including Tārīkh Ṭabarī,[4920] Imāmah wa Sīyāsah,[4921] Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā,[4922] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr,[4923] Ansāb al-Ashrāf,[4924] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd,[4925] Iṣābah,[4926] Istīʿāb,[4927] Kanz al-ʿUmmāl,[4928] Majmaʿ al-Zawāʾid,[4929] Muʿjam al-Kabīr Ṭabarānī,[4930] Tārīkh Damishq,[4931] Tārīkh Ibn Athīr,[4932] Tārīkh al-Khulafāʾ,[4933] ʿIqd al-Farīd,[4934] and Tārīkh al-Khamīs,[4935] among many others. It is indeed undisputed that ʿUthmān was prevented from being buried in Baqīʿ and that he was buried in Ḥashsh Kawkab instead. Ibn Kathīr said, "There is no disagreement that he was buried in Ḥashsh Kawkab."[4936] Of note, none of the companions present in Madīnah protested ʿUthmān's burial in a non-Muslim cemetery, the fact that he did not have a proper burial, or the fact that ʿAlī (ع) did not attend his funeral. This is because they did not consider him Muslim, and the apparent reason for that was the Qurʾānic verse, "And those who do not rule by what Allāh has revealed are disbelievers."[4937] Even if someone were to claim that a martyr can be buried

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4918. Tārīkh Ṭabarī 15:247. Similarly, Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 3:64, 10:7.
4919. Mehmet Bahadir Dördüncü, "Mecca-Madinah: The Yildiz Albums of Sultan Abdulhamid II," The Light (publisher), Istanbul, Turkey 2006.
4920. Tārikh Ṭabarī 15:246, 15:248, 15:249.
4921. Imāmah wa Sīyāsah 52.
4922. Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 3:77, 3:79.
4923. Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 6:229, 7:213, 7:214, 7:222.
4924. Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:389, 2:291.
4925. Ibn Abī al-Hadīd 2:158, 10:6, 10:7, 16:13, 17:219.
4926. Iṣābah 1:256 #1080 (Jabalah ibn ʿAmr ibn Aws ibn ʿĀmir), 2:1239 #5450 (ʿUthmān ibn ʿAffān), 3:1703 #7470 (Kawkab).
4927. Istīʿāb 3:161, 3:162 #1797 (ʿUthmān ibn ʿAffān).
4928. Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #36298.
4929. Majmaʿ al-Zawāʾid #14558 (certifies those in the chain of transmission as trustworthy).
4930. Muʿjam al-Kabīr Ṭabarānī 1:79.
4931. Tārikh Damishq 39:516, 39:520, 39:525, 39:532.
4932. Tārikh Ibn Athīr 2:19.
4933. Tārikh al-Khulafāʾ 144-5.
4934. ʿIqd al-Farīd 4:274.
4935. Tārikh al-Khamīs 2:265.
4936. Tārikh Ibn Kathīr 7:213.
4937. Qurʾān 5:44.

in his own clothes without being washed, it is still clear that martyrs cannot be buried in a non-Muslim cemetery.

The Opinions of Some of the Companions Regarding ʹUthmān's Execution

The majority of the companions spoke out against the injustices of ʹUthmān. ʹAllāmah Amīnī has collected the words of eighty companions who, as related by Sunnī sources, spoke up against his injustices.[4938] Relaying the words of all of them is beyond the scope of this brief discussion, but the following are a few noteworthy accounts regarding a few of the companions:

ʹAmmār ibn Yāsir

ʹAmmār ibn Yāsir was among those who believed in the uprising against ʹUthmān and who refused to abandon his support for the uprising. For this, he was beaten no less than five times.[4939] According to Ṭabarī,

> ʹUthmān sent to ʹAmmār ibn Yāsir, telling him to set forth with ʹAlī [to appease the crowds], but he refused. Then ʹUthmān sent to Saʹd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ and told him that he should go to ʹAmmār and direct him to ride out with ʹAlī. Saʹd set out and entered ʹAmmār's presence. He said, "O Abū al-Yaqẓān, will you not go forth with the others, all the more as ʹAlī is going? Set out with him, then, and drive these dissidents away from your imām, for I reckon that you will take no ride more beneficial to you than this one." ʹUthmān sent to Kathīr ibn Ṣalt al-Kindī, who was one of his loyal supporters, and said, "Follow close behind Saʹd and listen to what he and ʹAmmār say to each other; then come right back to me." Kathīr set out and found Saʹd meeting privately with ʹAmmār in the latter's home. He put his eye up to the keyhole in the door. Without knowing who was there, ʹAmmār came over to him with a staff in his hand and inserted it into the keyhole where Kathīr had placed his eye. Kathīr jerked his eye away from the hole, turned tail, and fled, covering his face. Then ʹAmmār came out, recognized his footprints, and shouted, "You runt, son of a runt's mother, were you spying on me and listening to my conversation? By Allāh, had I known it was you, I would have poked out your eye with this staff, for the Messenger of Allāh permitted that." Then ʹAmmār returned to Saʹd, and Saʹd spoke with him and began trying by every means to turn him away [from his previous opinions]. But the end result of this was that ʹAmmār said, "By Allāh, I shall never drive [the dissidents] away from [ʹUthmān]."[4940]

In the Battle of Ṣiffin, ʹAmmār said, "O people, let us set forth against these who are seeking ʹUthmān's blood, deluding themselves into thinking that he died unjustly."[4941] He also said, "There is nothing that bothers me more than the fact that we did not exhume ʹUthmān from his grave and then burn him with fire."[4942] According to Naṣr ibn Muzāḥim and Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd,

> ʹAmr [ibn ʹĀṣ] asked [ʹAmmār], "Did ʹAlī kill [ʹUthmān]?" ʹAmmār replied, "Rather, the Lord of ʹAlī killed him and ʹAlī was with Him." ʹAmr asked, "Were

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[4938] Refer to al-Ghadīr 9:69-167.

[4939] Refer to chapters 65 and 67.

[4940] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 15:173-4.

[4941] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:296.

[4942] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 14:11.

> you among those who killed him?" He replied, "I was among those who killed him and today I am fighting alongside them." ´Amr asked, "Why did you kill him?" ´Ammār replied, "Because he was going to change our religion, so we killed him." ´Amr exclaimed, "Don't you hear [what he's saying]?! He has just admitted to having killed your imām!"[4943]

´Ā`ishah

Ṭabarī generally remained quiet about the role of ´Ā`ishah in the uprising against ´Uthmān, as many of his accounts are those of Sayf, who, as we will examine in chapter 74, provided highly stylized and nearly fictional accounts of events involving the companions, to the point of even portraying her as ´Uthmān's supporter. The tradition cited in the previous chapter in which she wanted Ibn ´Abbās to support Ṭalḥah was explicit in this regards. Moreover, ´Ubayd ibn Umm Kilāb said to ´Ā`ishah, "By Allāh! You were the first to incline the blade against ´Uthmān and were saying, 'Kill Na´thal, for he has become a disbeliever.'"[4944] According to Balādhurī, "´Ā`ishah frequently used stinging words against him."[4945] He has said that, "She took some of the Messenger of Allāh's hair as well as his shoe and clothes and said, 'You have abandoned the Sunnah of your Prophet so quickly!'"[4946] According to Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, "The first to call ´Uthmān 'Na´thal' was ´Ā`ishah."[4947] She would say, "Kill Na´thal! May Allāh kill Na´thal!"[4948] and, "Kill Na´thal! May Allāh curse Na´thal!"[4949]

When ´Ā`ishah was leaving to Mecca, ´Uthmān sent Marwān to try to convince her not to go. Her response was that she was intent on going on the pilgrimage and would not be dissuaded from doing so. She then added, "O Marwān, I wish by Allāh that [´Uthmān] was in one of my trunks here and that I could carry him and dump him into the sea."[4950] During her ḥajj, she proclaimed in the Masjid al-Ḥarām, "I see ´Uthmān as a bad omen, the way Abū Sufyān was a bad omen [for his people] on the Day of Badr!"[4951] Yet when ´Uthmān was executed and ´Alī (ع) became caliph, she started wailing, saying, "´Uthmān died oppressed (maẓlūm)!" ´Ammār told her, "Yesterday you were inciting against him and today you are crying for him!"[4952] When ´Ā`ishah was setting out for the Battle of Jamal, Umm Salamah told her, "Yesterday you were inciting against ´Uthmān and saying the worst things about him. His only name with you was Na´thal. And you are familiar with the status ´Alī had with the Messenger of Allāh (ص)."[4953] It should be noted that statements related from ´Ā`ishah in defense of ´Uthmān and critical of his execution are from the period after his death, as she used his unavenged blood as a pretext for her mutiny against ´Alī (ع).[4954]

Ṭalḥah

[4943] Kitāb al-Ṣiffīn of Naṣr ibn Muzāḥim 339; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 8:22.
[4944] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 16:52-3; Sīrah Ḥalabīyyah 3:356.
[4945] Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:284.
[4946] Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:292.
[4947] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 6:215.
[4948] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 6:215, 20:22.
[4949] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 20:17.
[4950] Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:287.
[4951] Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:293.
[4952] ´Iqd al-Farīd 4:279. Similarly, Imāmah wa Siyāsah 54.
[4953] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 6:217.
[4954] Refer to chapters 78 and 79.

Ṭalḥah made very a public display condemning ʹUthmān's wealth. According to Ṭabarī, Ibn ʹAsākir, and Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd,

> Ṭalḥah ibn ʹUbayd Allāh sold ʹUthmān a property of his for 700,000 [dirhams], and [ʹUthmān] brought [the money] over to him. Then Ṭalḥah said, "Surely a man who possesses so much wealth and stores it in his own house, in ignorance of what may befall him by the command of Almighty Allāh—Allāh, glory be to Him, has made that man a fool!" That night his messenger plied the streets of Madīnah, dividing up the cash until morning.[4955]

Ṭalḥah was the one who put ʹUthmān's house under siege. As such, he said, "Do not let anyone go in to see this man or leave his house," and ʹUthmān said, "These [restrictions imposed by the siege] are Ṭalḥah ibn ʹUbayd Allāh's orders," and he prayed, "O Allāh, protect me from Ṭalḥah ibn ʹUbayd Allāh, for he has incited all these people against me. By Allāh, I hope nothing will come of it and that his blood will be shed."[4956] Ṭalḥah even prevented water from entering ʹUthmān's house. According to Ṭabarī and Ibn Athīr, "[ʹAlī] spoke with Ṭalḥah when [ʹUthmān] was under siege, to the effect that waterskins should be taken to him. ʹAlī was extremely upset about that, until at last waterskins were brought to ʹUthmān."[4957] Indeed, every narration in Ṭabarī that indicates that Ṭalḥah was on ʹUthmān's side has been narrated through Sayf, whose accounts are fictional. Ibn Sīrīn said, "There was not a single one of the Prophet's companions who was harsher on ʹUthmān than Ṭalḥah."[4958] Saʹd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ was asked, "Who killed ʹUthmān?" He replied, "He was killed by a sword pulled out by ʹĀʾishah, sharpened by Ṭalḥah, and poisoned by ʹAlī." He was then asked, "What was Zubayr's role?" He replied, "He pointed with his hand but kept his mouth quiet."[4959]

During the siege of ʹUthmān, Ṭalḥah took over the treasury. ʹAlī (ع) was infuriated by this and went to the treasury, demanding its keys. Since the keys could not be found, ʹAlī (ع) broke open the treasury and divided all its wealth.[4960] Clearly, Ṭalḥah knew that most Muslims would flutter about the treasury like moths around a lamp, so he took over the treasury. ʹAlī (ع), seeking the pleasure of Allāh, divided all the wealth of the treasury among the Muslims, thus preempting Ṭalḥah from using the nation's wealth to advance his own illegitimate cause.

Perhaps the best proof that Ṭalḥah was involved in the execution of ʹUthmān is that during the Battle of Jamal, Marwān ibn Ḥakam killed Ṭalḥah to avenge ʹUthmān's blood.[4961] Clearly, ʹUthmān's family members held Ṭalḥah to be responsible for ʹUthmān's death.[4962]

ʹAmr ibn ʹĀṣ

4955. Tārīkh Ṭabarī 15:235-6; Tārīkh Damishq 25:101; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 10:5.

4956. Tārīkh Ṭabarī 15:199; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:17; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 2:155.

4957. Tārīkh Ṭabarī 15:181; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:13. Also refer to Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:285, Tārīkh al-Khulafāʾ 143, and Murūj al-Dhahab 2:353 for other accounts of ʹAlī (ع) sending water to ʹUthmān during the siege.

4958. ʹIqd al-Farīd 4:286.

4959. ʹIqd al-Farīd 4:282; Imāmah wa Siyāsah 54-5.

4960. Tārīkh Ṭabarī 16:8; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:14; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 2:148.

4961. Tārīkh Ṭabarī 16:127; Iṣābah 2:951 #4269 (Ṭalḥah ibn ʹUbayd Allāh); Muʹjam al-Kabīr Ṭabarānī 1:113; Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 3:223; Tārīkh Damishq 25:112, 25:113, 25:122, 25:124 (numerous traditions); Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:311-2 (several traditions).

4962. Refer to chapter 79 for the comments of Marwān and ʹAbd al-Malik ibn Marwān in this regards.

´Amr ibn ´Āṣ was among the leading figures inciting against ´Uthmān until he left Madīnah to live in exile in Palestine. After he was removed from the governorship of Egypt, ´Amr was so outraged by ´Uthmān that he divorced Umm Kulthūm bint ´Uqbah ibn Abī Mu´ayṭ, who was ´Uthmān's half-sister on his mother's side.[4963] According to Ṭabarī,

> When ´Amr ibn ´Āṣ arrived in Madīnah, he launched vitriolic attacks upon ´Uthmān. One day ´Uthmān sent for him and met with him alone. He said, "...Do you attack me, bearing one countenance in my presence and another in my absence? ...Leave off!" ...Thus, ´Amr departed from ´Uthmān filled with hatred for him. At one point he came to ´Alī to incite him against ´Uthmān. Then he approached Zubayr and Ṭalḥah in succession to incite them. He confronted the pilgrimage caravan to inform them of ´Uthmān's wrongful innovations. When ´Uthmān was besieged for the first time, [´Amr] went from Madīnah until he reached a property he owned in Palestine called Sab´, and took up residence in a castle of his named ´Ajlān. He would say, "It is wonderful what we hear about Ibn ´Affān."[4964]

According to Balādhurī,

> ´Ā`ishah brought some of the Prophet's (ص) hair, his shoe, and one of his garments... She then said, "How quickly you have abandoned the Sunnah of your Prophet." ´Amr ibn ´Āṣ said, "This is the pulpit of your Prophet, this is his garment, and this is his hair. It [has remained] among you unharmed, yet you have changed and altered [the religion of your Prophet]."[4965]

´Uthmān was Killed in Accordance with the Near Consensus of the Muhājirīn and Anṣār

The following are a number of the historical accounts showing that ´Uthmān was killed in accordance with the near consensus of the Muhājirīn and Anṣār:

1. Thābit ibn ´Abd Allāh ibn Zubayr told Sa´īd ibn Khālid ibn ´Amr ibn ´Uthmān, "Your [great] grandfather (i.e. ´Uthmān) was killed by the Muhājirīn and Anṣār."[4966]

2. ´Alī (ع) wrote to Mu´āwīyah in regards to the execution of ´Uthmān: "I was not but a man among the Muhājirīn, coming and going as they did. Allāh would not make them form consensus on what is wrong and make them all blind."[4967]

3. In the Battle of Ṣiffīn, ´Abd al-Raḥmān ibn ´Uthmān said, "You know that had the Muhājirīn and Anṣār forbidden [the spilling] of ´Uthmān's blood, they would have helped him."[4968]

[4963] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 15:172.
[4964] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 15:170-1.
[4965] Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:292.
[4966] Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:339.
[4967] Imāmah wa Sīyāsah 102; ´Iqd al-Farīd 4:317-8; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 3:89.
[4968] Imāmah wa Sīyāsah 107.

4. Shu´bah said: I have not seen any man more knowledgeable to the people of Madīnah than Sa´d ibn Ibrāhīm... He said in this regards, "The inhabitants of Madīnah killed ´Uthmān."[4969]

5. According to Ṭabarī and others, "In the year 34 certain of the companions of the Messenger of Allāh wrote to others [as follows]: 'Come, for if you desire the jihād, then the jihād is here with us.' ...Among them no one forbade or prevented this save a few individuals: Zayd ibn Thābit, Abū Usayd al-Sā´idī, Ka´b ibn Mālik, and Ḥassān ibn Thābit."[4970]

6. According to Ibn Sa´d, ´Uthmān said, "O people! Do not kill me, for I am a close friend and Muslim brother [of yours]." Realizing that they were intent on killing him, he prayed for the people of Madīnah to be killed. Mujāhid said, "Allāh killed those who died among them in their tribulation (fitnah) [when] Yazīd sent twenty thousand [soldiers] to Madīnah and made [all the lives, women, and property of] Madīnah lawful [to his soldiers] for three [days], to do [with them] as they wished."[4971] This shows that Mujāhid considered the massacre of the people of Madīnah in the Battle of Ḥarrah as having been recompense for their killing ´Uthmān, for which he obviously held them responsible. This opinion was shared by Ibn ´Umar, as is evident from the next tradition.

7. Zuhrī said: When Muslim ibn ´Uqbah killed the people of Madīnah in the Battle of Ḥarrah, ´Abd Allāh ibn ´Umar said, "By the Lord of the Ka´bah, this is due to what they did to ´Uthmān!"[4972]

8. Abū Muslim told the people of Madīnah, "You are, by Allāh, like [the people of Thamūd]." They asked, "How is that, Abū Muslim?" He replied, "They killed the she-camel of Allāh, while you killed the caliph of Allāh, and I swear by my Lord that His caliph is more dear to Him than His she-camel."[4973]

9. Shu´bah ibn Ḥajjāj asked Sa´d ibn Ibrāhīm ibn ´Abd al-Raḥmān ibn ´Awf, "How is it that the companions of the Messenger of Allāh (ص) did not prevent [them from killing] ´Uthmān?" He replied, "He was indeed killed by the companions of the Messenger of Allāh (ص)."[4974]

10. ´Uthmān's wife wrote to Mu´āwīyah, "The people of Madīnah besieged him in his house, watching him by day and night, standing by his doors with their weapons, forbidding everything they could from reaching him until they [even] banned water. [´Uthmān] and those with him withstood this for fifty nights."[4975]

The fact that the vast majority of those in Madīnah, with few exceptions, either participated in, consented to, or allowed the execution of ´Uthmān is highly problematic for the Sunnīs because their scholars claim that Abū Bakr's legitimacy is proved by the fact that the majority of those in Madīnah submitted to his rule, even though there admittedly were a number of notable exceptions who refused to pledge allegiance to him.[4976] If the consent of the majority of those in Madīnah establishes Abū Bakr's legitimacy, then their consenting to the execution of ʿUthmān is proof that he was worthy of execution. If their opinion does not establish anything, then it cannot be used as proof of the legitimacy of Abū Bakr's caliphate.

[4969] Tārīkh Damishq 20:223.

[4970] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 15:140-1; Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:280; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:7; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 9:264.

[4971] Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 3:67-8.

[4972] ´Iqd al-Farīd 4:286.

[4973] Tārīkh Damishq 39:491. For the story of the Prophet Ṣāliḥ (ع) and the tribe of Thamūd who killed the she-camel whose blood had been sanctified, refer to Qur`ān 11:61-68.

[4974] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 3:27-8.

[4975] ´Iqd al-Farīd 4:287.

ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib's (ع) Role in and Attitude Towards the Execution of ʿUthmān

According to Balādhurī and Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, ʿAlī said on the Prophet's (ص) pulpit, "I neither liked his killing nor did I dislike it. I neither ordered it nor did I prevent it."[4977] The fact that ʿAlī (ع) was not displeased by ʿUthmān's death can only be because his death was Islāmically justified and because spilling his blood was permissible. The reason he was not pleased with it was because it would be the cause of discord among the Muslims for generations to come. One can clearly not be unequivocally pleased with the death of someone no matter how badly that person deserves to be killed if that would entail the needless deaths of thousands of innocent Muslims. He summarized the killing of ʿUthmān as follows: "ʿUthmān ruled and did things that the people found reprehensible, so that they came to him and killed him."[4978] Some traditions cite the explicit opinion that ʿAlī (ع) ordered ʿUthmān to be killed. According to Balādhurī,

> Nāʾilah bint Farāfiṣah, ʿUthmān's wife, wrote a letter to Muʿāwīyah informing him about what had happened to ʿUthmān and about his murder. She informed him that the people of Egypt deferred to ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib and [Muḥammad] ibn Abī Bakr and ʿAmmār ibn Yāsir, and they ordered them to kill him.[4979]

Such traditions are, however, somewhat dubious because they support the insinuations of ʿĀʾishah, Ṭalḥah, Zubayr, and the Umayyads that ʿAlī (ع) had to be fought because he was perhaps directly responsible for the death of ʿUthmān. There are, in contrast, a number of traditions in which ʿAlī (ع) disclaimed any responsibility for the death of ʿUthmān.

In reality, the key statement of ʿAlī (ع) is the following: "Whoever asks me about the blood of ʿUthmān—Allāh killed him and I was with Him."[4980] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd said, "This phrase has been transmitted through a large [number of] chains of transmission."[4981] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd believed that the phrase, "Allāh killed him," means that, "Allāh ordered his killing and made [killing him] mandatory," because "it is clear that Allāh, the oft-high, did not kill him in actuality, so appending the killing [of ʿUthmān] to Him has no meaning other than referring to His order [that ʿUthmān ought to be killed] and His satisfaction [with ʿUthmān's being killed]."[4982] Based on his discussion of ʿAlī's (ع) words and his defense of ʿUthmān in light of ʿAlī's (ع) opinion in favor of his execution, it is clear that the basic view of Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd was that, although ʿUthmān introduced innovations for which ʿAlī (ع) and Allāh could legitimately see his death as permissible, not only were those acts minor sins for which he has been forgiven, but he was also guaranteed to enter paradise because he was a companion.[4983]

4976. Refer to chapters 48 and 51.
4977. Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:298; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 3:65.
4978. Tārikh Ṭabarī 17:25; Tārikh Ibn Athīr 2:63; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 4:24.
4979. Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:297.
4980. Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 3:66.
4981. Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 3:66.
4982. Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 3:66.
4983. Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 3:68-69.

Aside from some obvious forgeries with weak chains of transmission, many of which come to us through Sayf, there is, in reality, little discord between these various accounts. The near-consensus at the time was that ʹUthmān ought to have been deposed, and if he refused, killed. However, this would entail much bloodshed and discord, so ʹAlī (ع) preferred for him to repent and mend his ways. ʹAlī (ع) tried his best to guide ʹUthmān on numerous occasions, but when ʹUthmān kept breaking his promises, ʹAlī (ع) withdrew his support, giving the appearance to ʹUthmān and his supporters that ʹAlī (ع) had actively joined the rebels. In the meanwhile, ʹAlī's (ع) Shīʹah were gathering their forces to compel ʹUthmān to act Islāmically, to resign, or to be killed. ʹAlī (ع) preferred for him not to be killed, but ʹUthmān would not desist, so he was executed, perhaps with ʹAlī's (ع) tacit consent. This consent was either explicit, in the form of allowing Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr to kill ʹUthmān before ʹUthmān's reinforcements would arrive and create bloodshed, or implicit, in the form of not forbidding the shedding of ʹUthmān's blood or in the form of leaving Madīnah so that he could avoid being pressured to help ʹUthmān.[4984] When ʹUthmān was executed, ʹAlī (ع) was neither pleased by what had happened because of what it entailed (i.e. civil war), nor was he displeased by what had happened because the execution of ʹUthmān was just. Instead, he resigned himself to the will of Allāh, which demanded that ʹUthmān be executed.

In accordance with the Islāmic justifications for the execution of ʹUthmān, ʹAlī (ع) had no interest in punishing the killers of ʹUthmān or in ensuring that ʹUthmān would receive a proper Islāmic burial in a Muslim cemetery. The fact that ʹAlī (ع) was so insistent on killing ʹAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʹUmar for the murder of Hurmuzān,[4985] while showing little interest in punishing the killers of ʹUthmān suggests that he did not consider the killing of ʹUthmān to have been an illegitimate act.

Of note, prominent members of the Shīʹah of ʹAlī (ع) were instrumental in arousing public awareness of ʹUthmān's wickedness. Abū Dharr publicly denounced ʹUthmān's sins in Madīnah and during his exile in Syria, and thus had to be exiled to Rabadhah, where he died in seclusion. ʹAmmār ibn Yāsir routinely denounced ʹUthmān and was severely beaten five times, as a result of which he entered a coma and developed a hernia. Muḥammad ibn Abī Ḥudhayfah and Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr were instrumental in organizing the uprising of the Egyptians, while Mālik al-Ashtar did the same in Kūfah. Some traditions suggest that Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr also incited his own tribe in Mecca to join the uprising, although other traditions suggest that ʹĀʾishah was the key person involved in the Meccan rebellion. It is inconceivable that these devout Shīʹah would do what they did without the approval of ʹAlī (ع), their imām.

Of note, ʹUthmān said, "This is all the doing of these [three men]—ʹAlī, Zubayr, and Ṭalḥah."[4986] It is not surprising that he would say that given the fact that ʹAlī (ع) had, by the end, refused to grant him any further chances at repentance, and his Shīʹah were leading the provinces in their uprisings against ʹUthmān's corrupt governors. In the meantime, Ṭalḥah and Zubayr were the ones leading the siege of ʹUthmān, and Ṭalḥah even prevented water from being taken to him.

Conclusions

[4984] Refer to chapter 78 for accounts stating that ʹAlī (ع) was not in Madīnah when ʹUthmān was killed.
[4985] Refer to chapter 63.
[4986] Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:273.

It is apparent that the companions almost unanimously supported the uprising against ʿUthmān. Indeed, the only companions supporting ʿUthmān were a handful of his corrupt family members and four other companions, some of whom, most notably Zayd ibn Thābit, had been well-remunerated by him.[4987] This issue strikes at the heart of Sunnīsm. How can a "rightly-guided caliph" be opposed by the near-consensus of the companions and be executed by a group asking for nothing but justice and the implementation of Islāmic law? How can they consider him unsuitable for burial in a Muslim cemetery? Indeed, if he was unjustly buried in a Jewish cemetery in a manner that was insulting to him, ʿAlī's (ع) obligation would have been to exhume him and move him to a Muslim cemetery for proper burial.

The Sunnī response falls into one of two categories. The first is to say that the companions were all righteous and we are in no position to judge their actions, as they all acted based on their best understanding of Islām. This is an troublesome notion, as we are to find out own salvation in the traditions related by these companions. We are therefore obligated to examine their lives to ensure that they did not have ulterior motives for selective transmission or even forgery of prophetic traditions. It is irrational to believe that both ʿUthmān and the companions who rose against him were perfect saints, thinking of nothing but what was best for Islām, and worthy of utmost respect and blind emulation. Furthermore, the historical accounts are so explicit that it is impossible not to reach such rational conclusions based on them.

The second response has been to deny the involvement of the companions altogether, and to portray them all as having been victims to this insurrection, scared to leave their homes out of fear of the rebels. According to this view, all the companions loved ʿUthmān and tried everything they could to appease the situation and to support ʿUthmān, but they failed at the end. This view is not correct, however, as many companions were among the most active in instigating the uprising against ʿUthmān. These included Ṭalḥah, ʿĀʾishah, ʿAmr ibn ʿĀṣ, Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr, Mālik al-Ashtar, and ʿAmmār, among others. Moreover, the traditions are very clear that the Anṣār were the ones preventing ʿUthmān from being buried in a Muslim cemetery. Such simplistic notions of ʿUthmān's caliphate are typically based on the historical accounts of Sayf, whose mostly fictitious accounts are the subject of an upcoming chapter.[4988]

Amazingly, some have recently gone as far as to claim that the rebels who killed ʿUthmān were not Muslims. By this they could explain everything—ʿUthmān was a noble ruler who was killed by a band of non-Muslims from Egypt against the will of the Prophet's (ص) companions. However, this purely mythical account is simply untrue. The Egyptian rebels left Egypt for Madīnah under the pretext of attending the pilgrimage to Mecca, something that was not permissible for non-Muslims and rather unimaginable for a group of Copts. Moreover, it would have been inconceivable for non-Muslim rebels to congregate in the Prophet's Mosque. Had they been non-Muslims, the people of Madīnah would have taken up arms against those invaders, instead of allowing them to kill their caliph. Indeed, ʿAlī (ع) would have been the first to fend them off with his sword. Furthermore, their leader was Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr, who was undoubtedly a pious Muslim.

[4987] Refer to chapter 66.
[4988] Refer to chapter 74.

Chapter 73
A Summary of ʹUthmān's Errors, Innovations, and Undesirable Qualities

ʹUthmān's sins, errors, innovations, and undesirable qualities are truly innumerable. They weighed so heavily on the entire Muslim nation that they caused a general insurrection in Madīnah, Mecca, Egypt, Baṣrah, and Kūfah, culminating in his execution at the hands of the believers. Presumably, many of his atrocities have been lost to history, and most of them have not even been recounted here for the sake of brevity. The following is a very brief summary of what has been discussed:

1. ʹUthmān never showed bravery on the battlefield. He avoided the Battle of Badr, using the illness of his wife Ruqayyah, the adoptive daughter of the Prophet (ص), as an excuse not to fight. Yet, when Ruqayyah died, ʹUthmān was not that sad at all. Instead, he slept with his other wives that night. The Prophet (ص) publicly humiliated him for this act.[4989]

2. During the Battle of Uḥud, ʹUthmān fled the farthest of any companion. ʹUthmān's fleeing during Uḥud was, according to the Qurʾān, due to the influence of Satan over him due to his sins. Someone who Satan could control should not be the leader of the nation. Moreover, since Satan cannot lead Allāh's sincere servants astray,[4990] ʹUthmān was clearly not a sincere servant of Allāh. Moreover, fleeing in battle is one of the seven great sin, and the Muslim nation cannot be entrusted to those who commit great sins.[4991]

3. ʹUthmān asked the Prophet (ص) to commute the death sentence of his milk-brother, ʹAbd Allāh ibn Saʹd ibn Abī Sarḥ, after the conquest of Mecca.[4992] The Qurʾān says, "You will not find people who believe in Allāh and in the Last Day having affection for the enemies of Allāh and His Messenger, even if they are their own fathers, their sons, their brothers, or anyone else from their family connection."[4993]

4. ʹUthmān accepted the caliphate even though ʹAlī (ع) had every right to it.

5. ʹUthmān agreed to follow the Qurʾān and the Sunnah of the Prophet (ص), as well as the sīrahs of Abū Bakr and ʹUmar.[4994] By agreeing to follow the sīrahs of Abū Bakr and ʹUmar in addition to the Qurʾān and Sunnah, ʹUthmān implied that their sīrahs

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[4989] Refer to chapter 8.
[4990] Qurʾān 15:39-40.
[4991] Refer to chapter 11.
[4992] Refer to chapters 25 and 66.
[4993] Qurʾān 58:22.
[4994] Refer to chapter 61.

were different from the Qur`ān and Sunnah, which proves that their sīrahs were un-Islāmic, and ʹUthmān should have never agreed to base his rule on such conduct.

6. ʹUthmān took over the Masjid al-Nabī illegitimately. As the Masjid al-Nabī was the house of the Prophet (ص) and ʹAlī (ع),[4995] ʹUthmān should not have occupied its pulpit without the permission of ʹAlī (ع).

7. ʹUthmān retained the fay` and the khums during his caliphate and divided them amongst his own family members even though they clearly belonged to the Ahl al-Bayt of the Prophet (ص).[4996]

8. ʹUthmān gave Fadak to Marwān ibn Ḥakam,[4997] even though it belonged to the family of the Prophet (ص) and not to his family, and even though the verse of fay` specifically prohibited such property from being handed out to the wealthy Muslims to enrich them further.[4998]

9. ʹUthmān continued the prohibition against the transmission and recording of prophetic traditions.[4999]

10. ʹUthmān commuted the death sentence of ʹUbayd Allāh ibn ʹUmar, who had murdered three individuals, including a Muslim man, a slave, and a young child.[5000]

11. ʹUthmān did not punish Abū Sufyān for openly expressing his disbelief in Islām upon ʹUthmān's inauguration.[5001]

12. ʹUthmān altered the prayer of traveler when he prayed four rakʹahs at Minā.[5002]

13. ʹUthmān altered the Prophet's Mosque and the Masjid al-Ḥarām, adding lands confiscated illegitimately and coercively to them and therefore violating the sanctity of Allāh's mosques.[5003]

14. By empowering his family members throughout the Muslim lands, ʹUthmān laid the foundation of the Umayyad dynasty.[5004] He put his family members in charge, even though the Prophet (ص) had warned continuously about the harm the Banū Umayyah and Banū Ḥakam would do to his nation, even warning that they would ascend his pulpit like a bunch of monkeys, and even though the Qur`ān calls the Banū Umayyah the accursed tree.[5005]

15. By allowing Muʹāwīyah to rule autonomously in Syria,[5006] ʹUthmān created a situation in which Muʹāwīyah could challenge the caliphate in Madīnah. As such,

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[4995] Refer to chapter 9.
[4996] Refer to chapter 23.
[4997] Refer to chapters 63 and 66.
[4998] Refer to chapter 23 and 49.
[4999] Refer to chapter 56.
[5000] Refer to chapter 63.
[5001] Refer to chapter 63.
[5002] Refer to chapters 63 and 87.
[5003] Refer to chapter 63.
[5004] Refer to chapter 66.
[5005] Qur`ān 17:60. Refer to chapter 63.
[5006] Refer to chapter 69 for ʹAlī's (ع) comments in this regards.

'Uthmān became responsible for the Battle of Ṣiffīn and the empowerment of the Umayyad monarchs after him.

16. 'Uthmān continued 'Umar's unequal distribution of the Bayt al-Māl (treasury), in fact creating an even greater maldistribution of the nation's wealth.[5007]

17. 'Uthmān returned Ḥakam ibn Abī al-'Āṣ and Marwān ibn Ḥakam to Madīnah, even though the Prophet (ص) had exiled them.[5008] By returning Ḥakam, 'Uthmān violated the Sunnah of the Prophet (ص) as well as the sīrahs of Abū Bakr and 'Umar, as they would not allow him to return to Madīnah. As such, he broke his vow to follow the Sunnah of the Prophet (ص) and the sīrahs of the first two caliphs.

18. 'Uthmān gave Ḥakam ibn Abī al-'Āṣ 100,000 dirhams to affirm his ties of kinship after returning Ḥakam from years of exile in Ṭā`if.[5009]

19. 'Uthmān appointed his maternal half-brother Walīd ibn 'Uqbah, whom the Prophet (ص) said would be taken care of by the fire, as governor of Kūfah. He did so even though two of the verses of the Qur`ān testified to his being wicked.[5010] Walīd allowed a Christian drunkard to live by the Grand Mosque, crossing through it to visit Walīd in his drunken state. He also introduced a sorcerer to the mosque, and imprisoned the virtuous companion of the Prophet (ص) who killed the sorcerer in accordance with the Prophet's (ص) Sunnah. He even killed the prison guard who set this pious man free. Yet 'Uthmān did not depose him for these acts.[5011]

20. Walīd drank intoxicants and vomited up wine in the miḥrāb of the Grand Mosque of Kūfah. He was later found so drunk that he could not be aroused and his ring was removed from his finger. Yet, 'Uthmān accused those reporting Walīd's drinking of spreading lies about him despite their indisputable proof that Walīd had drunk. He threatened to punish them, and according to some accounts beat the witnesses who were reporting Walīd's drinking. The companions of the Prophet (ص) got involved, forcing him to release the witnesses and to heed their testimony. 'Uthmān then tried to commute Walīd's sentence, but 'Alī (ع) made sure that he was whipped.[5012]

21. Walīd, acting as 'Uthmān's governor, refused to repay his public debt to the Bayt al-Māl, and 'Uthmān supported Walīd's act of embezzlement of public funds. When Ibn Mas'ūd resigned in protest of the fact that 'Uthmān had allowed Walīd to steal as he pleased from the treasury, 'Uthmān recalled him to Madīnah and had him severely beaten. Ibn Mas'ūd died of rib fractures caused by 'Uthmān's unjust beating.[5013]

22. 'Uthmān forced Ibn Mas'ūd to accept the recitation of Zayd ibn Thābit, even though it was more proper for Zayd ibn Thābit to follow the recitation of Ibn Mas'ūd. 'Uthmān also wanted to confiscate the Qur`ān of Ibn Mas'ūd,[5014] even though the Prophet (ص) instructed the Muslims to learn the Qur`ān from him.[5015]

[5007] Refer to chapter 66.
[5008] Refer to chapter 63.
[5009] Refer to chapters 63 and 66.
[5010] Qur`ān 32:18 (discussed in chapters 1 and 64), 49:6 (discussed in chapter 64).
[5011] Refer to chapter 64.
[5012] Refer to chapter 64.
[5013] Refer to chapter 65.
[5014] Refer to chapter 65.
[5015] Refer to chapter 55.

23. ʿUthmān's burning, shredding, burying, and otherwise destroying the copies of the Qur'ān,[5016] was an act of desecration of the holy Book.

24. ʿUthmān beat ʿAmmār a total of five times, all unjustly.[5017]

25. ʿUthmān beat ʿAmmār for respecting Ibn Masʿūd's wish that he be buried without ʿUthmān being notified. Since it is recommended for Muslims to attend funerals, the fact that ʿUthmān was banned from Ibn Masʿūd's funeral amounts to a verdict in which Ibn Masʿūd, as a leading companion of the Prophet (ص) and an expert on the Qur'ān, convicted ʿUthmān of disbelief.[5018]

26. ʿUthmān seized jewels from the treasury for his family members. ʿAmmār could not tolerate ʿUthmān's usurpation of these gems. ʿUthmān, instead of repenting and returning the public property, had ʿAmmār beaten so severely that he lost consciousness and missed several prayers. ʿUthmān was warned that if ʿAmmār were to die, someone from his tribe would have to be killed in retaliation, because the companions knew that ʿUthmān's beating of ʿAmmār was against Islāmic law and he would have to be held liable for his death.[5019]

27. ʿUthmān installed his milk brother, ʿAbd Allāh ibn Abī Sarḥ, who had a history of apostasy and who had been declared to be the most wicked of mankind by the Qur'ān, as the governor of Egypt,[5020] even though he was among the handful ordered to be killed by the Prophet (ص) after the conquest of Mecca.[5021]

28. ʿUthmān removed Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī from Baṣrah to make his 25 year old cousin ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿĀmir the new governor,[5022] and he appointed his Umayyad clansman Saʿīd ibn ʿĀṣ to be the governor in Kūfah after he was forced to remove Walīd from power.[5023]

29. ʿUthmān gave absurd amounts of property to his family and close associates.[5024] He even gave 30,000 pounds of gold to the family of Ḥakam,[5025] the same person who was so despised by the Prophet (ص) that he cursed him and his offspring many times and would not even allow him to enter the holy city of Madīnah.[5026]

30. ʿUthmān built himself a palace in opposition to the Sunnah of the Prophet (ص) and the sīrahs of Abū Bakr and ʿUmar.[5027]

31. ʿUthmān rejected Abū Dharr's enjoining of good, and instead went on hoarding gold and silver for himself and his family and friends. He then ordered the exile of Abū Dharr to Syria, back to Madīnah, and then to Rabadhah, a desolate land, where he

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[5016] Refer to chapters 55 and 65.
[5017] Refer to chapters 65 and 67.
[5018] Refer to chapter 65.
[5019] Refer to chapter 65.
[5020] Refer to chapter 66.
[5021] Refer to chapters 25 and 66.
[5022] Refer to chapter 66.
[5023] Refer to chapters 64, 66, and 68.
[5024] Refer to chapter 66.
[5025] Refer to chapters 63 and 66.
[5026] Refer to chapter 63.
[5027] Refer to chapter 66.

died in exile. Abū Dharr, an old man, was tortured on his trip to the point that his flesh necrosed and he nearly died.[5028]

32. ʹUthmān beat ʹAmmār for regretting the exile and death of Abū Dharr and threatened to exile him and ʹAlī (ع) to Rabadhah as well. ʹUthmān was prevented from doing so by the Muhājirīn.[5029]

33. ʹUthmān ordered Mālik al-Ashtar and his associates to be exiled to Syria for spreading the word of justice in Kūfah, then ordered them to be exiled back to Iraq for speaking the truth in Syria, and then ordered them to be exiled to Ḥimṣ.[5030] This is a total of three illegitimate exiles for this pious believer and his associates.

34. ʹUthmān made Marwān ibn Ḥakam his personal confidant,[5031] even though he was cursed by the Prophet (ص) even before he was born.[5032]

35. Ibn Abī Sarḥ, ʹUthmān's governor in Egypt, beat the Muslims carrying him an order from ʹUthmān to act piously and even killed one of them.[5033] Yet ʹUthmān showed no interest in exacting justice from this wicked man.

36. ʹUthmān made insincere repentances, which he never made any attempts to uphold.[5034] It is utter hypocrisy to make promises one has no intention of upholding.

37. ʹUthmān refused to change his corrupt and wicked governors as demanded by the believers, so his governors had to be kicked out of the various lands by the Muslims themselves.[5035]

38. An edict was issued with ʹUthmān's seal, ordering the Muslims who came to him from Egypt with complaints about the injustices of Ibn Abī Sarḥ and ʹUthmān to be persecuted and killed.[5036] Even though the letter ordering the execution and persecution of innocent Muslims was in Marwān's handwriting, ʹUthmān refused to question Marwān about the letter or to hand Marwān over for interrogation.[5037] Whoever had written the letter was clearly spreading mischief through the land, and, according to the Qurʾān, should have been punished by execution, crucifixion, double amputation, or exile.[5038]

39. ʹUthmān refused to resign his position as caliph even though he was unable to carry out his duties as caliph. As stated by the dissidents, a man so incompetent that he could not control his own seal, slave, and camel, most surely could not be in charge of the Muslim nation.[5039]

[5028] Refer to chapter 67.
[5029] Refer to chapter 67.
[5030] Refer to chapter 68.
[5031] Refer to chapters 69-71.
[5032] Refer to chapter 63.
[5033] Refer to chapter 71.
[5034] Refer to chapter 70.
[5035] Refer to chapters 68, 69, and 71.
[5036] Refer to chapter 71.
[5037] Refer to chapter 71.
[5038] Qurʾān 5:33.
[5039] Refer to chapter 71.

40. ʹUthmān claimed that the caliphate was a robe that Allāh had put on him,[5040] when he was not selected by Allāh, but rather by ʹAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʹAwf.[5041]

41. ʹUthmān's men illegitimately killed one of the protestors. Yet ʹUthmān refused to submit the murderer within his court to justice.[5042]

42. ʹUthmān was put under siege by the near-consensus of the Prophet's (ص) companions and he was killed by pious believers who would not allow him to be buried in a Muslim cemetery.[5043]

43. ʹAlī's (ع) indifference towards ʹUthmān's execution is proof that he either considered ʹUthmān to have been a disbeliever or that he was convinced that ʹUthmān had committed a crime worthy of the death penalty. Indeed, the companions at large disapproved of his rule and approved of the insurrection to rid the nation of him. It is clear that ʹUthmān's execution was permissible by their standards, and the Sunnī scholars consider the companions to have all been just individuals worthy of emulation and capable of ijtihād. This proves that his leadership was illegitimate, as having an imām who ought to be both deposed as well as followed at the same time is impossible. It is clear that the companions and successors chose not to follow him but to execute him instead.

44. ʹUthmān's burial in an old Jewish cemetery away from the Prophet's (ص) companions serves as a permanent reminder of his atrocities.[5044]

45. The Qurʾān testified to ʹUthmān's dismal personality (see below).

Ibn ʹUmar's Claim that ʹUthmān was Forgiven

According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, when ʹAbd Allāh ibn ʹUmar was asked his opinion of ʹUthmān, he said, "As for ʹUthmān, it seems that Allāh has forgiven him, but you people dislike that he should be forgiven."[5045] From this one sentence a number of key conclusions can be drawn: (1) The fact that ʹUthmān had committed blatant sins was obvious to everyone among the companions and the successors, otherwise there would be nothing that needed forgiving. (2) ʹUthmān's supporters claimed that Allāh had forgiven him but they had no proof whatsoever that Allāh had done so, otherwise ʹAbd Allāh ibn ʹUmar would have offered some evidence here. As such, they were merely speaking their own personal opinions and attributing them to Allāh, thereby committing a grave sin. (3) The believers were by no means convinced that Allāh had forgiven ʹUthmān, as is apparent from Ibn ʹUmar's statement. (4) ʹUthmān's sins were so egregious that the believers disliked for Allāh to forgive ʹUthmān, which is why Ibn ʹUmar said, "You people dislike that he should be forgiven."

Sunnīs Defend ʹUthmān from Allāh's Criticism of His Dismal Personality, Claiming that the One with a Dismal Personality was the Prophet (ص) Instead

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[5040] Refer to chapter 71.
[5041] Refer to chapter 61.
[5042] Refer to chapter 72.
[5043] Refer to chapter 72.
[5044] Refer to chapter 72.
[5045] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #6.60.40.

Sunnī scholars unanimously claim that the verse, "He frowned and turned away because the blind man came to him,"[5046] refers to the Prophet (ص).[5047] The word ʿabasa means "frowned,"[5048] and the one who does so is termed ʿabūs, which refers to one with a harsh, stern, sullen, and dismal personality. Sunnī scholars say that the Prophet (ص) was in a meeting with the Quraysh when a blind man entered the room and asked the Prophet (ص) a question. The Prophet (ص), who was in a meeting with important people, was annoyed at the blind man and turned his face away. The Sunnī scholars claim that the sūrah was revealed regarding this deplorable act of the holy Prophet (ص).

The Shīʿah rightfully claim that the verse was not revealed about the Prophet (ص), but rather regarding a member of the Banū Umayyah who was present there, and that it was he who disrespected the blind man for interrupting a meeting between the Prophet (ص) and the leaders of the Quraysh. Indeed, one Shīʿah tradition clearly identify the person as ʿUthmān ibn ʿAffān.[5049] How could it be that the Prophet (ص) who, according to the Qur`ān was "formed with a great personal character,"[5050] would act disgracefully towards a man in search of the truth simply because the man was blind? Moreover, the Qur`ān says, "If you were severe or harsh-hearted, they would have dispersed from around you."[5051] Clearly, the claim that the Prophet (ص) was ʿabūs is in opposition to the Qur`ān.

Amazingly, when some Salafīs are told that the verse was revealed chastising ʿUthmān, they become defensive and denounce the Shīʿah for insulting a companion of the Prophet (ص). Such individuals, however, do not appear to mind the same insults being appended to the holy Prophet (ص). Indeed, an upcoming chapter is devoted to the insults to the Prophet (ص) that are perpetuated by false Sunnī traditions.[5052]

The traditions used to support the Sunnī claim come through untrustworthy companions, such as ʿĀ`ishah, who had not even been born yet when this occurred, and others who were not Muslim at the time of this event, which occurred very early in the prophetic mission, perhaps as early as eleven years before the emigration to Madīnah. In any case, these traditions contradict both the Qur`ān and common sense and have no value at all. Most obviously, the verses themselves are very explicit that the person who committed this heinous act was not the Prophet (ص) but another individual. The verses read:

> In the name of Allāh, most gracious, most merciful
>
> 1-2 He frowned and turned away because the blind man came to him.
>
> 3-4 And what would make you know whether he would purify himself or that he would heed the Reminder and benefit thereof.
>
> 5-7 As for he who considers himself free from need (i.e. is wealthy), you pay him regards though it is no blame unto you if he does not purify himself.

[5046] Qur`ān 80:1-2.
[5047] Tafsīr Ṭabarī, Tafsīr Zamakhsharī, Tafsīr Rāzī, Tafsīr Qurṭubī, Tafsīr Bayḍāwī, Tafsīr Ibn Kathīr, Tafsīr Jalālayn, Tafsīr Shawkānī, Tafsīr Māwardī, Tafsīr Baghawī, Tafsīr Ibn al-Jawzī, Tafsīr Khāzin, Tafsīr Nīsābūrī, Tafsīr Thaʿlabī, and Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, verse 80:1.
[5048] Mufradāt al-Qur`ān 320 (ʿ-b-s).
[5049] Al-Ṣāfī fī Tafsīr-i Kalām Allāh al-Wāfī of Fayḍ al-Kāshānī, verse 80:1.
[5050] Qur`ān 68:4.
[5051] Qur`ān 3:159.
[5052] Refer to chapter 75.

8-10 But from the one who comes to you striving earnestly and who has fear you divert your attention.[5053]

In the first verse (ʿabasa wa tawallā), both ʿabasa (he frowned) and tawallā (he turned away) are in the third person, showing that the primary event in these verses refers to the action of a person other than the Prophet (ص). In the second verse, the word "jā`ahu" is also in the third person, meaning "came to him." If these two verses were referring to the Prophet (ص), the verses would have to have been in the second person. Indeed, these explicit third person references must be contrasted with the subsequent verses which are all in the second person, and are directed towards the believer reading the Qur`ān and heeding its message. The lessons for all believers to draw are: (1) you would not know what is in someone's heart; (2) you might be inclined to the wealthy; (3) there is no blame on you if someone does not accept the message of Islām; and (4) you should make sure not to distract yourself from someone who does earnestly seek your guidance. This grammatical shift from the third person to the second person is rather obvious and absolutely disproves the claim that the Prophet (ص) was the one with a dismal personality.

[5053] Qur`ān 80:1-10.

Chapter 74
The Historical Accounts of Sayf ibn ʹUmar

Sayf is Universally Recognized as an Inventor of Traditions

Sunnī books of history are filled with traditions from Sayf ibn ʹUmar, even though he is universally acknowledged as a liar and inventor of traditions. He wrote two books. The first is entitled, al-Futūḥ al-Kabīr wa al-Riddah, which discusses the events from the death of the Prophet (ص) until ʹUthmān's caliphate. The second is entitled, al-Jamal wa Masīr al-ʹĀʹishah wa ʹAlī, which covers the period from the revolt against ʹUthmān through the Battle of Jamal.[5054] The information contained in Sayf's books have entered widely used Islāmic sources written by Sunnī scholars such as Ṭabarī, Dhahabī, Ibn Athīr, Ibn Kathīr, Abū al-Fidāʹ, Ibn ʹAsākir, and many others,[5055] and have indirectly entered Shīʹah works of history as well.

There is no question about the fact that Sayf was a liar and that he forged his accounts. Nasāʹī has listed him in his work al-Ḍuʹafāʹ wa al-Matrūkīn (The Weak and the Abandoned), calling him, "weak" (ḍaʹīf).[5056] The following are the words of some of the Sunnī experts of tradition in regards to Sayf according to Ibn Ḥajar:[5057]

1. Ibn Maʹīn said, "His traditions are weak."
2. Abū Ḥātim said, "His traditions are abandoned."
3. Abū Dāwūd said, "He is worthless."
4. Nasāʹī called him "weak."
5. Dārquṭnī called him "weak," and said that "his traditions are abandoned."
6. Ibn ʹAdī said, "Some of his traditions are famous, but the majority are to be dismissed and not followed."
7. Ibn Ḥibbān said, "He attributed fabrications to trustworthy people. They say that he would [personally] invent traditions."
8. Ibn Ḥibbān said that Sayf was a zindīq (heretic).
9. Ḥākim said, "He is claimed to have been a zindīq (heretic)."

[5054] ʹAbd Allāh ibn Sabaʹ 1:68.
[5055] ʹAbd Allāh ibn Sabaʹ 1:66.
[5056] Al-Ḍuʹafāʹ wa al-Matrūkīn of Nasāʹī #256 (Sayf ibn ʹUmar).
[5057] Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb vol 4 #517 (Sayf ibn ʹUmar al-Tamīmī).

Of note, the word zindīq refers to secularists or heretics who actively sought to undermine and destroy Islām, often by inventing false traditions to support their own beliefs. Indeed, not a single positive comment appears about Sayf in Ibn Ḥajar's account of him. It is unfortunate that the traditions of Sayf have seeped into Islāmic sources to such an extent that much of what appears in Tārīkh Ṭabarī between the death of the Prophet (ص) and the Battle of Ṣiffīn has been related from Sayf. He invented hundreds of events, cities, dates, and companions, none of which existed.[5058] Considering the fact that Ṭabarī has related several hundred "traditions" from Sayf, it would take several volumes to compare each and every one of them to more accurate narrations and to demonstrate the ways in which Sayf altered the truth or invented entirely new events. 'Allāmah 'Askarī has analyzed many of the traditions of Sayf in two books, 'Abd Allāh ibn Saba', and One Hundred and Fifty Forged Companions. Yet, even these books do not cover all of Sayf's traditions and do not expose all the ways in which his accounts have distorted the works of subsequent authors. In the introduction to volume 15 of the English translation of Tārīkh Ṭabarī, there is a discussion of Sayf and why Ṭabarī would quote from him:

> It is Sayf ibn 'Umar who is most troubling, however. Ṭabarī shows a unique fondness for him, in two senses. First, Sayf is the source most heavily used by Ṭabarī for the whole period from the Riddah Wars to the Battle of Ṣiffīn (A.H. 11-37). Second, no one beside Ṭabarī appears to use Sayf at all.[5059] There is no obvious way to explain Ṭabarī's preference. It is certainly not explained by the formal characteristics of Sayf's narratives, for he relies on informants who are usually obscure and often very recent. Likewise, he makes heavy use of the "collective report," which blends together in unspecified ways the accounts of several transmitters.
>
> I would suggest that Sayf appealed to Ṭabarī for two reasons. First, Sayf presents a "Sunday school" interpretation of 'Uthmān's caliphate. In his presentation, one sees a profound unity and harmony within the core community of Muslims, a unity and harmony founded on strict fidelity to the legacy of Muḥammad. It is unthinkable that men such as those portrayed by Sayf could have been moved by worldly ambition or greed. On the contrary, in Sayf's presentation most conflicts are illusory, a reflection of malicious misinterpretations by later commentators. Where real conflicts did arise among sincere Muslims, they were instigated by outsiders like the notorious 'Abd Allāh ibn Saba', a converted Jew from Yemen.
>
> On this level, at least, Sayf's version of events is obviously a very naïve one, and no doubt Ṭabarī perceived that as clearly as we do. Even so, it served a very useful function for Ṭabarī. By making Sayf's reports the visible framework of his narrative, he could slip in the much less flattering interpretations of early Islāmic history presented by his other sources. Ordinary readers would dismiss this dissident testimony as irrelevant, and only a few critical readers would catch his hint and pursue the issues raised by such secondary accounts. In this way, Ṭabarī could say what needed to be said while avoiding accusations of sectarianism. Accusations of this kind were of course no small matter in view of

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[5058] Refer to 'Abd Allāh ibn Saba' and One Hundred and Fifty Forged Companions by 'Allāmah 'Askarī.

[5059] According to 'Allāmah 'Askarī ('Abd Allāh ibn Saba' 66), while Sayf ibn 'Umar's works were also used directly by Dhahabī, Ibn Abī Bakr, and Ibn 'Asākir, the majority of other sources that have included his traditions have taken them from Tārīkh Ṭabarī.

> the enormous social and religious tensions in Baghdād during the late ninth and early tenth centuries [A.D.].[5060]

This discussion summarizes Sayf's accounts very well. It is the "Sunday school" edition of Islāmic history, intended for naïve Muslims. Ṭabarī did not want to write the truth about Islāmic history, so he passed on Sayf's accounts, only hinting at the truth with some of the other traditions he squeezed in between Sayf's fabrications.

We have examined many historical events from the period covered by Sayf. In this chapter, we will highlight a few examples of how Sayf grotesquely altered the same events.

Sayf's Lies About Walīd

Sayf went to great lengths to support the conduct of Walīd ibn ʹUqbah, ʹUthmān's governor in Kūfah.[5061] According to Sayf,

> When ʹUthmān learned of the conflict between ʹAbd Allāh [ibn Masʹūd] and Saʹd [ibn Abī Waqqāṣ], he grew angry with both men and resolved [to deal with] them. Then he abandoned that [notion] and removed Saʹd [alone] from office, recovering [from him] what he owed [to the treasury in Kūfah]. He confirmed ʹAbd Allāh in office and issued instructions to him. To replace Saʹd as governor he appointed Walīd ibn ʹUqbah... [Walīd] was the most beloved among the people and the most courteous [in his dealings] with them.[5062]

We have already reviewed the accounts of those other than Sayf and can see that Sayf has twisted the truth in the following manners: (1) The one who borrowed money from the treasury and failed to return it was Walīd, not Saʹd. (2) ʹUthmān put Walīd in power not because of the misconduct of Saʹd but because of his ties of kinship with Walīd. (3) When ʹUthmān was informed of the incident between Ibn Masʹūd and the governor of Kūfah, ʹUthmān ordered Ibn Masʹūd to obey the governor. When he refused, ʹUthmān had him return to Madīnah, where he was insulted, beaten, and killed. Yet, Sayf's account claims that he was retained in office. (4) When Walīd was placed in power, the people were, unlike what Sayf claimed, very appalled because of his reputation and conduct. Sayf's purpose in this tradition was clearly to justify ʹUthmān's actions and to portray those whom ʹUthmān removed from power as the troublesome ones and his corrupt family members as popular rulers.

The Reasons for the Removal of Walīd from Power

According to Sayf,

> The last time Abū Zubayd came to pay court to Walīd, he resided in the visitor's house; he would go seek out [the governor] and return [to the visitor's house]. Before this time he was a Christian, but Walīd kept after him until, by the end of his governorship, he converted to Islām. His conversion was sincere and, when he became a Muslim, Walīd invited him to enter [his entourage], as he was a Bedouin and poet at the time. Now someone came to Abū Zaynab, Abū

[5060] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 15:xvi-xvii (comments of R. Stephen Humphreys).

[5061] Refer to chapter 64 for a discussion of Walīd ibn ʹUqbah.

[5062] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 15:45.

> Muwarri´, and Jundub, who were full of bitterness against [Walīd] because he had executed their sons; they were keeping a close eye on him. [The informer] said to them, "Do you know that Walīd is drinking with Abū Zaynab?"... Then [the Kūfan notables] arose with [the three accusers] and stormed in upon him from the mosque, for the entryway [of his house] opened into the mosque. Walīd was taken completely by surprise and shoved something under the dais. Without seeking permission, one of [the intruders] reached in and pulled [the object] out. There was a platter of grape seeds and stems, which Walīd had pushed aside only out of embarrassment, for they would see his platter with nothing but these leavings... Now Walīd forgave them for this...[5063]

His story continues as follows:

> A band of Kūfans got together and endeavored to have Walīd deposed. Abū Zaynab ibn ´Awf and Abū Muwarri´ ibn Fulān[5064] al-Asadī were deputed to testify against him... One day, while they were with him in [his] house, Walīd fell asleep... One of them took his signet ring, and then both of them left... The two of them headed for Madīnah and approached ´Uthmān... "We were members of his entourage," they said. "We entered his presence and he was vomiting up wine." ...Then he sent for [Walīd]... Then Walīd swore [his innocence] to [´Uthmān] and told him his story. ´Uthmān said, "We shall carry out the divinely ordained penalty [for wine drinking], and the false witness will bring hellfire upon himself. Suffer penalty, dear brother!"[5065]

Sayf did the following in these accounts: (1) He presented Abū Zubayd the Christian drunkard as a convert to Islām, stressing the sincerity of his conversion. This is not mentioned in other accounts that insist that he was Christian and would walk through the mosque drunk. (2) He made it appear that the accusations regarding Walīd's drinking were all part of a false story concocted by a few disgruntled individuals. However, the truth of the matter is that the general public was upset at Walīd because he did drink and he offered four rak´ahs instead of two during the morning prayers while he was completely drunk. (3) Instead of mentioning the regurgitation of alcohol in the miḥrāb of the mosque, Sayf blamed the entire story on his hiding a platter containing some grape seeds! (4) The taking of Walīd's ring is portrayed as having occurred when he was asleep, not when he was passed out drunk. (5) ´Uthmān was portrayed as being very strict in enforcing divine law, whipping Walīd even though he did not believe the witnesses, in order to carry out his divinely-ordained duties as Islāmic judge. However, as we saw, ´Uthmān was not too happy about having his half-brother whipped despite the overwhelming evidence.

The Sorcerer

According to Sayf,

> A sorcerer was brought to Walīd, and he sent to Ibn Mas´ūd to inquire about the divinely ordained punishment for him... [Walīd] said, "Are you a sorcerer?" "Yes," he answered. [Walīd] said, "And you know what sorcery is?" "Yes," he said, and sprang toward an ass. He began to mount it from its tail, making it

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[5063] Tārīkh Tabarī 15:48-49.

[5064] Fulān means so-and-so.

[5065] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 15:52-54.

> appear to them that he was emerging from its mouth and buttocks. "Kill him," Ibn Mas'ūd said. Walīd rushed off, and they cried out in the mosque that a man was playing with sorcery at Walīd's residence. They approached, and Jundub seized [the opportunity] and stepped forward... Then [Jundub] struck down [the sorcerer], and 'Abd Allāh [ibn Mas'ūd] and Walīd agreed to imprison [Jundub] until [Walīd] could write to 'Uthmān... [At the end], he was left alone because he had carried out a divinely ordered penalty.[5066]

Once again one can see that Sayf altered the entire situation in support of Walīd: (1) He claimed that the sorcerer was brought to Walīd's house to be punished, while other traditions say that he performed magic in the middle of the mosque for Walīd's entertainment. (2) Walīd is shown as having had the utmost concern regarding the implementation of the laws of Islām. The reason he brought the sorcerer was to punish him according to Islāmic law and thus he sought Ibn Mas'ūd's opinion. (3) Jundub and others are portrayed as seekers of mischief, conspiring to defame Walīd and make him appear inept in carrying out divine punishments. (4) The imprisonment of Jundub is given Islāmic justification by the fact that Ibn Mas'ūd ordered it as well. (5) It is claimed that Jundub was left alone because what he did was found to have been in accordance with divine law. There is no mention of the fact that the prison guard was the one who set him free, losing his own life in the process.

Comments

In this section, some of the traditions of Sayf in regards to Walīd have been reviewed and compared with other accounts. As one can see, Sayf altered the incidents to justify the actions of those in power, namely Walīd and 'Uthmān. He portrayed those wishing to remove Walīd from power as a small group of wicked, mischievous dissidents. Of note, only a few of Sayf's numerous invented traditions regarding Walīd have been presented here, but his other accounts share a similar theme.

Sayf's Lies About Abū Dharr

What occurred between Abū Dharr and 'Uthmān according to various traditions was discussed earlier.[5067] The following is Ṭabarī's account of this incident:

> In this year—that is, the year 30 [A.H.]—occurred [the events] that have been recorded about the affair of Abū Dharr and Mu'āwīyah, and about Mu'āwīyah's exiling him from Syria to Madīnah. Many things have been recorded as to why he sent him into exile, most of which I am loathe to mention. As for those who excuse Mu'āwīyah in this [affair], they have told a story (qiṣṣah) about it [which runs as follows]:
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> It was transmitted to me... on the authority of Sayf—'Aṭīyyah—Yazīd al-Faq'asī: When Ibn al-Sawdā' ('Abd Allāh ibn Saba') came to Syria he met Abū Dharr and said, "Abū Dharr, are you not astonished at Mu'āwīyah for saying, 'The public moneys are Allāh's property.' Verily, everything belongs to Allāh. [It is] as if he intends to seize it [for himself] to the exclusion of the Muslims and to efface the Muslims' names [from the fiscal registers]." Abū Dharr came to [Mu'āwīyah] and said, "What leads you to use the term 'Allāh's property' for the

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[5066] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 15:51-52.
[5067] Refer to chapter 67.

> public moneys of Muslims?" "Allāh be merciful to you, Abū Dharr," responded Mu´āwīyah. "Are we not Allāh's slaves, the public moneys His property, the created world His creation, and public authority His authority?" [Abū Dharr] said, "Do not use this expression." He continued, "Indeed, I do not say that the [pubic moneys] do not belong to Allāh, but I shall call them 'the property of the Muslims.'"
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> [The narrator] continues: Ibn al-Sawdā` came to Abū Dharr, who said to him, "Who are you? By Allāh, I think you are a Jew!" Then he came to ´Ubādah ibn Ṣāmit and attached himself to him. [´Ubādah] brought him to Mu´āwīyah and said, "By Allāh, this is the man who provoked Abū Dharr against you." Now Abū Dharr rose up in Syria and began saying, "O men of wealth, show charity to the poor. To 'those who treasure up gold and silver and do not expend them in the way of Allāh,' declare [that there will be] branding irons from a fire, 'and therewith their foreheads and their sides and their backs shall be branded.'[5068]" He persisted in such [statements] until the poor were set aflame and compelled the rich to do this, and until the rich complained about [the behavior] that they were encountering from the people. Mu´āwīyah wrote [as follows] to ´Uthmān: "Abū Dharr has become a problem for me, and his case has involved such-and-such matters." ´Uthmān wrote him [in response], "Verily dissension has protruded its snout and eyes and is poised to jump. Do not scrape the scab, but rather dispatch Abū Dharr to me. Send a guide along with him, give him adequate provisions, and treat him gently. Restrain the people and yourself as far as you can, for you will keep control [of affairs] only so long as you keep control of yourself."
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> So [Mu´āwīyah] sent Abū Dharr away accompanied by a guide. When [Abū Dharr] reached Madīnah and saw the homes at the foot of Sal´, he said, "Declare to the Medinese [that they will suffer] a devastating attack and a terrible war." Then he entered ´Uthmān's presence, and [´Uthmān] said, "Abū Dharr, why are the Syrians complaining about the wounds inflicted by you?" [Abū Dharr] informed him that it was improper to say, "Allāh's property," nor was it proper for the rich to grasp after wealth. [´Uthmān] responded, "Abū Dharr, I must carry out my own obligations and take what is owed by the subjects. I cannot compel them to be ascetics; rather, I am required to summon them to heed Allāh's commandments and to follow the path of moderation." [Abū Dharr] said, "Then permit me to leave, for Madīnah is no home for me." [´Uthmān] replied, "And will you replace it save with [someplace] worse?" [Abū Dharr] said, "The Messenger of Allāh commanded me to leave [Madīnah] when the built-up area reached Sal´." "Well, do as he commanded you," said ´Uthmān. So [Abū Dharr] set out until he settled in Rabadhah, and there he traced out a mosque. ´Uthmān allocated to him a small herd of camels and gave him two slaves. He also instructed him [as follows]: "Bind yourself to Madīnah by compact, lest you revert to being a Bedouin." [Abū Dharr] did so.[5069]

Ṭabarī started off his discussion openly admitting that he was loath to mention the truth and instead would relate a tradition that was used only by those who wanted to justify what Mu´āwīyah and ´Uthmān did. He even called this account a qiṣṣah, or fictional tale, showing that he deliberately passed on fiction as history. Sayf's account contradicts other traditions in regards to Abū Dharr in numerous ways, including the following: (1) Abū Dharr is shown as having been incited by Ibn al-Sawdā` (´Abd Allāh ibn Saba`). This is the first tradition in Ṭabarī in which any reference to Ibn al-Saba`, a completely fictitious character (see below), is made. (2) The entire difference between Mu´āwīyah and Abū Dharr is shown as having been over the labeling of wealth as "the property of the Muslims" or as "the property of Allāh". Thus the matter is portrayed as having been a minute difference over wording rather than a great fundamental split. (3) Abū Dharr's complaint to Mu´āwīyah is claimed to have been based on the speculation that, by naming the property "the property of Allāh," Mu´āwīyah might take control of it. However, the truth was that Mu´āwīyah had taken public wealth and built palaces and other luxuries for himself as was discussed earlier. (4) The exile of Abū Dharr from Syria to Madīnah is claimed as having been carried out under the best of conditions. Those other than Sayf, however, have described the circumstances as having been so harsh that everyone was amazed that Abū Dharr survived. (5) Abū Dharr's exile from Madīnah is portrayed as having been the decision of the Prophet (ص), as he had told Abū Dharr to leave Madīnah once its built-up area reached Sal´. As such, ´Uthmān is absolved of all blame because he only resigned himself to the command of the Messenger of Allāh (ص) by allowing Abū Dharr to leave Madīnah. (6) The choice of Rabadhah is portrayed as having been that of Abū Dharr himself, while other traditions show that Abū Dharr wished to go to many other places, while ´Uthmān would not allow him to do so, instead exiling him to Rabadhah. (7) ´Uthmān purportedly gave Abū Dharr camels and slaves. This act of kindness is not mentioned in other traditions. (8) ´Uthmān supposedly told Abū Dharr to bind himself to Madīnah, thus making it appear that ´Uthmān did not like separation from Abū Dharr and therefore encouraged him to keep his ties to Madīnah.

[5068] Qur`ān 9:34-35.
[5069] Tārikh Ṭabarī 15:64-66.

Other Accounts of Sayf Regarding Abū Dharr

According to Sayf,

> Fearing [that he might revert to] the Bedouin way of life, Abū Dharr traveled repeatedly from Rabadhah to Madīnah, though he loved isolation and seclusion. [Once] he entered ´Uthmān's presence, and there with him was Ka´b al-Aḥbār. [Abū Dharr] said to ´Uthmān, "Be not content that the people refrain from wrongdoing until they strive for the good. One who fulfills the alms tax (zakāt) should not confine himself to that until he treats neighbors and brothers generously and brings [benefit to his] kinsmen." Ka´b said, "He who fulfills the divine commandment has fully met his obligations." Then Abū Dharr raised his staff and struck him, cracking open [his head]. ´Uthmān asked [Abū Dharr] for [the staff] and he turned it over to him. [´Uthmān] said, "Abū Dharr, fear Allāh and restrain thy hand and tongue." For [the latter] had said to Ka´b, "Son of Jewess, what are you doing here? By Allāh, you will learn from me, or I shall do violence to you."[5070]

The following points are noteworthy: (1) It is claimed here that Abū Dharr loved seclusion, thus making it appear that he preferred to live in Rabadhah to life in Madīnah, while other traditions say that Abū Dharr complained of being turned into a Bedouin after his emigration to Madīnah. (2) It is claimed that Abū Dharr kept traveling back to Madīnah, thus making it appear that it was not life in exile but rather his own choice to live in Rabadhah. (3) It is claimed that Ka´b said, "He who fulfills the divine commandment has fully met his obligations." Thus, it is made to appear that Abū Dharr was asking for more than what the divine commandments ask for. However, it was not so, as Abū Dharr was simply warning those who were piling up illegitimately-acquired gold and silver to take heed of the Qur`ān's warnings. (4) Sayf claimed that Abū Dharr threatened Ka´b with violence if Ka´b refused to follow him, thus making Abū Dharr seem like a violent, self-centered man who was, in fact, wrong in what he claimed. (5) Sayf's account claims that Ka´b al-Aḥbār's head was cracked open! However, no such indication is made in other sources. This helps strengthen the notion of Abū Dharr as insane and uncontrollable. Sayf also said,

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[5070] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 15:66-67.

> When Abū Dharr settled in Rabadhah, the ritual prayer was performed under the leadership of a man who was in charge of the alms tax. He said, "Come forward [to lead the prayer], Abū Dharr." He replied, "No, you go forward, for the Messenger of Allāh said to me, 'Listen and obey, even if a crop-nosed slave be set over you.' You are a slave, though not crop-nosed." This man, a black named Mujāshi´, was one of the slaves acquired through the alms tax.[5071]

This tradition makes it appear that Abū Dharr was a lowly companion whom the Messenger of Allāh (ص) commanded to be the lowest of the low. However, unlike what Sayf portrayed, Abū Dharr was one of greatest companions of the Messenger of Allāh (ص) according to both Sunnī and Shī´ah traditions. This tradition also makes is seem that Abū Dharr was ordered to obey ´Uthmān and Mu´āwīyah and others and that his disobedience was in contradiction to the commands of the Messenger of Allāh (ص). Furthermore, this account makes Abū Dharr appear content with his life in exile.

Ṭabarī's Crime with Respect to Abū Dharr's Exile

Ṭabarī, after mentioning several traditions from Sayf in regards to Abū Dharr, said, "As for the other [narrators of these events], they recount many things concerning them, repugnant matters that I am loath to repeat."[5072] Thus, the true story of Abū Dharr was omitted entirely from Ṭabarī's history, as Ṭabarī preferred what he himself labeled as fictional tales to painful truths. Following in Ṭabarī's footsteps, many subsequent historians have also left out the truth about Abū Dharr's endeavors, as they were loath to mention realities that would expose the conducts of ´Uthmān and Mu´āwīyah. Note that Ṭabarī did not claim that those accounts were false, weak, or invented. Rather, he merely said that he was "loath to repeat" them. This demonstrates that such compilations have selected known fantasies that make the caliphs and their associates appear good, while suppressing the truth and demeaning the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) and their supporters. Indeed, this type of selective transmission of the truth is what led the Jews and Christians astray at the hands of their "scholars".

Sayf Denied the Role of the Companions in the Execution of ´Uthmān

In contrast to the more accurate accounts in Sunnī sources, Sayf maintained that Ṭalḥah, Zubayr, ´Alī (ع), and ´Ā`ishah were all supporters of ´Uthmān. He discounted ´Ā`ishah's trip to Mecca, in which she used a pilgrimage as a pretext for spreading the rebellion, as being due to her fear that she would be harmed by the rebels.[5073] Indeed, he went even further by saying that she asked her brother, Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr, to accompany her on the pilgrimage instead of being fooled by the "Bedouin wolves."[5074] Whereas Ṭalḥah and Zubayr openly revolted while ʿAlī (ع) withdrew from ʿUthmān, Sayf claimed that Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī (ع), ʿAbd Allāh ibn Zubayr, Muḥammad ibn Ṭalḥah, and others like them defended ʿUthmān's door from the rebels in accordance with the commands of their fathers.[5075] It would make no sense for Ṭalḥah to put ʿUthmān under siege and then send his son to defend ʿUthmān from the same rebels that he was leading. Sayf also entirely changed the account of ʿUthmān's burial. He said,

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[5071] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 15:67.
[5072] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 15:68.
[5073] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 15:209.

> Marwān went out and came to ʿUthmān's house. He was joined by Zayd ibn Thābit, Ṭalḥah ibn ʿUbayd Allāh, ʿAlī, Ḥasan [ibn ʿAlī], Kaʿb ibn Mālik, and most of the companions who were present [in Madīnah]... Marwān led the prayer for him. Afterwards they took him to Baqīʿ and buried him there, in the part adjacent to Ḥashsh Kawkab."[5076]

His lies in this account are apparent in several ways: (1) He claimed that most of the key companions were present for ʿUthmān's burial, when in reality, aside from a select few of ʿUthmān's family members and close associates, the Prophet's (ص) companions gathered only to prevent ʿUthmān from being buried in a Muslim cemetery; (2) He claimed that ʿAlī (ع) was mourning for ʿUthmān, when he was indifferent towards his execution; (3) He claimed that ʿUthmān was buried in the part of Baqīʿ adjacent to Ḥashsh Kawkab, when he was in reality buried in Ḥashsh Kawkab, the old Jewish cemetery, itself.

ʿAbd Allāh ibn Sabaʾ

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, Sayf mentioned a character named ʿAbd Allāh ibn Sabaʾ, to whom he also referred to as Ibn al-Sawdāʾ. He is a fictitious character that Sayf invented and used for two purposes. The first was to explain the uprising against ʿUthmān, and the second was to further the claim that Shīʿah beliefs arose from this man. Ṭabarī quoted Sayf as follows:

> ʿAbd Allāh ibn Sabaʾ was a Jews from Ṣanʿāʾ (in Yemen), and his mother was a black woman. He converted to Islām in the time of ʿUthmān, then roamed about the lands of the Muslims attempting to lead them into error. He began in the Ḥijāz, and then [worked] successively in Baṣrah, Kūfah, and Syria. He was unable to work his will upon a single one of the Syrians; they drove him out and he came to Egypt... He fabricated for them [the notion of] the return [after death] (rajʿah), and they discussed it among themselves. Later on, [Ibn Sabaʾ] said to them, "Verily there have been a thousand prophets; every prophet had an executor (waṣī) and ʿAlī was the executor of Muḥammad." He continued, "Muḥammad is the seal of the prophets and ʿAlī is the seal of the executors." Then after that he said, "Who commits a greater wrong than a man who has not carried out the testament of the Messenger of Allāh, who has attacked the executor of the Messenger of Allāh, and who has usurped power over the community?" ...Then he dispersed his agents and wrote to those whom he had corrupted in the garrison towns. They returned his correspondence and secretly preached their notions [to others]. In public they proclaimed the commanding of good and the forbidding of evil. They began sending letters to the garrison

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[5074] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 15:208.
[5075] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 15:207.
[5076] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 15:249.

> towns, filling them with censure of their rulers... until finally they extended this [agitation] to Madīnah and spread this message throughout the earth.[5077]

The reality is that Ibn Saba` never existed aside from his fictional role in Sayf's narratives. He did, however, fulfill an important role for Sayf—he could blame the execution of ʿUthmān on the intrigues of Ibn Saba`; he could blame the Battle of Jamal as a war that broke out between two friendly sides based on his instigations; and he could explain the origins of Shīʿism based on the evil machinations of a Jew. Unfortunately for this view, popular as it has become, Ibn Saba` never existed except in the fairytales of Sayf, a heretical liar. What is amazing is that Sayf, as a heretic (zindīq), sought to destroy Islām by incorporating what he thought would be most destructive to it in his narratives. Not surprisingly, he found that lies that would support the first three caliphs and the other enemies of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) would be most destructive to Islām, and he was right. Those thirsty for anything that would support the caliphs ate up his lies, turning them into central themes for their works. Due to the incorporation of his fables into the premiere historical works, he became one of the most successful of the heretic.

Amazingly, stories of Ibn Saba` have become so widespread that they have even become incorporated into Shīʿah texts, as Shīʿah scholars could not write about historical events without addressing such an apparently central figure. However, inquisitive Shīʿah scholars such as ʿAllāmah ʿAskarī have uncovered this fable, and even Sunnī scholars have now accepted the fictional nature of Sayf. Ṭāhā Ḥusayn, in his book al-Fitnah al-Kubrā, asserted that Ibn Saba` was a fictional character invented by those opposed to Shīʿism. He said, "He was invented during the disputes that arose between the Shīʿah and the other Islāmic sects, with the intention of antagonizing the Shīʿah by introducing a Jewish element into the foundations of this sect."[5078] The most comprehensive treatise on the subject is the work of the Shīʿah scholar ʿAllāmah ʿAskarī entitled, "ʿAbd Allāh ibn Saba`," to which readers interested in this subject should refer.

Conclusions

Ṭabarī, as the author of the most prominent Sunnī text of early Islāmic history, decided to narrate the main events from the Prophet's (ص) death to the Battle of Ṣiffīn from a known liar and heretic, whose stories presented Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, ʿUthmān, ʿĀ`ishah, Ṭalḥah, Zubayr, and Muʿāwīyah in a good light. It is true that Ṭabarī included other accounts to balance these fictional stories to some extent, but the backbone of the part of his work covering this period is comprised of Sayf's accounts. This stylized fictional narrative unfortunately has become the foundation upon which the Sunnī understanding of early Islāmic history has come to rest. The concept that all companions were fundamentally good and in agreement with one another, except for a few who were far removed from the caliphate and generally instigated by outsiders, is simply historically untrue. However, the propensity to resort to fiction rather than reality is rather telling. Sayf's accounts have become so central that it is not uncommon today to find those who deny any historical account that contradicts what Sayf said.

One must note that Ṭabarī went even further in butchering the critical period of Islāmic history spanning from the death of the Prophet (ص) until the Battle of Jamal. Not only did he set Sayf's accounts as the backbone of his work during this period, but also many of the traditions he cited to provide the "dissident testimony" are those of Muḥammad ibn

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5077. Tārīkh Ṭabarī 15:145-7.
5078. Al-Fitnah al-Kubrā 2:90.

´Umar al-Wāqidī (130-207 A.H.). Wāqidī joined the ´Abbāsīd caliphate in Baghdād as their judge and historian. Hārūn al-Rashīd recruited him from Madīnah because of his knowledge of history.[5079] He became more prominent during the caliphate of Ma`mūn, who appointed him as a judge in Baghdād and who used him for his knowledge of "battles, the [Prophet's] life-history (sīrah), conquests, [Islāmic] laws, and differences among people."[5080] In fact, he was said to have become Ma`mūn's confidant.[5081] Of note, Ma`mūn was perhaps the most scholarly of the ´Abbāsīd caliphs, so his penchant for Wāqidī sheds some light on his level of perceived historical expertise at the time.

In Baghdād, Wāqidī taught a large number of prominent and widely respected Sunnī scholars, including Ibn Sa´d.[5082] Significant disagreement has existed among Sunnī scholars regarding Wāqidī's veracity. A large number have seen him as highly-reliable and very knowledgeable,[5083] going as far as calling him, "the Commander of the Faithful in [regards to] traditions."[5084] Others have considered his traditions weak, given the fact that he had collected a large number of uncorroborated traditions and because he relied heavily on his memory. Only one of his traditions appears in the ṣiḥāḥ sittah,[5085] and he is not referred to in the chain of transmission by name, but rather as "one of our teachers (shaykhs)."[5086] Dhahabī, after listing numerous accounts in favor and against him, said, "Admittedly, Wāqidī is weak, but he can be used in [narrations regarding] battles and history."[5087] Thus, Ṭabarī's dissident testimony came from one who worked for the ´Abbāsīd caliphate and whose veracity was questionable, although he has been considered somewhat reliable in his historical accounts by the Sunnī scholars.

As a prominent scholar in ´Abbāsīd circles, Wāqidī would not deviate too far from the version of Islāmic history acceptable to the ´Abbāsīd caliphs. Therefore, he was an appropriate source for Ṭabarī to use as the "dissident account" that would show that there was another side to the stories of Sayf. Wāqidī's accounts would shed some light on the truth, while not stating the entire truth in its full glory, which some may have found to be too unpalatable to bear.

Amazingly, some of the Wahhābīs of today claim that Ṭabarī included Sayf's accounts to provide the truth and inserted Wāqidī's accounts to please the Shī´ah of his time. This is rather absurd, as Ṭabarī rigorously maintained, and at many times even exceeded, the standard set by other Sunnī scholars in terms of suppressing the merits of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) and supporting Sunnī concepts, particularly as they pertained to the first three caliphs. There is truly no good reason why a Sunnī scholar and historian would go out of his way to try to please the Shī´ah, who would not be pleased with his work in any case, as it has falsely glorified the first three caliphs and left out most of the atrocities they committed against the family of the Prophet (ص) and others. Another common issue the Wahhābīs raise is that most Sunnī historical accounts are not reliable, and that the Shī´ah cannot base their beliefs on these accounts. Indeed, the Shī´ah agree that most Sunnī traditions are unreliable due to forgery or tadlīs, and as their traditions were narrated in such a way as to please the ruling circles. That is why the Shī´ah follow the traditions that come to them through the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) and their devotees. However, when confronting the

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5079. Sīyar A´lām al-Nubalā` 9:464.
5080. Sīyar A´lām al-Nubalā` 9:457.
5081. Sīyar A´lām al-Nubalā` 9:461.
5082. Sīyar A´lām al-Nubalā` 9:455.
5083. Sīyar A´lām al-Nubalā` 9:458-61.
5084. Sīyar A´lām al-Nubalā` 9:458.
5085. Sīyar A´lām al-Nubalā` 9:463.
5086. Sunan Ibn Mājah #1095.
5087. Sīyar A´lām al-Nubalā` 9:469.

Sunnīs, the Shī´ah are forced to cite Sunnī traditions, as Sunnīs polemicists would not lend credence to Shī´ah traditions on a subject. As such, the weakness of Sunnī traditions is hardly a criticism against the Shī´ah, but rather a strong reason for seeking the truth in the traditions the Shī´ah have related from their infallible imāms.

In our discussion of Sayf, we have limited ourselves to a handful of Sayf's accounts pertaining to ´Uthmān's caliphate, but the same general principles we have discussed hold true for every single one of his historical accounts. Those interested in further research into the subject should refer to ´Allāmah ´Askarī's works on the subject,[5088] or merely read through his accounts and compare them to the accounts of others. In the next two chapters we will further examine the extent to which Sunnī texts have been infiltrated by false traditions pertaining to the Prophet (ص), his Ahl al-Bayt (ع), and the first three caliphs.

[5088] Refer to ´Abd Allāh ibn Saba` and One Hundred and Fifty Forged Companions by ´Allāmah ´Askarī.

Chapter 75
The Invention of Traditions Defaming the Holy Prophet (ص)

The prohibition against recording prophetic traditions that was implemented by Abū Bakr, ʹUmar, and ʹUthmān[5089] gave the ruling circles great leeway in creating traditions that suited their ambitions. The following account demonstrates Muʹāwīyah's plan in this regards:

> Muṭarrif ibn Mughīrah ibn Shuʹbah said: My father used to go to [Muʹāwīyah] and would speak to him and then return [home] to me and mention Muʹāwīyah and his [great] intellect, and his amazement at what he would see from him. When he came on one particular night, I noticed that he was rather upset. I waited a while thinking that there might be some issue between us. I [finally] said, "Why do I find you so upset tonight?" He said, "O son! I have come from the most disbelieving (akfar) of the people and the filthiest (akhbath) of them." I asked, "And who is that?" He replied, "I told [Muʹāwīyah] when I was alone with him, 'You have become old, O Commander of the Faithful. [It is fitting for] you to show justice and kindness now that you are older by looking at your brothers from the Banū Hāshim and maintaining your bond of kinship [with them]. By Allāh they have nothing today for you to fear. This is among the things [you could do] that would remain [as a source of] good remembrance and good deeds for you.'"
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> He replied, "How preposterous! How preposterous! What you say is far from achievable. The king (malik) of the brothers of Taym (i.e. Abū Bakr) was just and did what he did. Not long after his death, his memories died as well, except for someone mentioning 'Abū Bakr' [on occasion]. Then came the king of the brothers of ʹAdī (i.e. ʹUmar). He struggled and was busy at work for ten years. Not long after his death, his memories died as well, except for someone mentioning 'ʹUmar' [on occasion]. Verily, Ibn Abī Kabshah[5090] (i.e. the Prophet) is mentioned five times every day [when it is called out], 'I bear witness that Muḥammad is a messenger of Allāh.' So what action and what remembrance would outlast this, O you without a father? No, by Allāh unless I can completely bury [the remembrance of Muḥammad]!"[5091]

Muʹāwīyah's plan was to change Islām. His goal was to make the statement, "I bear witness that Muḥammad is a messenger of Allāh," a statement referring to himself. This did not mean that he would have to make the people say, "I bear witness that Muʹāwīyah is a messenger of Allāh," for Mu'āwīyah was far too shrewd to make such an attempt. Instead, he promoted the fabrication of traditions by the thousands. These traditions would bring down the great status and character of the Messenger of Allāh (ص), and weaken him in the eyes of the believers, while glorifying the companions, among them Abū Bakr and 'Umar, as well as the Umayyads themselves, particularly 'Uthmān. The Prophet (ص) was to be brought down to a simple average person or even worse than that—to a bewitched, ignorant, worldly fool. At the same time, other traditions would be forged that would replace the teachings of Islām with the concepts the caliphs wanted to promote.

[5089] Refer to chapter 56.

[5090] Ibn Abī Kabshah was a derogatory reference the pagan Quraysh used for the Prophet (ص) (Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:39).

[5091] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 5:129-130.

Mu'āwīyah's act was in contrast to the first three "rightly-guided" caliphs who simply banned and prevented the relaying and recording prophetic traditions, and resorted to inventing traditions only when the situation was deemed dire. However, the circumstances were rather different by Mu'āwīyah's time, making Mu'āwīyah's plan enactable. Abū Bakr, 'Umar, and 'Uthmān lived in Madīnah among the Prophet's (ص) companions. It was difficult to append too many lies without causing a stir, even though they certainly pushed the limits in that regards. Mu'āwīyah lived in Damascus among recent converts who had learned of Islām through the children of Abū Sufyān. He could easily disseminate traditions making the Prophet (ص) appear much like himself, mandating complete submission to his government, and labeling his enemies as heretics. The caliphs after him similarly felt empowered to continue the dissemination of false traditions that supported the beliefs they wanted the masses to espouse, and there was never any shortage of "scholars" willing to create and disseminate traditions that would please the caliphs.

This matter is of great importance for all Muslims, as it affects us to this day. If we want to base our lives on prophetic traditions, we must be able to distinguish between the ones invented and the ones that are truly authentic. This is, however, a difficult task, because hundreds of thousands of traditions have been invented. Thus, strict analysis of the chain of transmission as well as the content of every tradition is necessary in order to ensure that the traditions are trustworthy and do not contradict the Qur'ān. The following is a general grouping of invented traditions defaming the Prophet (ص) that will be discussed:

1. Traditions regarding the lack of knowledge of the Prophet (ص) regarding matters pertaining o the life of this world. These traditions were invented to nullify all of the traditions of the Prophet (ص) that in any way pertained to worldly affairs, and therefore would give the caliphs a carte blanche to act as they wished with respect to the affairs of this world, which is all they cared about.

2. Traditions regarding the incapability or negligence of the Messenger of Allāh (ص) in proclaiming the divine message. These traditions were also intended to lower the status of the Prophet (ص).

3. Traditions regarding the worldliness of the Prophet (ص) and his continuous erring and sinning. These traditions would help make the Prophet (ص) seem like an ordinary person, portraying him with all the evil qualities of man, and reducing his status in comparison to his followers.

4. Traditions regarding the cursing of the Prophet (ص) being a blessing to the accursed. The Prophet (ص) had cursed people like Mu'āwīyah, the family of Ḥakam, the Banū Umayyah, and others. The companions remembered these traditions and were therefore very skeptical of the Umayyads. Traditions were

therefore invented claiming that the curse of the Prophet (ص) was a blessing so that Mu´āwīyah would be portrayed as a blessed man because the Prophet (ص) had cursed him many times.

5. Traditions glorifying the companions. These traditions would portray the companions as individuals equal to and in many cases surpassing the Prophet (ص) in merit. Such traditions would make companions such as Abū Bakr, ´Umar, ´Uthmān, and Mu´āwīyah respected and obeyed and would give them the right to dictate all aspects of life.

6. Traditions regarding the lack of free will of the Muslims. These traditions made it appear that everything that occurred was because of direct divine intervention and any efforts of the people to change the status quo was in reality a revolt against the will of Allāh. These traditions convinced people that the best thing for them to do was to surrender themselves to those in power, for Allāh had willed for them to be the rulers.[5092] Similarly, prophetic traditions requiring submission to the rightful imām were distorted and misrepresented to make it appear that he required absolute submission to rulers no matter how corrupt or deviant.[5093]

These categories are by no means comprehensive, as each and every illegitimate ruler from Abū Bakr onwards had a variety of motives for promoting the invention of traditions that were perceived to be of benefit to them. In practically any subject of Islām, a serious and open-minded investigator can find many invented traditions. However, the ones discussed here are the ones that changed the essence of Islām and its central concepts with regards to Shī´ah-Sunnī differences. Those who are interested in a more detailed discussion of what follows may refer to ´Allāmah ´Askarī's work on this subject.[5094]

Those Appending Lies to the Prophet (ص) will Burn in Hell

It a widely transmitted, mutawātir, and universally accepted tradition, the Prophet (ص) said, "Whoever appends a lie to me will have his seat settled down into the fire!"[5095] He also said, "Whoever speaks regarding the Qur`ān by his opinion (ra`y) will have his seat settled down into the fire!"[5096] It is clear that those who have forged traditions and attributed lies to the Prophet (ص) will belong in the fire.

The Claim that the Prophet (ص) Lacked Knowledge of Worldly Matters

With few exceptions, the rulers of the Islāmic world, like typical kings, strived for personal power, the accumulation of wealth, and carnal pleasures. They wanted to make sure that the rules of Islām would not to interfere with their quest for worldly satisfaction. Traditions were therefore invented claiming that the Messenger of Allāh (ص) was purely a spiritual guide whose teachings had no connections to the life of this world.

[5092] Refer to chapter 92.

[5093] Refer to chapter 42.

[5094] Refer to Naqsh-i A`immah dar Iḥyā`-l Dīn of ´Allāmah ´Askarī.

[5095] This and similar traditions are mutawātir and appear in Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #1.3.106-110; Sunan Tirmidhī #2257, #2659-61, #2669, #2951, #3715; Sunan Ibn Mājah #30-37; Sunan Abū Dāwūd #3651; Jāmi´ al-Ṣaghīr Suyūṭī #133, #2345, #3159, #8993-4; Kanz al-´Ummāl #8233-9, #12345, #29145, #29168, #29170-2, #29175, #29217-21, #29226-32, #29234-6, #29249, #29251, #29256-7, #29481-2. Many other sources cite this but are not listed for the sake of brevity and because this is an undisputed tradition.

[5096] Jāmi´ al-Ṣaghīr Suyūṭī #133; Kanz al-´Ummāl #29172.

A prime example of this is with respect to the Prophet's (ص) purported ban on pollinating trees. In order to bear ample fruit, it is necessary to pollinate female palm trees. This practice is very common in gardening and anyone in the Arabian Peninsula would have known that a good date crop cannot be obtained without pollination. However, Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim and others have related the following tradition:

> Mūsā ibn Ṭalḥah reported: Allāh's Messenger and I happened to pass by people near the date-palm trees. He said, "What are these people doing?" They said, "They are pollinating[5097]." Thereupon, Allāh's Messenger said, "I do not find it to be of any use." The people were informed about it and they abandoned this practice. Allāh's Messenger [was later] informed [that the yield had dwindled], whereupon he said, "If there is any use for it, then they should do it, for it was just a personal opinion of mine, and do not go after my personal opinion; but when I say to you anything on behalf of Allāh, then do accept it, for I do not attribute lies to Allāh, the exalted and glorious."[5098]

This tradition appears with three chains in Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim. One chain which similarly appears in Sunan Ibn Mājah and Musnad Ḥanbal is through Sammāk ibn Ḥarb from Mūsā ibn Ṭalḥah ibn ʿUbayd Allāh from Ṭalḥah ibn ʿUbayd Allāh.[5099] Of course, the Shīʿah do not trust Ṭalḥah, who rose in rebellion against ʿAlī (ع), or his son who, of note, fled from Kūfah to Baṣrah out of his fear of Mukhtār ibn Abī ʿUbayd.[5100] But most troubling is that this tradition is through Sammāk ibn Ḥarb. According to Ibn Ḥajar, (1) Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal said, "His traditions are shaky (muḍṭarib al-ḥadīth)"; (2) Ibn al-Madyanī said, "He is shaky (muḍṭarib)"; (3) Shuʿbah considered him weak; (4) Thawrī considered him weak; (5) Ibn Mubārak said, "He is weak in [his] traditions"; (6) Ibn ʿAmmār said, "He would make errors"; (7) Ibn Ḥibbān said, "He would make many errors"; and (8) He would say in his commentary on the Qurʾān, "[This is from] ʿIkrimah, but if you'd like, I'd say that Ibn ʿAbbās said it."[5101] The second tradition in Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim is related through ʿIkrimah ibn ʿAmmār from Abū Najāshī.[5102] According to Ibn Ḥajar, (1) Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal said, "ʿIkrimah's traditions are shaky (muḍṭarib) except for those from Iyās ibn Salamah"; (2) Yaḥyā ibn Saʿīd considered him weak; (3) Bukhārī and Abū Dāwūd considered the traditions he related from Yaḥyā ibn Abī Kathīr shaky (muḍṭarib); (4) Abū Ḥatim said that he would perform tadlīs; and (5) Thawrī said that he was full of errors.[5103] Not only was ʿIkrimah weak, but the person relating the tradition from him, Naḍr ibn Muḥammad ibn Mūsā, was a client (mawlā) of the Banū Umayyah.[5104] The third chain of transmission in Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim is through Ḥammād ibn Salamah, Hishām ibn ʿUrwah ibn Zubayr, ʿUrwah ibn Zubayr ibn ʿAwwām, and ʿĀʾishah. Of course, the traditions of ʿĀʾishah and ʿUrwah were among the most troublesome according to the Shīʿah and according to anyone who studies their traditions without bias. Furthermore, according to Ibn Ḥajar, Ḥammād ibn Salamah would make errors and would relate rejected traditions. Furthermore, lies would enter his traditions, and Bukhārī abandoned him.[5105] Of note, Musnad Ḥanbal relates this tradition through another chain including Ḥammād as well.[5106]

[5097] The English translation of Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim uses the word "grafting", but pollinating is a more appropriate word for the technique referred to as "yalqaḥūn" in the Arabic original (#2361).

[5098] Ṣaḥiḥ Muslim #30.5830; Musnad Ḥanbal #1399-1400, #12566; Sunan Ibn Mājah #2470-2471.

[5099] Ṣaḥiḥ Muslim Arabic original #2361; Sunan Ibn Mājah #2470; Musnad Ḥanbal #1395, #1399.

[5100] Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb vol 10 #625 (Mūsā ibn Talḥah ibn ʿUbayd Allāh).

[5101] Tahdhib al-Tahdhīb vol 4 #405 (Sammāk ibn Ḥarb).

[5102] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim Arabic original #2362.

[5103] Tahdhib al-Tahdhīb vol 7 #475 (ʿIkrimah ibn ʿAmmār).

[5104] Tahdhīb al-Tahdhib vol 10 #810 (Naḍr ibn Muḥammad ibn Mūsā).

In this tradition, which is rather commonly cited, the Prophet (ص) is shown as having been a foolish person who spoke nonsense, causing his followers to starve. The implication is clear—if one wishes to have food, one better follow the words of the worldly caliphs, not those of the Prophet (ص). This concept is taken further in the following tradition, in which the Prophet (ص) is claimed to have said,

> I am a human being, so when I command you about something pertaining to religion, do accept it, but when I command you about something out of my personal opinion, keep in mind that I am a human being.[5107]

And in yet another version of this tradition, the Messenger of Allāh (ص) is claimed to have told the people, "You have better knowledge [than I do] in [regards to] the affairs of this world."[5108]

The moral of traditions such as these is: "Do not obey the Messenger of Allāh (ص) in matters pertaining to this world." A very good principle, indeed, for caliphs who sought the pleasures of this world and who preferred for Islāmic teachings and pious scholars to be kept out of their way. These traditions make it appear as though the Prophet (ص) would talk out of some whim when he told the people to stop pollinating the date-palms. Yet, the Qur`ān says, "He does not speak from some whim; it is merely inspiration that is revealed [to him]."[5109] And the Qur`ān orders the people to obey the Messenger of Allāh (ص) in all matters when it says, "Take whatever the Messenger gives you, and keep away from whatever he prohibits you."[5110] These traditions clearly contradict the Qur`ān and are therefore without merit.

The Claim that the Prophet (ص) was Incapable of or Negligent in Proclaiming the Divine Message

A tradition in Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī claims that the Messenger of Allāh (ص) refused to recite the words of Allāh from Gabriel (ع) until he could no longer bear Gabriel's (ع) physical torment. Thus it is made to appear that the Prophet (ص) had no preconception of his prophetic mission and therefore, when revelation came upon him, he was worried that he had become a mad poet and would have continued to think so had it not been for Khadījah's Christian cousin who consoled him, saying that he wished that he had been the one visited by Gabriel (ع) instead.[5111] Such traditions bring down the status of the Messenger of Allāh (ص) to that of an ordinary man, one worried about being a lunatic. They make it appear as if he was just like anyone else, just like Abū Sufyān and Abū Lahab, just like Abū Bakr and 'Umar, just like Ṭalḥah and Zubayr, but that he was arbitrarily and unexpectedly chosen to serve as a messenger for Allāh. But this is not where the traditions end. They even go as far as making the Prophet (ص) appear incompetent in delivering the Qur`ān, which is protected by Allāh from all falsehood. According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, `Ā`ishah said,

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[5105] Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb vol 3 #14 (Ḥammād ibn Salamah).

[5106] Musnad Ḥanbal #12566.

[5107] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #30.5831.

[5108] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #30.5832.

[5109] Qur`ān 53:3-4.

[5110] Qur`ān 59:7. Refer to chapter 56 for numerous verses ordering the believers to obey the Prophet (ص).

[5111] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #1.1.3.

> The Prophet heard a reciter reciting the Qur`ān in the mosque at night. The Prophet said, "May Allāh bestow His mercy on him, as he has reminded me of such-and-such verses of such-and-such sūrahs, which I forgot!"[5112]

Bukhārī included this forged tradition despite the fact that Allāh says in His Qur`ān, "We make you recite it, so that you will not forget."[5113] In fact, the traditions we discussed regarding the compilation of the Qur`ān that claim that the Messenger of Allāh (ص) left this world without recording the Qur`ān are of this type, as they demonstrate the carelessness of the Prophet (ص) with regards to the Qur`ān.[5114] Abū Bakr, `Umar, and `Uthmān, but of course not `Alī (ع), are claimed to have been the ones who compiled the Qur`ān, fearing its loss. The first three caliphs would not die without ensuring that the Qur`ān would be collected in its entirety, yet the Prophet (ص) could care less what would befall the Qur`ān upon his death.

The Claim that the Prophet (ص) Proclaimed Satanic Verses

One of the most appalling of the false claims attributed to the Prophet (ص) is that he erroneously recited verses brought to him by Satan. It is claimed that when the verses, "Have you seen Lāt and `Uzzā and Manāt, the third [idol]?"[5115] was revealed, Satan then put on his tongue, "These are the exalted gharānīq (cranes) whose intercession is approved." The pagans were so excited by the Qur`ān's approval of their idols that they reportedly all prostrated along with the Muslims, bringing great joy to the Prophet (ص) until Gabriel (ع) informed him of his error. Nevertheless, the excitement spread so quickly that the Muslims who had emigrated to Abyssinia heard that the Quraysh had converted to Islām en-masse, so they all returned to Mecca, necessitating a second emigration to Abyssinia.[5116]

Ibn Kathīr said, "Many of the commentators [on the Qur`ān] have mentioned the story of the gharānīq and the return of many of the emigrants from Abyssinia thinking that the pagans of the Quraysh had accepted Islām, but [this story] has been related through chains that are all unconnected (mursal)."[5117] In his historical work, Ibn Kathīr said, "I would have preferred to strike this [story from my work]... except that the story is corroborated by Ṣaḥīḥ [Bukhārī and Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim]."[5118] However, an examination of the traditions in these two works proves Ibn Kathīr's intuition regarding the falseness of the story to be correct.

According to one tradition cited twice in Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, Ibn `Abbās said, "The Prophet prostrated while reciting [Sūrah] al-Najm and with him prostrated the Muslims, the pagans, the jinn, and all human beings."[5119] Of course, this tradition is nonsense, as it is evident that all human beings did not prostrate. Secondly, the tradition is through

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[5112] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #6.61.558.

[5113] Qur`ān 87:6.

[5114] Refer to chapter 55.

[5115] Qur`ān 53:19-20.

[5116] Sīrah Ibn Isḥāq 165-7; Tārīkh Ṭabarī 6:107-12; Tafsīr Ibn Kathīr, Tafsīr Qurṭubī, Tafsīr Rāzī, and Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, verse 22:52; Tafsīr Ṭabarī, verse 39:45.

[5117] Tafsīr Ibn Kathīr, verse 22:52.

[5118] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 3:113.

[5119] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #2.19.177 (Arabic original #1021), #6.60.385 (Arabic original #4581).

ʿIkrimah, a known Khārijīte liar.[5120] Another similar tradition that appears in Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī and Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim is as follows:

> ʿAbd Allāh [ibn Masʿūd] said, "The Prophet recited Sūrah al-Najm at Mecca and prostrated while reciting it and those who were with him did the same except an old man who took a handful of small stones or earth and lifted it to his forehead and said, 'This is sufficient for me.' Later on, I saw him killed as a non-believer."[5121]

This tradition has been cited through two chains of transmission in Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī and one chain in Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, all three of which contain Shuʿbah, making the tradition singular (āḥād). One of the Bukhārī chains and the Muslim chain include Muḥammad ibn Bashshār and Ghundar, both of whom, as we have discussed before, are rather problematic.[5122] Furthermore, all three of these chains contain ʿAmr ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUbayd, known as Abū Isḥāq, who has been accused of performing tadlīs.[5123]

Assuming the entire story not to be a complete lie, which is indeed rather likely, one would conclude that the pagans prostrated immediately upon hearing the names of their idols mentioned in the Qurʾān. The story of the Satanic verses was later created either by the pagans of Mecca to ridicule the Prophet (ص) or during later years to belittle him, and these traditions all suffer flawed chains of transmission, as admitted by Ibn Kathīr. Indeed, the story is obviously false, as it is impossible for the news to have spread to Abyssinia before Gabriel (ع) had a chance to correct the Prophet (ص).

Claims Regarding the Worldliness of the Prophet (ص)

The Prophet (ص) and Music

The palaces of the Umayyad kings were filled with singing, dancing, drinking, and other carnal pleasures. It was necessary for them to come up with traditions proving that the Messenger of Allāh (ص) not only was supportive of such worldly engagements, but that he even participated in them. Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī and Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim have related a number of traditions from ʿĀʾishah regarding the following invented event:

> Allāh's Apostle came to my house while two girls were singing beside me the song of Buʿāth (a story about the war between the two tribes of the Anṣār, the Khazraj and the Aws, before Islām). The Prophet lay down and turned his face to the other side. Then Abū Bakr came and spoke to me harshly saying, "Musical instruments of Satan near the Prophet?" Allāh's Messenger turned his face towards him and said, "Leave them." When Abū Bakr became inattentive, I signaled to those girls to go out and they left. It was the day of ʿīd, and the Black people were playing with shields and spears; so either I requested the Prophet or he asked me whether I would like to see the display. I replied in the affirmative. Then the Prophet made me stand behind him and my cheek was touching his cheek and he was saying, "Carry on! O Banū Arfidah," until I got

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[5120] Refer to chapters 14 and 22.

[5121] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #2.19.173 (Arabic original #1017), #5.59.311 (Arabic original #3754); Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #4.1191 (Arabic original #576).

[5122] Refer to chapter 59.

[5123] Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb vol 8 #100 (ʿAmr ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUbayd).

> tired. The Prophet asked me, "Are you satisfied?" I replied in the affirmative, so he told me to leave.[5124]

According to another tradition, the Messenger of Allāh (ص) said, "Keep on [dancing and playing] until the Jews and Christians know that there is freedom (fusḥah) in our religion!" The Abyssinians who were pleased by hearing this, said, "Great, Abū al-Qāsim! Great, Abū al-Qāsim!" Then ʻUmar came and their celebrations ceased.[5125] Abū Hurayrah allegedly reported,

> While the Abyssinians were busy playing with their arms in the presence of the Messenger of Allāh, ʻUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb arrived. He bent down to take pebbles to throw at them [in order to make them go away]. The Messenger of Allāh said to him, "ʻUmar, leave them alone."[5126]

Yet, according to ʻĀʼishah, they all fled at the sight of ʻUmar. The Messenger of Allāh (ص) then said, "I see the devils among man and jinn fleeing from ʻUmar!"[5127] This shows how Abū Bakr and ʻUmar have been portrayed as being more pious, strict, and respectable than the Prophet (ص). The Messenger of Allāh (ص) busied himself with enjoying singing, dancing, and partying, while Abū Bakr and ʻUmar were unable to tolerate such acts of moral depravity. The devils from among jinn and man would flee from ʻUmar, while they had nothing to fear from the Messenger of Allāh (ص). Indeed, according to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, ʻĀʼishah said, "While I was watching the Ethiopians playing in the mosque, ʻUmar rebuked them, but the Prophet said, 'Leave them, O Banū Arfidah! Play, [for] you are safe.'"[5128] The Shīʻah scholar ʻAllāmah ʻAskarī made the following point regarding such traditions:

> Now say, for example, that the Prophet (ص) said many times as has been passed down to us in numerous sources that, "ʻAlī is from me and I am from ʻAlī." Some people would say, "Well, what was the Messenger of Allāh (ص) [like] for [it to be a source of pride] for ʻAlī to be like him? Here is, for example, ʻUmar who has such a high [moral] standing and [great] personality, and here is the caliph Abū Bakr who has such a high standing!"[5129]

Moreover, these traditions contradict the unlawfulness of music in Islām. There are numerous such traditions, a number of which have been compiled in the Sunnī commentary Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr. The following is one example:

> The Prophet said, "By the One Who chose me by the truth! This world will not come to an end until there are disappearances, transmutations, and defamations." They asked, "When will this be, O Prophet?" He said, "When you see women riding [on] saddles [instead of in howdahs], the proliferation of musicians, the spreading of false testimony, [Muslims] drinking intoxicants [openly] without having to hide, those who pray (i.e. Muslims) drinking out of the gold and silver cups of the idolaters, and women finding satisfaction with

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[5124] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #2.15.70; Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #4.1942.
[5125] Kanz al-ʻUmmāl #40676. Similarly, Kanz al-ʻUmmāl #40617.
[5126] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #4.1946.
[5127] Sunan Tirmidhī #3691; Kanz al-ʻUmmāl #32721-2, #35842.
[5128] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #4.56.730.
[5129] Naqsh-i Aʼimmah dar Iḥyāʼ-i Dīn vols 1-4 page 272.

> women and men with men. When you see this, abstain, stay away, and beware of the punishment [about to] fall from the sky."[5130]

According to Ibn Mājah, Mujāhid said,

> I was with ´Abd Allāh ibn ´Umar when he heard the sound of a drum. ´Abd Allāh placed his two fingers into his ears. He then let go. This was repeated three times, [as he would keep hearing the drum again]. Then, ´Abd Allāh said, "This is how the Messenger of Allāh would act."[5131]

According to Abū Dāwūd, Ibn ´Umar did the same when he heard the sound of a pipe (mizmār).[5132] Yet, according to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, ´Āʾishah allegedly claimed that,

> Abū Bakr came to her, while there where two girls with her beating drums, and the Prophet was [lying] covering himself with his garment. Abū Bakr rebuked the two girls, but the Prophet uncovered his face and said, "O Abū Bakr! Leave them, for these are the days of ´īd."[5133]

In fact, the Qurʾān forbids music in the following verse: "Among people is the one who buys up idle tales to mislead others from Allāh's way without having any knowledge, and they take it for a mockery; for those will be a humiliating torment."[5134] According to numerous Sunnī commentaries citing a large number of traditions, ´Abd Allāh ibn ´Abbās, ´Abd Allāh ibn Mas´ūd, Jābir, Mujāhid, Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, ´Ikrimah, Qatādah, and Ibn Jubayr all said that the phrase, "idle tale (lahw al-ḥadīth)," refers to music (ghināʾ).[5135] Ṭabarī has cited twenty-three traditions in regards to this verse referring to music.[5136] Indeed, traditions pertaining to the unlawfulness of music in Islām are numerous and mutawātir. According to traditions related by Suyūṭī, "Music is the incantation for adultery,"[5137] and "[Both] the singer and the one sung to are accursed."[5138] The Messenger of Allāh (ص) said, "No one raises his voice in singing except that Allāh sends him two devils that sit upon his two shoulders, hitting his chest with their two feet until he stops."[5139] He also said, "Music grows hypocrisy (nifāq) in the heart the way water grows crops, while the remembrance [of Allāh (dhikr)] grows faith (īmān) in the heart the way water grows crops."[5140] Amazingly, in contrast to these traditions, ´Āʾishah is claimed to have said that the Prophet (ص) not only wanted people to sing, but would even direct them as to what song to sing. According to Ibn Mājah and Ḥanbal,

> ´Āʾishah helped marry someone close to her among the Anṣār. The Messenger of Allāh came and asked, "Have you guided the bride [to her husband's house]?" ´Āʾishah said, "Yes." He asked, "Did you send with her one to sing?" She replied, "No." The Prophet (ص) said, "The Anṣār are a people among whom

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5130. Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, verse 5:90-3.
5131. Sunan Ibn Mājah #1901.
5132. Sunan Abū Dāwūd #4924-6.
5133. Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #4.56.730.
5134. Qurʾān 31:6.
5135. Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, Tafsīr Ṭabarī, Tafsīr Zamakhsharī, Tafsīr Qurṭubī, Tafsīr Ibn Kathīr, Tafsīr Shawkānī, Tafsīr Māwardī, Tafsīr Ibn ´Aṭiyyah, Tafsīr Ibn al-Jawzī, Tafsīr Khāzin, Tafsīr Ibn ´Ādil, and Tafsīr Tha´labī, verse 31:6.
5136. Tafsīr Ṭabarī, verse 31:6.
5137. Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, verse 31:6.
5138. Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, verse 31:6.
5139. Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, verse 31:6.
5140. Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, verse 31:6. Similarly, Sunan Abū Dāwūd #4927; Kanz al-´Ummāl #40658; Sunan al-Kubrā Bayhaqī #20796.

> poetry and story-telling is [very important]. You should have sent with her someone to sing the song, 'Ataynākum, ataynākum, faḥayyānā wa ḥayyākum.'"[5141]

The Prophet (ص) and the Entertainment of Young Women

Indeed, the traditions go further, claiming that even little girls should watch acts of entertainment. According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, ´Ā`ishah said,

> The Prophet was screening me with his garment while I was looking at the Ethiopians who were playing in the courtyard of the mosque. [I continued watching] until I was satisfied. So you may deduce from this event how a little girl [who has not reached the age of puberty] who is eager to enjoy amusement should be treated in this respect.[5142]

Amazingly enough, this show was supposedly carried out in the mosque of the Prophet (ص), in much the same way as the illegitimate caliphs and their associates would bring story-tellers, entertainers, and even sorceress to their mosques for their pleasure.

The Prophet (ص) and Human Figures

According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, ´Ā`ishah said, "I used to play with dolls in the presence of the Prophet, and my girl friends also used to play with me. When Allāh's Apostle used to enter [my dwelling place] they used to hide themselves, but the Prophet would call them to join and play with me."[5143] This is in contrast to the following tradition also narrated by Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī from ´Ā`ishah:

> The Prophet entered upon me while there was a curtain having pictures [of animals] in the house. His face got red with anger, and then he got hold of the curtain and tore it to pieces. The Prophet said, "Such people who paint these pictures will receive the severest punishment on the Day of Judgment."[5144]

Indeed, the Prophet (ص) would leave nothing in his house containing images or crosses without obliterating it.[5145] Furthermore, he said that Allāh declared, "Who is more unjust than the one who tries to create the like of My creatures? Let them create a grain! Let them create a gnat (dharrah)!"[5146] According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, ´Ā`ishah said,

> I bought a cushion having pictures on it. When Allāh's Apostle saw it, he stopped at the gate and did not enter. I noticed the signs of hatred [for that] on his face! I said, "O Allāh's Apostle! I turn to Allāh and His Apostle in repentance! What sin have I committed?" He said, "What about this cushion?" I said, "I bought it for you to sit on and recline on." Allāh's Apostle said, "The makers of these pictures will be punished on the Day of Judgment and it will be said to them, 'Make alive what you have created.'" He added, "Angels do not enter a house in which there are pictures."[5147]

5141. Sunan Ibn Mājah #1900. Similarly, Musnad Ḥanbal #15246, #16758.
5142. Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #7.62.163. Similarly, Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #7.62.118.
5143. Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #8.73.151.
5144. Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #8.73.130.
5145. Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #7.72.836.
5146. Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #7.72.837.
5147. Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #7.72.844.

Comments

These are just a few examples of Sunnī traditions invented to portray the Messenger of Allāh (ص) as one involved in the pleasures of this worldly life. We have proved, by the use of prime Sunnī sources, that it would have been impossible and unlawful for the Messenger of Allāh (ص) to perform the acts that he is alleged of. These traditions turned the Messenger of Allāh (ص), the pure holy man sent to guide humanity by his pious example, into one who wasted his time with music, who played carelessly with dolls, and who allowed created figures into his house. The Messenger of Allāh (ص) is even reduced to one needing moral guidance from Abū Bakr and ʿUmar. It is clear that the prophet described by these traditions had some similarities to the Umayyad and ʿAbbāsīd caliphs.

The Claim that the Prophet (ص) was Bewitched

Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī includes six traditions and Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim includes two traditions, all from ʿĀʾishah, claiming that the Prophet (ص) was bewitched. The story is as follows:

> A man called Labīd ibn Aʿṣam from the tribe of Banū Zurayq worked magic on Allāh's Apostle so that he began to think that he had had sexual relations with his wives while he actually had not. One day he invoked [Allāh] for a long period and then said, "I feel that Allāh has inspired me as to how to cure myself. Two persons came to me [in my dream] and sat, one by my head and the other by my feet. One of them asked the other, 'What is the ailment of this man?' The other replied, 'He has been bewitched.' The first asked, 'Who has bewitched him?' The other replied, 'Labīd ibn Aʿṣam, a man from the Banū Zurayq who was an ally of the Jews and who was a hypocrite.' The first one asked, 'What material has he used?' The other replied, 'A comb [with] the hair gathered on it, and the outer skin of the pollen of the male date-palm.' The first asked, 'Where is that?' The other replied, 'It is in the well of Dharwān.'" So, the Prophet went out towards the well and then returned and said to me upon his return, "By Allāh, the water of that well was [red] like the infusion of henna leaves, and its date-palms were like the heads of the devils." I asked, "Did you take out those things with which the magic was worked?" He said, "No, for I have been cured by Allāh, and I am afraid that this action may spread evil amongst the people." Later on, the well was filled up with earth.[5148]

According to these traditions, the Messenger of Allāh (ص) lost his mind totally and was not immune to being bewitched by his enemies. Accordingly, he might have been bewitched at Ghadīr Khumm as well! And ʿUmar may have been right to suggest he was delirious when asking for pen and paper at his deathbed. And he might have been bewitched at every time in which he praised ʿAlī (ع) and cursed Muʿāwīyah. Thus, there is no telling whether what he said was due to Allāh's inspiration or his being bewitched. Moreover, if ʿAlī (ع) was of the Prophet (ص) and the Prophet (ص) was of ʿAlī (ع), then ʿAlī (ع) must have been bewitched as well. Of course, this is utter nonsense, as the Qurʾān says, "By the pen and that which they record, you, by your Lord's favor, are no madman!"[5149] Furthermore, the Qurʾān could not order us to always obey the Prophet (ص) if he could be bewitched.

[5148] This is a composite based on the accounts in Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #4.54.490, #7.71.658, #7.71.660-1, #8.73.89, #8.75.400, and Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #26.5428-9.

[5149] Qurʾān 68:2.

The Claim that the Prophet (ص) Sinned Before Islām

According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī,

> Allāh's Apostle said that he met Zayd ibn ʿAmr ibn Nufayl at a place near Baldaḥ before Allāh's Apostle received the divine inspiration. Allāh's Apostle presented a dish of meat [that had been offered to him by the pagans] to Zayd ibn ʿAmr, but Zayd refused to eat of it and then said [to the pagans], "I do not eat of what you slaughter on your stone altars, nor do I eat except that on which Allāh's name has been mentioned on slaughtering."[5150]

As one can see, the Messenger of Allāh (ص) is alleged to have eaten of what had been sacrificed to the idols, while his companion refused to do so, seeing that such an act is naturally repulsive. Although this tradition claims that this occurred before the prohibition of such meats, such traditions nevertheless portray the Prophet (ص) and his companions in a similar religious situation before Islām. As such, Muḥammad (ص), Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, ʿUthmān, and Muʿāwīyah were all the same, except that Muḥammad (ص) happened to be selected as a messenger. In contrast, the Shīʿah believe that the Messenger of Allāh (ص) was pure from all sin throughout his life, both before and after the proclamation of his prophetic mission.

The Claim that the Prophet (ص) Would Hand Out Fire with His Judgments

According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī,

> Allāh's Apostle said, "I am only a human being. If you come to me with your cases [for judgment], it may be that one of you can present his case eloquently in a more convincing way than the other, and I [would therefore] give my verdict according to what I hear. So if ever I judge [by error] and give the right of a brother to his other [brother], then [the latter] should not take it, for I am giving him only a piece of fire."[5151]

This clearly absolves all the caliphs of their erroneous judgments and also absolves them of following the judgments of the Messenger of Allāh (ص). Moreover, since the Prophet (ص) judged that the imāmate and caliphate must belong to ʿAlī (ع), he could have been wrong in doing so and therefore be handing out the fire, particularly since ʿAlī (ع) was more eloquent than the other companions.

The Claim that the Curse of the Prophet (ص) was a Blessing

According to Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim,

> ʿĀʾishah reported: Two people visited the Messenger of Allāh and both of them talked about a thing of which I am not aware but that annoyed him, and he invoked a curse upon both of them and hurled malediction, and when they left, I said, "Allāh's Messenger, the good would reach everyone but it would not reach these two?" He said, "Why so?" I said, "Because you have invoked a curse and hurled malediction upon both of them." He said, "Don't you know that I have

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[5150] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #7.67.407.

[5151] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #9.89.281, #3.43.638.

> made condition with my Lord, saying, 'O Allāh, I am a human being and that for a Muslim upon whom I invoke a curse or hurl a malediction, make it a source of purity and reward.'"[5152]

According to this tradition, the Messenger of Allāh (ص) would just talk foolishly and curse a person who deserved not to be cursed, and ʿĀʾishah had to point out to him the impropriety of his act. He then stated that he had asked Allāh to turn his curses into blessings for the accursed. Traditions like this are numerous in Sunnī sources. According to Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, the Messenger of Allāh (ص) even cursed an orphan, but said that she need not worry because his curse was just a blessing in disguise![5153] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim includes thirteen such these traditions in which the Prophet (ص) said that his curse was a source of blessing. In another example, the Prophet (ص) said, "O Allāh, I am a human being, so for any person amongst the Muslims upon whom I hurl a malediction or invoke a curse or give a whipping, make it a source of purity and mercy."[5154] Indeed, being cursed by the Prophet (ص) was such a blessing that, according to the traditions of Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, the Prophet's (ص) curses were sources of purity, purification, reward, mercy, expiation of sins, and closeness to Allāh on the Day of Judgment.[5155]

In Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, these traditions appear in a chapter entitled, "He upon whom Allāh's Apostle invoked a curse whereas he in fact did not deserve it, it would be a source of reward and mercy for him," and, rather ironically, this chapter is found in the "Book of virtue and good manners."[5156] After citing thirteen such traditions, Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim cites two more traditions that show the entire purpose of why the other thirteen traditions had to be invented:

> Ibn ʿAbbās reported: I was playing with the children when Allāh's Messenger happened to pass by. I hid myself behind the door. He came and patted my shoulders and said, "Go and call Muʿāwīyah." I returned and said, "He is busy eating food." He again asked me to go and call Muʿāwīyah to him. I went [and came back] and said that he was busy eating food, whereupon he said, "May Allāh not (i.e. never) fill his belly!"[5157]

In the subsequent tradition, Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim has related the same event with a slight variation of wording.[5158] Because the Prophet (ص) had cursed Muʿāwīyah never to feel fullness of appetite, Muʿāwīyah spent his entire life in hunger, devouring voraciously by day and night. Indeed, this was not the only curse the Prophet (ص) invoked on him. According to Ṭabarī,

> There is the statement of the Messenger when he saw Abū Sufyān coming upon a donkey, with Muʿāwīyah and his son Yazīd [ibn Abī Sufyān] driving it: "May Allāh curse the leader, the rider, and the driver!"[5159]

This tradition has also been cited by Balādhurī,[5160] as well as Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd,[5161] who said, "[This tradition] has been related by the trustworthy [narrators of tradition]."[5162]

[5152] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #32.6285.
[5153] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #32.6297.
[5154] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #32.6287.
[5155] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #32.6285-6297.
[5156] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, book 32, chapter 23.
[5157] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #32.6298.
[5158] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #32.6299.
[5159] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 38:53.
[5160] Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:121.

Indeed, Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī (ع) brought forth this tradition in the presence of Muʿāwīyah,[5163] thereby publicly humiliating the newly-empowered caliph. As such, it became necessary to turn these as well as other curses the Prophet (ص) had invoked on Muʿāwīyah[5164] into blessings for him in this world and in the hereafter. Not surprisingly, there were hypocrites lined up to invent these traditions in order to please Muʿāwīyah. Apparently, Muʿāwīyah and his family, whom the Qurʾān calls the "accursed tree in the Qurʾān,"[5165] can take pride in having been cursed by the Messenger of Allāh (ص). They are blessed and relieved of their weighty sins, and they are even brought closer to Allāh by his curses in a way that ʿAlī (ع), who has not been cursed by the Prophet (ص), was not. These traditions clearly contradict the Qurʾān, as it makes the Messenger of Allāh (ص) appear like an uncontrolled lunatic, cursing away as he wished by his whims. It is as if the Qurʾān never said, "He does not speak from some whim; it is merely revelation revealed [to him],"[5166] and that, "You [O Prophet] have been formed with a tremendous character."[5167]

Cursing in Islām

Sunnī and Shīʿah traditions are amply clear that cursing a Muslim is a grievous sin. As such, it would be impossible for the Messenger of Allāh (ص), as a pious believer, to have committed such acts. The following are just a few traditions in this regards:

1. According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī and Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, the Prophet (ص) said, "Cursing a Muslim is an evil act (fisq), while warring him is disbelief."[5168]

2. According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, the Prophet (ص) said, "Cursing a believer is like murdering him."[5169]

3. According to Abū Dāwūd, the Prophet (ص) said, "Those who curse are neither intercessors nor witnesses [on the Day of Judgment]."[5170] Since the traditions stating that the Prophet (ص) will be an intercessor on the Day of Judgment are mutawātir,[5171] he must not have been one to curse.

4. According to Abū Dāwūd, the wind snatched away a man's cloak during the time of the Prophet (ص) and the man cursed it. The Prophet (ص) said, "Do not curse it, for it is under command, and if anyone curses a thing undeservedly, the curse will return to him."[5172]

5. According to Abū Dāwūd, someone stole something from ʿĀʾishah and she began to curse the thief. The Prophet (ص) said to her, "Do not lessen his sin."[5173]

[5161] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 6:289, 15:175, 15:289.
[5162] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 15:175.
[5163] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 6:289.
[5164] Refer to chapter 83 for other curses the Prophet (ص) invoked on Muʿāwīyah.
[5165] Qurʾān 17:60. Refer to chapter 63 for a discussion of this verse.
[5166] Qurʾān 53:3-4.
[5167] Qurʾān 68:4.
[5168] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #1.2.46, #8.73.70, #9.88.197; Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #1.122.
[5169] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #8.73.126.
[5170] Sunan Abū Dāwūd #4907.
[5171] Refer to chapter 11.
[5172] Sunan Abū Dāwūd #4908.
[5173] Sunan Abū Dāwūd #4909.

Traditions like these are numerous. The following traditions from Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī explicitly show that the Messenger of Allāh (ص) would never curse someone undeservedly:

1. Narrated Anas ibn Mālik: The Prophet was not one who would abuse [others], say obscene words, or curse [others undeservedly]; if he wanted to admonish any of us, he would say, "What is wrong with him, his forehead be dusted!"[5174]

2. ʹAbd Allāh ibn ʹAmr said: The Messenger of Allāh was neither one who used foul words (fāḥish) nor foul-mouthed (mutafaḥḥish). The Messenger of Allāh said, "The best among you are those who have the best manners and characters."[5175]

3. Anas ibn Mālik said, "The Prophet was not one who would abuse [others], say obscene words, or curse."[5176]

4. The Jews came to the Prophet and said, "Al-Sāmu ʹAlaykum (death be on you)." ʹĀʾishah said [to them], "[Death] be on you, and may Allāh curse you and shower His wrath upon you!" The Prophet said, "Be calm, O ʹĀʾishah! You should be kind and lenient and beware of harshness and bad words (fuḥsh)." She said, "Haven't you heard what they have said?" He said, "Haven't you heard what I have said? I said the same to them [privately, to Allāh], and my invocation against them will be accepted, while theirs against me will be rejected."[5177]

5. Narrated ʹĀʾishah: A man asked permission to enter upon the Prophet. When the Prophet saw him, [the man] said, "What an evil brother of his tribe! And what an evil son of his tribe!" When the man sat down, the Prophet behaved with him in a nice and polite manner and was completely at ease with him. When that person left, ʹĀʾishah said, "O Messenger of Allāh! When you saw that man, you said such-and-such about him, then you showed him kind and polite behavior and you enjoyed his company!" Allāh's Apostle said, "O ʹĀʾishah! Have you ever seen me speaking with bad and dirty language? [Remember that] the worst people in Allāh's sight on the Day of Judgment will be those whom the people leave [undisturbed] to be away from their evil deeds."[5178]

As such, the Prophet (ص) would have never cursed anyone undeservedly, idly, or rudely, and his curses were all cast indirectly and generally or in the absence of the accursed and in the presence of his companions so that they would know that the individuals in question—be they Muʹāwīyah, Ḥakam ibn Abī al-ʹĀṣ, or those who abandoned the army of Usāmah—were accursed.

Verses Proving that the Prophet (ص) Would Never Curse Someone Undeservedly

Even clearer proof for the baselessness of the traditions indicating that the Prophet (ص) cursed undeserving individuals is the following verses of the Qurʾān:

5174. Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #8.73.58.
5175. Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #8.73.56.
5176. Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #8.73.58.
5177. Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #8.73.57.
5178. Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #8.73.59o.

1. "By the pen and whatever it records, you, by your Lord's favor, are no madman! ...You have been formed with a tremendous character."[5179]

2. "A messenger has come to you from amongst yourselves. He takes seriously what you grieve, is anxious about you, [and is] compassionate [and] merciful towards the believers."[5180]

3. "By the star as it sets, your companion has neither strayed nor is he misguided. He does not speak from some whim; it is merely revelation revealed [to him]."[5181]

4. "It is by the mercy of Allāh that you deal with them kindly. Had you been harsh and cruel-hearted, they would have dispersed from around you."[5182]

Traditions that Weaken Our View of the Prophet's (ص) Personality

The Claim that the Prophet (ص) Would Forget Parts of His Prayers

According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī and Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, Abū Hurayrah said,

> Allāh's Messenger led us in one of the two nighttime prayers. He prayed two rakʿahs and then finished the prayer with taslīm. He stood up near a piece of wood lying across the mosque and leaned on it as if he was angry. Then he put his right hand over the left and clasped his hands by interlacing his fingers and then put his right cheek on the back of his left hand. The people who were in haste left the mosque through its gates. They wondered whether the prayer had been reduced [in length]. And amongst them were Abū Bakr and ʿUmar, but they hesitated to ask the Prophet. A long-handed man called Dhū al-Yadayn asked the Prophet, "O Allāh's Messenger! Have you forgotten, or has the prayer been reduced?" The Prophet replied, "I have neither forgotten nor has the prayer been reduced." The Prophet added, "Is what Dhū al-Yadayn said true?" [The people] said, "Yes, it is true." The Prophet stood up again and led the prayer, completing the remaining prayer forgotten by him, and performing taslīm, and then said, "Allāhu Akbar (Allāh is greater)." And then he did a prostration as he used to prostrate or longer than that. He then raised his head saying, "Allāhu Akbar," and prostrated as he used to prostrate or longer than that. Then he raised his head and said, "Allāhu Akbar."[5183]

As is typical of invented traditions, Abū Bakr and ʿUmar are always somehow present and mentioned as having been involved in a good way, here in their role as the individuals who would normally correct the Prophet's (ص) errors. However, this tradition is clearly a forgery. It is impossible for Abū Hurayrah to recall the details of the incident, when he could not have possibly been present there. Dhū al-Yadayn was martyred in the Battle of Badr,[5184] while Abū Hurayrah accepted Islām and moved to Madīnah at the time of the Battle of Khaybar, which was several years later.[5185] It would have therefore been impossible for Abū Hurayrah to have been in the mosque with Dhū al-Yadayn at the same time. Yet, traditions similar to this are numerous in Sunnī works of tradition,[5186] which claim that the Prophet (ص) was repetitively corrected by his companions for his errors during prayer. It's not hard to imagine that when the caliphs and their governors erred, those around them would invent traditions stating that the Prophet (ص) did so as well. These traditions would also excuse ʻUmar for his blatant omissions during his prayers.[5187]

[5179] Qurʾān 68:1-4.

[5180] Qurʾān 9:128.

[5181] Qurʾān 53:1-4.

[5182] Qurʾān 3:159.

[5183] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #1.8.469; Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #4.1182-3.

[5184] Istīʿāb 2:56 #725 (Dhū al-Yadayn).

[5185] Istīʿāb 4:334 #3241 (Abū Hurayrah). Refer to chapter 77.

The Claim that the Prophet (ص) Forgot that He was Sexually Impure (Junub)

A similar allegation is that the Messenger of Allāh (ص) forgot to perform a ritual bathing (ghusl), remembering it right when he was about to lead the people in prayer. According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, Abū Hurayrah said,

> Once, the second call for the prayer (iqāmah) was announced and the rows were straightened. Allāh's Apostle came out, and when he stood up at his place for prayer, he remembered that he was junub (sexually impure). Then he ordered us to stay at our places and went to take a bath and then returned with water dripping from his head. He said, "Allāhu Akbar!" and we all offered the prayer with him."[5188]

Such traditions make the Messenger of Allāh (ص) appear forgetful. In the presence of traditions like these, no Muslim could complain about why ʻUmar forgot to recite anything from the Qurʾān during his prayer,[5189] why Walīd ibn ʻUqbah performed four instead of two rakʻahs,[5190] or why Muʻāwīyah called for Friday prayers on a Wednesday,[5191] for these acts were comparable to what was being attributed to the Messenger of Allāh. In fact, Sunnī traditions claim that Muʻāwīyah and other companions should be allowed to do as they pleased. According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, when Ibn ʻAbbās was told of Muʻāwīyah praying one rakʻah of recommended late night prayers, he said, "Leave him, for he was in the company of Allāh's Apostle."[5192] Indeed, the traditions have gone further, claiming that Muʻāwīyah, as a faqīh (learned scholar of jurisprudence), could change the Prophet's (ص) Sunnah at will. According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī,

> Narrated Ibn Abī Mulaykah: Somebody said to Ibn ʻAbbās, "Can you speak to the Commander of the Faithful Muʻāwīyah, as he does not pray witr[5193] except as one rakʻah?" Ibn ʻAbbās replied, "He is a faqīh (i.e. a learned man who can give religious verdicts)."[5194]

The Claim that the Prophet (ص) was Illiterate

There is consensus that no one taught the Prophet (ص) to read or write. Yet, some take this to imply that he was illiterate and, as proof, they cite the verses that refer to him as

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5186. For example, Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #4.1168-1188.
5187. Refer to chapter 57.
5188. Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #1.5.274, #1.11.612.
5189. Refer to chapter 57.
5190. Refer to chapter 64.
5191. Refer to chapter 84.
5192. Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.57.108.
5193. The word witr as used here refers to the totality of the nighttime recommended prayers, which include a total of eleven rakʻahs (Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #2.21.248, #3.32.230, #4.56.769). According to Shīʻah books of jurisprudence, what is specifically referred to as the "witr" prayer is one rakʻah, but in addition to the other recommended nighttime prayers forms a total of eleven rakʻahs.
5194. Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.57.109.

"ummī,"[5195] claiming that the word ummī means illiterate. The argument is that the word umm means mother, and therefore ummī refers to one who stayed home instead of getting an education and who therefore remained illiterate. Although the word ummī can be used to mean illiterate, to claim that ummī can only mean illiterate or that the word as used to describe the Prophet (ص) in the Qur`ān is in the sense of his being illiterate is absurd because the word ummī is rather clearly defined in the Qur`ān as one who is from Umm al-Qurā (i.e. Mecca).

The Qur`ān says, "And your Lord would not destroy a population until He raises up in its mother-town (umm) a messenger reciting unto them Our revelations."[5196] As such, Allāh selects prophets from among the residents of a nation's mother-city (umm). Indeed, Mecca is specifically referred to in the Qur`ān as "Umm al-Qurā," or "the mother city."[5197] This definition has to be kept in mind in the following verse: "It is He Who has sent amongst the ummīs (Meccans) a messenger from amongst themselves."[5198] To claim that ummī here means illiterate is both unnecessary and incorrect. When the Qur`ān says that prophets are selected from the umm (mother-town), it is not clear why some assert that umm in this latter verse must refer to the illiterate.

In fact, the Qur`ān is even more explicit that ummī does not necessarily refer to the illiterate where it says, "And say to the People of the Book and to the ummīs, 'Do you submit yourselves [to Islām]?'"[5199] This is a reference to the proclamation of Islām to the Jews and Christians in Arabia, as well as those who follow Mecca as their mother-city—that is, the non-Jewish and non-Christian Arabs, who were overwhelmingly pagan. Literacy had nothing to do with the classification of the inhabitants of Arabia as Jewish, Christian, and ummī here. The following verse is even more explicit in proving that ummī in the Qur`ān does not necessarily mean illiterate:

> Among the People of the Book are some who, if entrusted with a hoard of gold, would [readily] pay it back; [and] others, who, if entrusted with a single dīnār, would not repay it unless you constantly stand demanding, because they say, "There is no duty for us [with respect to the rights of] the ummīs."[5200]

Anyone with common sense would conclude from this verse that the word ummī is not being used in the sense of illiterate. The reason the Christians and Jews would not uphold the rights of the ummīs was not because of their inability to read and write, but rather because of their belonging to another nation, the ummī nation that followed Mecca as its center of worship. As such, some Jews only upheld the property rights of the Jews and some Christians only upheld the property rights of the Christians, denying the rights of those not among their respective nations. Indeed, there were illiterate ones among the Jews and Christians, and their illiteracy would not have been reason enough for the Jews and Christians to usurp their entrusted property. The existence of illiterate Jews is supported by the one verse of the Qur`ān in which the word ummī may actually be used in the sense of illiterate: "And there are among them (the Jews) ummī ones who know nothing of the Book but their own desires; they [follow] nothing but conjecture."[5201] Assuming the word ummī here means illiterate as opposed to the pagan Arabs or hypocrites who had allied themselves to the Jews or the pagans who had converted to Judaism, it would show that illiterate ones existed among the Jews. Therefore, when the Jews said, "There is no duty for us [with respect to the rights of] the ummīs,"[5202] the word ummī could not be interpreted in the sense of illiterate, as the Jews would respect the property rights of the illiterate Jews who did actually exist among them. As such, ummī is used to describe non-Jewish, non-Christian Arabs.

[5195] Qur`ān 7:157, 7:158.
[5196] Qur`ān 28:59.
[5197] Qur`ān 6:92, 42:7.
[5198] Qur`ān 62:2.
[5199] Qur`ān 3:20.
[5200] Qur`ān 3:75.
[5201] Qur`ān 2:78.

It is, in fact, obvious that the Prophet (ص) was literate because ʿAlī (ع) learned everything he knew from him, and ʿAlī (ع) was literate enough to serve as the Prophet's (ص) scribe during the Peace of Ḥudaybīyyah.[5203] Even more obvious proof of the Prophet's (ص) ability to read is the first verse of the Qur`ān that was revealed to him: "Read in the name of your Lord Who created!"[5204] It would have been impossible for Allāh to order the Prophet (ص) to read if he could not, as the Qur`ān says, "No burden do We place on any soul, but that which it can bear."[5205] To demand an illiterate person to read something would constitute ordering them to perform the unperformable, and would therefore amount to placing an unbearable burden on him. Therefore, the Prophet's (ص) ability to read had to either predate or coincide with the revelation of this verse.

While the Sunnīs belittle the Prophet (ص) as an illiterate man, the Shīʿah traditions clearly state that, as the guide for all mankind, he could speak, read, and write in every language. The following is an example of a Shīʿah tradition in this regards:

> Someone asked Imām Muḥammad al-Taqī (the ninth imām) (ع) why the Prophet (ص) was called ummī. He asked, "What do the Sunnīs say?" He was told, "They say that it was because he could not write." He said, "They lie! May the curse of Allāh be upon them! By Allāh, he could read and write in seventy-three languages! Rather, Allāh called him ummī because he was from Mecca and one of the names of Mecca is Umm al-Qurā."[5206]

Amazingly, Suyūṭī has claimed that "[ʿAbd Allāh] ibn Zubayr had one hundred slaves, with each one of his slaves speaking a different tongue, and Ibn Zubayr would speak with each of them in his own tongue."[5207] While the Prophet (ص) is claimed to have been illiterate in the one single language he did know, Ibn Zubayr is claimed to have known one hundred languages!

Traditions Regarding the Impurity of the Forefathers of the Messenger of Allāh (ص)

One of the qualities that separated the Messenger of Allāh (ص) from the bulk of the companions was that his ancestors, from ʿAbd Allāh to Adam (ع), were all believers in the unity of Allāh, with his immediate forefathers following the Unitarian Abrahamic tradition.[5208] Indeed, the same is true of Imām ʿAlī (ع), as Abū Ṭālib, according to the Shīʿah, was also a believer his entire life. At the same time, Abū Sufyān, the father of Muʿāwīyah, was among those most loyal to the pagan idols, and he steadfastly remained the greatest enemy of Islām until Mecca was conquered, at which time he had no choice but to accept Islām. As such, the Sufyānīd caliphs wanted to show that the forefathers of the Messenger of Allāh (ص) were also disbelievers, both in order to make the Messenger of Allāh (ص) appear to be an ordinary person, as well as to make their illegitimate caliphs no different from the Prophet (ص) and ʿAlī (ع) in terms of lineage. Indeed, the constant advancement of the claim that Abū Ṭālib died a disbeliever was for the express purpose of making it appear that the Umayyad and ʿAbbāsīd caliphs were of better descent than ʿAlī (ع) and his pure progeny, who were portrayed as the descendants of an unrepentant pagan.[5209] To this day, the majority of Sunnīs believe that the Prophet (ص) descended from filthy pagans. However, as we have discussed previously, there are a number of traditions that indicate otherwise, perhaps the most famous of which is the Prophet's (ص) saying, "We descended from pure loins to clean wombs."[5210]

[5202] Qur`ān 3:75.
[5203] Refer to chapter 19.
[5204] Qur`ān 96:1.
[5205] Qur`ān 6:152, 7:42, 23:62, 65:7.
[5206] Ḥaqq al-Yaqīn 34.
[5207] Tārīkh al-Khulafā` 189.
[5208] The followers of the customs of Abraham (ع) were referred to as Ḥanīf (Mufradāt al-Qur`ān 133, ḥ-n-f, ḥanīf), and the Qur`ān, accordingly, refers to Abraham (ع) as a "Muslim Ḥanīf" (Qur`ān 3:67).

The Claim that Other Prophets Committed Sins

One topic of disagreement among the Sunnīs is whether or not all prophets were immune to sin, and if they were, whether their immunity was limited to the delivery of their prophetic messages or was all-encompassing, and whether or not their immunity predated their prophetic missions. Opinions range widely from the view that prophets may have been selected from among the disbelievers and may have continued to sin throughout their prophetic missions, to the belief that the prophets were all believers who were immune from sin from birth. In recent times, the Wahhābīs have engaged in intense propaganda to belittle the character of the Prophet (ص) as well as the prophets before him. Part of their tools is the misrepresentation of verses of the Qurʾān that, when taken out of context, suggest that the prophets sinned. An examination of such verses in their proper Qurʾānic contexts, however, proves otherwise.

The Prophet Adam (ع)

On the surface, the story of Adam (ع) eating from the tree appears to be about him committing the sinful act of eating something that was forbidden. However, it is clear that it was not a sin for a number of reasons. First, a sin is not possible in garden. Second, no divine law (sharīʿah) had yet been revealed prior to the relegation of Adam (ع) to earth, so violating the law was not possible. In the absence of divine laws of conduct, any prohibition by Allāh would simply be in the form of recommendations.

Third, the Qurʾān makes it clear that Allāh did not tell Adam (ع) that eating from the tree was a sin, but rather that it would make him lose certain privileges and benefits.[5211] The Qurʾān says, "O Adam! You and your wife shall dwell in the garden and enjoy [it] as you wish, but do not approach this tree, thereby being among the oppressors."[5212] Yet, the nature of this oppression is further clarified in the verse that says, "O Adam! Verily, [Satan] is an enemy to you and your wife, so let him not get you both out of the garden, so that you would lose."[5213] Clearly, the reason not to eat from the tree was to avoid loss. Theoretically, the loss could either be the loss caused by sin or the loss of a benefit. Yet, the subsequent two verses explain exactly what the loss would be: "In the [garden], you go neither hungry nor naked; you suffer neither from thirst nor from the sun's

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[5209] Refer to chapter 5 for a discussion of the belief of Abū Ṭālib.

[5210] Refer to chapter 5 for references for this tradition and a discussion of this topic.

[5211] Refer to Tafsīr al-Mīzān of the Shīʿah scholar ʿAllāmah Ṭabāṭabāʾī, verse 2:35-39 for a more detailed dicsussion of this topic.

[5212] Qurʾān 7:19.

[5213] Qurʾān 20:117.

[excess] heat."[5214] It is therefore clear that the loss would be a loss of the benefits of the garden that would follow eating from the tree. In fact, the Qur`ān summarizes the loss as follows: "Then did Satan make them slip from the [garden] and get them out of the state [of felicity] in which they had been."[5215] Clearly, the loss was the loss of the garden, not the loss that accompanies the accumulation of sin.

As such, Allāh's command to Adam (ع) can be summarized as, "Do not eat from this tree, lest you lose the benefits of life in the garden." Therefore, Adam's (ع) eating from the tree was not a sin, but rather a loss of benefit. This is similar to someone saying, "Do not eat this food, otherwise you would get a stomach ache." If one were to eat it and get a severe stomach ache, one would not have sinned in the process, but might be full of remorse as a result of the stomach upset. Similarly, if one says, "Take a jacket so that you do not get cold," and the person does not listen and suffers as a result of the intensity of the cold, no sin has been committed; the person merely suffers the uncomfortable consequences of their decision.

Fourth, the Qur`ān makes it clear that Adam (ع) did not repent from sin but rather from the apparent ill effects of his decision. Upon realizing the consequences of what he had done, Adam (ع) repented in earnest, and was forgiven. Yet, his being forgiven did not return him to the garden. The Qur`ān says, "Then Adam learned words of inspiration from his Lord, and his Lord [accepted] his repentance, for He is oft-forgiving, most merciful. We said, 'You all get down from here (i.e. leave the garden for earth)!'"[5216] Had Adam (ع) committed a sin and had his repentance from this sin been accepted, he would have remained in the garden, as an accepted repentance erases a sin and its effects vis-à-vis Allāh in their entirety. Yet, he was still cast from the garden onto earth. This shows that Adam's (ع) repentance was not from a sin but from a decision as the result of which he suffered ill effects. Allāh forgave him for choosing the less preferable of two choices, but Adam (ع) and his offspring were left with the consequences of his decision.

Another issue raised by the story of Adam (ع) is that Satan can approach and converse with prophets, and can induce them to lose a benefit. However, he is unable to make them sin due to the immunity of the prophets from being led astray by Satan. According to Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, the Prophet (ص) said, "My Lord has helped me against [the devil], and as such I am absolutely safe from his mischief."[5217] Indeed, the Qur`ān is clear that Satan cannot make prophets sin because Satan said, "I will lead them all astray except for Your sincere servants among them."[5218] Since prophets, by Muslim consensus, are among the sincere servants of Allāh, they cannot be led astray by Satan.

The Prophet Moses (ع)

According to the Qur`ān,

> And [Moses] entered the city at a time when its people were not watching, and he found there two men fighting, one from among his Shī´ah, and the other from among his foes. Now the man from his Shī´ah appealed to him against his foe, and Moses struck him with his fist and made an end of him. He said, "This

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[5214] Qur`ān 20:118-9.
[5215] Qur`ān 2:36.
[5216] Qur`ān 2:37-8.
[5217] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #39.6759.
[5218] Qur`ān 15:39-40.

> is a work of Satan, for he is an enemy that manifestly misleads!" He prayed, "O my Lord! I have indeed oppressed my own self! Do You then forgive me?" So [Allāh] forgave him, for He is the oft-forgiving, most merciful. He said, "O my Lord! Since You have bestowed Your grace upon me, I will never be a helper to those who commit crimes!"[5219]

This is another example of a prophet performing an act that was not sinful in and of itself, but rather one that caused him to lose a worldly privilege. Moses (ع) found two men fighting, and he fought off the disbeliever, accidentally killing him in the process. This was clearly not sinful, as he was acting in defense, defending a believer from the attack of a disbeliever. Yet, his act was a result of the work of Satan, for it was Satan who caused the other two men to fight in the first place, and this work of Satan caused Moses (ع) much trouble in this world, as he became labeled a murderer by the illegitimate authorities who considered him a criminal, even though he was clearly not. Moses (ع) lamented his act because of this worldly loss, and said, "I have indeed oppressed my own self." This is not the oppression of sin, but rather the oppression of worldly loss, as Satan had created a situation that made him lose some of his benefits in the illegitimate society in which he lived. As such, he sought Allāh's forgiveness not out of repentance for sin, but out of confirmation of the fact that only Allāh could save him from such a situation. Not surprisingly, Allāh's forgiveness did not erase his worldly loss, as he still had lingering concern about the fact that worldly authorities had labeled him a murderer. As such he said, "They have a charge of crime against me, and I fear that they will kill me."[5220]

The Prophet Jonah (ع)

The story of Jonah (ع) is that he was sent as a prophet to a town that rejected him. He then promised them the punishment of Allāh, but when the people saw the punishment coming, they accepted Islām at the last minute. In this regards, the Qur`ān says, "Had there only been a community that believed and profited by its belief as did the people of Jonah! When they believed, We drew off from them the torment of disgrace in the life of the world, and gave them comfort for a while."[5221] Jonah (ع) was so embarrassed by the fact that the punishment he had promised did not materialize that he left town. The Qur`ān says in this regards, "And Dhū al-Nūn (the possessor of the fish, Jonah), when he went away in wrath, thought that We would not overpower him."[5222] He then embarked on a ship which got stuck at sea, and they cast lots to cast off one of the occupants. The lot fell to his name and he was cast from the boat to the belly of a fish. According to the Qur`ān, "But he [then] cried through the depths of darkness, 'There is no god but You! Glory to You! I was indeed wrong!' So We listened to him and delivered him from distress. Thus do We deliver the believers."[5223] He was then cast ashore and sent as a messenger to a group numbering over one hundred thousand. The Qur`ān says,

> And Jonah was most surely among the messengers. When he ran away to the [fully] laden ship, he [agreed to] cast lots, but was cast off. Then the big fish did swallow him, and he had done acts for which he blamed himself. But had it not been that he was among those who glorify [Us], he would have certainly remained in its belly until the Day of Judgment. Then We cast him on a naked shore in a state of sickness. And We caused a gourd tree to grow above him.

5219. Qur`ān 28:15-17.
5220. Qur`ān 26:14.
5221. Qur`ān 10:98.
5222. Qur`ān 21:87.
5223. Qur`ān 21:87-88.

> And We sent him [on a mission] to [a group of] a hundred thousand or more. And they believed, so We gave them provision till an [allotted] time.[5224]

It is clear that Jonah never sinned in these events. He chose the worse of two paths by leaving town instead of staying, but there is no law that states that a trip is a sin. He also thought that he would not suffer any ill consequences from doing so. But he suffered gravely in a worldly way, as he was cast off the ship and had to live in the darkness of a fish's belly. He asked Allāh for forgiveness for his weakness, knowing that only Allāh could save him from the effects of his inauspicious though not sinful decision. Allāh forgave him and delivered him from the fish and confirmed him as a messenger. As such, his loss was a worldly loss for choosing the less perfect of two paths, not a loss due to sin.

The Prophet Muhammad (ص)

Among the verses used to claim that the Prophet (ص) was a sinner at some point in his life are the following:

1. "Did he not find you an orphan and give you shelter? And did he not find you lost and guide you?"[5225] Being guided after being lost has been interpreted in two ways. The first is that he was physically lost as a child when he was under the care of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib and was about to die of starvation, but Allāh made sure that he would be guided back home.[5226] This physical state of being lost actually makes sense in the context of the preceding verse stating that he was physically sheltered as an orphan. The second interpretation is that without the guidance of Allāh, even the Prophet (ص) would not have been guided and would be lost. As such, nothing is guided on its own, as it is Allāh Who guides.

2. "You knew neither what the Book was nor faith."[5227] Again, this verse is clear that the Prophet (ص) did not naturally know the details of anything on his own. Rather, Allāh taught him all of the Qur`ān, all the proper beliefs, and all the laws of Islām. This is a counter to those who claimed that he invented Islām on his own, not a criticism of his having sinned.

3. "Before this you were certainly among those who did not know."[5228] This has the same meaning as the previous verse. In fact, this verse is even more explicit because the entire verse reads, "We narrate to you the best of narratives, by Our revealing to you this Qur`ān, though before this you were certainly among those who did not know."[5229] Clearly, the Prophet (ص) would not know about the narratives describing the lives of the previous prophets without being informed of them by Allāh.

Fakhr Rāzī said,

> The great majority of the scholars agree that [the Prophet (ص)] did not disbelieve in Allāh for [even] a single moment. The Muʿtazilīs say that reason

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[5224] Qur`ān 37:139-148.
[5225] Qur`ān 93:6-7.
[5226] Tafsīr Rāzī, verse 93:7.
[5227] Qur`ān 42:52.
[5228] Qur`ān 12:3.
[5229] Qur`ān 12:3.

> dictates this to be impermissible because of the disgustingness [of disbelief]. But our companions (the Ash῾arīs) hold that it is not rationally impossible for someone to be a disbeliever and for Allāh to grant them belief and ennoble them with prophecy. However, there is narrated proof that though this is permissible, it did not occur, because [Allāh], the oft-high, says, "Your companion has neither strayed nor is he misguided."[5230,5231]

It is clear that those who claim otherwise are clearly playing around with verses of the Qur`ān for some sinister aim, upholding neither the Sunnī view nor the Shī῾ah view that the Prophet (ص) was free from disbelief for the entirety of his life. Their aim is to denigrate the character of the holy Prophet (ص), debasing him to the level of ordinary people like them. Yet, the Qur`ān says, "By the star as it sets, your companion has neither strayed nor is he misguided,"[5232] and the Qur`ān told the Prophet (ص), "You have been formed with a tremendous character."[5233]

The Reason for the Attribution of Sins to the Prophets

Among the worst innovations of the Jews was their act of ascribing numerous sins and shortcomings to the prophets of Allāh. This was a useful tool for their "scholars," who thereby justified their own indiscretions, as they could not be held to a higher standard than that of the imaginary stories they had attributed to their prophets. They went as far as attributing worship of the calf to Aaron (ع), and ascribing the basest of traits and the most appalling of sins to their other prophets. Thus, when Jesus (ع) arrived and his sinlessness was obvious, confusion arose among the people, and some later concluded that his sinlessness differentiated him from the prophets before him, thereby lending credence to the later deification of Jesus (ع) by the Christian masses. The same forces that were at play among the Jews have also been at play among the Muslims. The illegitimate caliphs had to create a sense of fallibility for the prophets in order to justify their own fallibility, and therefore their devoted "scholars" went to every length imaginable to denigrate the Prophet (ص) along with all the prophets before him. Yet, it is evident that all prophets and imāms are completely righteous and absolutely sinless.

5230. Qur`ān 53:2.
5231. Tafsir Rāzī, verse 93:7.
5232. Qur`ān 53:1-2.
5233. Qur`ān 68:4.

Chapter 76
The Invention of Traditions Denigrating the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) and Glorifying Abū Bakr, ʻUmar, ʻUthmān, and Other Companions

Muʻāwīyah's Plan for Traditions Regarding ʻAlī (ع) and the Other Companions

Muʻāwīyah's plan in regards to traditions about ʻAlī (ع) and other companions is described by the following account cited by Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd:

> Muʻāwīyah sent [the following] letter to his administrators after the Year of Consensus[5234]: "I renounce all obligations towards anyone who relates anything about Abū Turāb (ʻAlī) and his Ahl al-Bayt." [Thereafter], the preachers in every land and on every pulpit would curse ʻAlī and renounce him and his Ahl al-Bayt. The most afflicted of people at this time were the people of Kūfah because of the large number of the Shīʻah of ʻAlī they had amongst them. Zīyād ibn Sumayyah was selected to be their ruler, and Baṣrah was added to his territory. He tracked the Shīʻah, as he knew them well because he used to be among them during the time of ʻAlī. He killed them everywhere, threatened them, cut off [their] hands and feet, gouged out their eyes, crucified them on the trunks of palm trees, expelled them, and forced them to flee from Iraq until none of the prominent ones among them remained.
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> [Then] Muʻāwīyah wrote to his administrators in all the lands: "Do not accept as a witness any of the Shīʻah of ʻAlī or his family members." He also wrote them, "If you see any of the followers of ʻUthmān, those who love him, his devotees, or those who relate his good qualities and character, get to know them, get close to them, praise them, and write to me everything that any of them relates along with his name, the name of his father, and his lineage."
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> They did this until accounts of the good qualities of ʻUthmān became numerous. In return, Muʻāwīyah granted the Arabs and non-Arabs among them endowments, garments, gifts, and land for relating such traditions. The [invention of flattering traditions regarding ʻUthmān] increased in every town, as the people became greedy for the status of this life. No one who went to the governors of Muʻāwīyah relating a noble quality for ʻUthmān would be denied a prize. His name would be recorded, and he would become closer [to the ruling circle]. Indeed, his intercession for others would be accepted. It went on as such for a while.
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> Then Muʻāwīyah wrote to his administrators: "Traditions about ʻUthmān have become numerous and have spread to every town and every land. When this

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[5234] The Year of Consensus refers to the year in which Muʻāwīyah took over the caliphate.

letter reaches you, call upon the people to relate qualities of the companions and the first [two] caliphs. Do not leave a single tradition any Muslim relates regarding Abū Turāb without there being one regarding the companions that annuls it. This is more desirable for me, enlightens my spirit more, is better at destroying the rationales of Abū Turāb and his Shī`ah, and [provides] stronger [proofs] against them than the qualities of `Uthmān [alone]."

His letter was communicated to the people, and a great number of traditions were related in regards to the qualities of the companions that were invented, having no truth to them. The people became so intent on relating these invented traditions that they were cited on the pulpits and eventually reached the teachers of the centers of [religious] learning. They taught these traditions to children and young men with such intensity that they related them and taught them the way they taught the Qur`ān. And they related them [to the point that] they [even] taught [them to] their daughters, wives, slaves, and servants.

Mu`āwīyah then wrote a letter to [his administrators] in every lands: "Look for he who reason dictates to be a lover of `Alī and his family. Erase his name from the [public] register (dīwān), and take away his share from the treasury and his source of income." This was coupled with another letter: "Whoever is suspected of loving this group (i.e. the Ahl al-Bayt), punish them harshly and destroy their homes." The affliction was stronger nowhere than it was in Iraq, and the worst of it was [reserved for] Kūfah. It was such that when a man among the Shī`ah of `Alī would meet one he trusted, he would enter his home and then tell him his secret [of being a Shī`ah], yet fear [that] the servants and slaves [might report them]. And he would not say anything until he had extracted a serious pledge that what he said would be kept secret.

As such, many invented traditions appeared and many lies were spread. The scholars, judges, and administrators all went along this path. The worst of people in this matter were the pretentious reciters of the Qur`ān who were weak in faith. They [publicly] demonstrated religious devotion, yet they would invent traditions in order to derive benefits from the administrators, to become closer to their circles, and to gain wealth and property. [This situation continued] until these accounts and traditions [eventually] fell into the hands of religious men who did not permit lying. They accepted these and related them, thinking that they were true. Had they known that they were false, they would not have related them and would not have believed in them.

Affairs continued as such until Ḥasan ibn `Alī died. Then the scourge and tribulation increased to the point that no one remained among the [Shī`ah of `Alī] who did not fear for his blood or fear exile on earth. The situation became [even more] grave after the killing of Ḥusayn, as well as during the reign of `Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān. He was even stricter against the Shī`ah, and he assigned Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf to rule over them. The people of worship, good deeds, and religion gathered with him in the hatred of `Alī, devotion to [`Alī's] enemies, and the love of those among people who also claimed to be his enemies. So the transmission of traditions regarding their qualities, deeds, and noble characteristics increased, as did casting down `Alī, relating his shortcomings, mocking him, and loathing him, until a person went to Ḥajjāj and told him, "O Amīr (commander), my family has been undutiful to me as parents, as they have named me `Alī. I am a poor and miserable person, and I need the help of the Amīr." Ḥajjāj laughed at him and said, "By the grace of what you have resorted to, I have made you the administrator of such-and-such a place."[5235]

As it can be seen from this account, Muʿāwīyah's plan for countering the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) not only included preventing the transmission of traditions regarding their virtues and persecuting those suspected of harboring affection for the Ahl al-Bayt (ع), but also contained the following four elements: (1) spreading invented traditions regarding ʿUthmān's virtues; (2) spreading invented traditions regarding the virtues of Abū Bakr and ʿUmar; (3) spreading invented traditions that would counter or nullify the virtues of ʿAlī and the Ahl al-Bayt (ع); and (4) spreading invented traditions that would defame the Ahl al-Bayt (ع). Although a large number of these traditions have been abandoned by astute scholars, innumerable traditions falling within these categories have remained well-preserved and appear in key texts. According to this account, many of the scholars of tradition adopting these accounts were unaware of their being inventions. Thus, these collectors of tradition fell victim to Muʿāwīyah's plot, as opposed to being active participants in it. Yet, one cannot truly absolve all scholars, as many of them continue to relate and form beliefs based on traditions that fall within these categories that are undoubtedly innovations and whose chains of transmission typically reveal clear shortcomings or suffer from tadlīs[5236]. Indeed, al-Niftawayh,[5237] said, "The majority of traditions invented in regards to the merits of the companions were created during the reign of the Banū Umayyah [in order to] seek closeness to [the Umayyads], who thought that [by doing this] they were snubbing the noses of the Banū Hāshim."[5238]

The Glorification of the Prophet's (ص) Companions

ʿAllāmah Amīnī, after listing some 700 inventors of tradition who have been accepted as liars by the consensus of Sunnīs and Shīʿah alike,[5239] calculated that 41 of them invented over 408,684 traditions.[5240] He then cited one hundred false traditions attributed to the Messenger of Allāh (ص) that have been related from these individuals.[5241] Since a full listing of these traditions lies beyond the scope of this work, only a few traditions and their inventors will be listed:

1. "There is no tree in paradise which does not have written on every leaf of it: 'There is no god but Allāh. Muḥammad is a messenger of Allāh. Abū Bakr is al-Ṣiddīq. ʿUmar is al-Fārūq. ʿUthmān is Dhū al-Nūrayn." According to Dhahabī, this tradition is a rejected invention of Ḥusayn ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, who entered the service of the caliphs, and whose traditions have been abandoned due to his deliberate distortions.[5242] This same man also invented the tradition, "Adorn your gatherings by [sending] ṣalawāt to the Messenger of Allāh, and by mentioning ʿUmar."[5243]

2. "Verily Allāh chose the companions over the entire universe except for the prophets and messengers, and He chose from among the companions four: Abū

[5235] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 11:44-46.

[5236] Refer to later in this chapter for a brief discussion of tadlīs.

[5237] A respected Sunnī scholar with numerous works (d. 323 A.H.) (Tārīkh Baghdād #3205, Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿArafah... Niftawayh).

[5238] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 11:46.

[5239] Al-Ghadīr 5:209-275.

[5240] Al-Ghadīr 5:289-90.

[5241] Refer to al-Ghadīr 5:297-330.

[5242] Mīzān al-Iʿtidāl #2018 (Ḥusayn ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān).

[5243] Mīzān al-Iʿtidāl #2018 (Ḥusayn ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān).

Bakr, ʹUmar, ʹUthmān, and ʹAlī. He set them as the best of my companions, though my companions are all good." According to Dhahabī, this is an invention of ʹAbd Allāh ibn Ṣāliḥ, a known liar.[5244]

3. "When Abū Bakr was born, Allāh informed the gardens of paradise, saying, 'By my grandeur and greatness, I will not enter anyone into you but one who loves this newborn.'" According to Khaṭīb Baghdādī, this tradition is invalid because "its chain of transmission includes more than one unknown person."[5245]

4. "In the sky of the world there are eighty thousand angels asking forgiveness for whoever loves Abū Bakr and ʹUmar. And in the second heaven are eighty thousand angels cursing whoever despises Abū Bakr and ʹUmar." According to Khaṭīb Baghdādī, "This tradition was invented by ʹAdawī from Kāmil ibn Ṭalḥah."[5246]

5. "When I traveled to the heavens, I did not pass any heaven except that I saw written in it that Muḥammad is a messenger of Allāh and that Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq is my successor." According to Dhahabī, ʹAbd Allāh ibn Ibrāhīm al-Ghifārī, who appear in the chains of transmission of this tradition, was "accused of lying."[5247]

6. Allāh revealed to the Prophet (ص), "Take Muʹāwīyah as a scribe, [for] he is trustworthy." According to Dhahabī, Muḥammad ibn Zuhayr invented this tradition.[5248]

7. "The trustworthy are seven: The Lawḥ (Tablet), the Pen, Israfel (Isrāfīl), Michael, Gabriel, Muḥammad, and Muʹāwīyah." According to Dhahabī, this tradition was invented by Dāwūd ibn ʹAffān, who "would append false [traditions] to Anas [ibn Mālik]."[5249]

8. "Every prophet has a friend (khalīl) from his nation and my friend is ʹUthmān." This tradition was invented by Isḥāq ibn Najīḥ. Ḥanbal said, "He is among the worst liars among the people."[5250]

9. "There is no devil on earth who does not distance himself from ʹUmar, and there is no angel in the heavens who does not respect him." This is among the lies of Mūsā ibn ʹAbd al-Raḥmān, who has been widely recognized as a liar, and whom Ibn Ḥibbān labeled as a dajjāl (antichrist).[5251]

10. "Had I not been chosen from among you, ʹUmar would have been chosen [as prophet]," and similarly, "If there were a prophet after me, it would have been ʹUmar." These are among the inventions of Rishdīn ibn Saʹd, who has been widely recognized as being weak.[5252]

[5244] Mīzān al-Iʹtidāl #4383 (ʹAbd Allāh ibn Ṣāliḥ).
[5245] Tārīkh Baghdād #1403 (Muḥammad ibn Maḥfūẓ).
[5246] Tārīkh Baghdād #3910 (Ḥasan ibn ʹAlī ibn Zakarīyyā).
[5247] Mīzān al-Iʹtidāl #7809 (Muḥammad ibn ʹAbd Allāh ibn Yūsuf).
[5248] Mīzān al-Iʹtidāl #7540 (Muḥammad ibn Zuhayr ibn ʹAṭiyyah).
[5249] Mīzān al-Iʹtidāl #2632 (Dāwūd ibn ʹAffān).
[5250] Mīzān al-Iʹtidāl #795 (Isḥāq ibn Najīḥ).
[5251] Mīzān al-Iʹtidāl #8891 (Mūsā ibn ʹAbd al-Raḥmān).
[5252] Mīzān al-Iʹtidāl #2780 (Rishdīn ibn Saʹd).

In fact, the entirety of the good qualities of Abū Bakr, ʻUmar, ʻUthmān, Muʻāwīyah, and their associates are inventions. In order to tell apart what is true and false, one must have great knowledge of the chains of transmission and the reasons for the invention of the traditions, as many of the chains are themselves inventions of those who forged these traditions. Furthermore, even respected Sunnī scholars commonly performed tadlīs, altering the chains of transmission to ones that appeared more presentable.[5253]

The Invention of Traditions Counteracting the Traditions About ʻAlī (ع)

One of the most effective methods to counter Shīʻism was the invention of traditions that were analogous to the ones the Prophet (ص) had said in regards to ʻAlī (ع), as such traditions would cast doubt on the specific virtues the Prophet (ص) had established for ʻAlī (ع) and would help bury the truth under heaps of lies that would confuse the masses. The following are a few examples:

The Umayyads Claimed that ʻUthmān was the Scribe at Ḥudaybīyyah

Muʻammar said: I asked Zuhrī, "Who was the writer of the treaty on the Day of Ḥudaybīyyah?" He laughed and said, "It was ʻAlī, even though if you ask these men, meaning the Banū Umayyah, they will say ʻUthmān."[5254] This tradition is explicit that the Umayyads would attribute ʻAlī's (ع) virtues and accomplishments, even the most concrete and perhaps least significant of them, to others.

The Claim that Abū Bakr was the First Man to Accept Islām

There are several traditions in regards to Abū Bakr being the first man to accept Islām, and these traditions are commonly cited in a variety of Sunnī sources. However, we have proved by citing numerous traditions that ʻAlī (ع) was the first man to have accepted Islām.[5255] Indeed, some Sunnī scholars have accepted the fact that ʻAlī (ع) was the first to accept Islām, but interpret the other traditions as indicating that Abū Bakr was the first free adult man to accept Islām. Even that claim, however, is highly questionable.

The Claim that Abū Bakr's Door to the Mosque was Left Open

We discussed earlier that all the doors of the companions to the Masjid al-Nabī were closed down except for the door of ʻAlī (ع).[5256] This made it explicitly clear that ʻAlī (ع) was in a category all to himself as compared to other companions. In order to nullify this tradition, another tradition was invented. Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī claims that the Prophet (ص) said, "There shall be left no open window in the mosque except Abū Bakr's window."[5257] This tradition includes in its chain of transmission ʻIkrimah, the known Khārijīte liar who hated ʻAlī (ع) and who believed in ʻAlī's (ع) apostasy.[5258] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī also includes a tradition from Fulayḥ ibn Sulaymān, saying, "Close all the gates in the mosque except that of Abū Bakr."[5259] Yet, Fulayḥ ibn Sulaymān was a known liar who worked for the caliph Manṣūr.[5260] Furthermore, these traditions make no sense considering the fact that dozens of traditions establish that all the doors to the mosque were shut except for the door of ʿAlī (ع).

[5253] Refer to later in this chapter.
[5254] Faḍāʼil Ḥanbal #1002.
[5255] Refer to chapter 1.
[5256] Refer to chapter 9.
[5257] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #1.8.456 (Arabic original #455).
[5258] Refer to chapters 14 and 22.
[5259] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #1.8.455 (Arabic original #454), #5.57.6 (Arabic original #3454).
[5260] Refer to chapter 9.

It was illegal for Abū Bakr to approach his wives in the mosque or to enter it in a state of sexual impurity, while it was not illegal for ʿAlī (ع) to do so. To leave a window open would connect his house to the mosque and he would not have been able to have intercourse with his wives at home in that case. Moreover, as we saw earlier, no one except ʿAlī (ع), not even the Prophet's (ص) uncles Ḥamzah and ʿAbbās, was allowed any opening into the mosque. The companions complained bitterly, but the Prophet (ص) gave them a choice either to accept what Allāh had ordained regarding ʿAlī's (ع) superiority over them or to move to Syria, perhaps in anticipation of where the enemies of ʿAlī (ع) would congregate upon the ascension of ʿAlī (ع) to the caliphate. There is no reason why Abū Bakr's window would be left open while the windows of the rest of the companions would be shut. ʿAlī's (ع) exception came from the fact that, according to the Qurʾān, the houses of Moses and Aaron (ع) were mosques, so therefore ʿAlī's (ع) house would be a mosque as well, as he was to the Prophet (ص) as Aaron (ع) was to Moses (ع). Nevertheless, so-called scholars have taken these inventions in favor of Abū Bakr to extremes. Ibn Kathīr even claimed that these invented traditions establish the caliphate of Abū Bakr, as the Prophet (ص) was indicating that Abū Bakr needed a door to the mosque so that he could readily enter the mosque and lead prayers when he would become caliph![5261] If that were true, then Abū Bakr would be the Prophet's designated successor, even though Sunnīsm is based on the concept that the Prophet (ص) did not designate a successor. One can see the historical progress of such lies from ʿIkrimah's claim that Abū Bakr had a window to the mosque to Fulayḥ ibn Sulaymān's claim that he had a door that opened to the mosque to Ibn Kathīr's claim that his door was proof of his right to the caliphate.

Absurd Claims About the Prophet's City of Knowledge

There is an invented tradition as follows: "I am the city of knowledge, Abū Bakr is its foundation, ʿUmar is its walls, ʿUthmān is its roof, and ʿAlī is its door."[5262] In some traditions, it has even been added that Muʿāwīyah is its door knob![5263] According to Tārīkh Damishq,

> While Ibn al-Muthannā was preaching in Damascus, a man stood up and asked, "O shaykh! What do you say in regards to the word of the Prophet, 'I am the city of knowledge and ʿAlī is its gate'?" He bowed his head in silence for a moment and then said, "Yes, but no one knows the entirety of this tradition except one who has [knowledge] of the early period of Islām. The Prophet actually said, 'I am the city of knowledge, Abū Bakr is its foundation, ʿUmar is its walls, ʿUthmān is its roof, and ʿAlī is its door.'" Those present applauded this. He was then asked to produce his chain of transmission, but he would not do so.[5264]

The weakness of this forged tradition is apparent in both its chain of transmission, which is non-existent, as well as its content, as there is no city on earth that has a roof or a foundation. Yet, this account shows the extents to which some have gone to invent virtues for the illegitimate caliphs and to belittle the virtues of ʿAlī (ع).

[5261] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:379.
[5262] Tārīkh Damishq 9:20.
[5263] Kashf al-Khifāʾ of al-ʿAjlūnī #618.
[5264] Tārīkh Damishq 9:20.

The Claim that ʹUmar Possessed More Knowledge than the Rest of Mankind

Despite ʹUmar's sad state of knowledge,[5265] some traditions claim that Ibn Masʹūd said, "If ʹUmar's knowledge were to be placed on one side of a scale and the knowledge of all [the rest of] those alive on earth were to be placed on the other side, ʹUmar's knowledge would be heavier."[5266] This is a clear forgery not only because ʹUmar's ignorance would have been well known to Ibn Masʹūd, but also because Ibn Masʹūd clearly believed that ʹAlī (ع) was the most knowledgeable of the companions and related a number of traditions to that effect.[5267] Indeed, what he really said was, "Wisdom has been divided into ten parts. ʹAlī has been given nine parts, and the [rest of the] people one part. ʹAlī is the most knowledgeable of them by [just] one of the parts [of the nine parts of his knowledge]."[5268]

The forgery in favor of ʹUmar fits into the pattern of attributing the merits of ʹAlī (ع) to the likes of Abū Bakr, ʹUmar, and ʹUthmān. It appears that what was ascribed to Ibn Masʹūd with respect to ʹUmar was hearsay that was turned into a tradition by Aʹmash, through whom all three chains of this tradition cited by Ibn ʹAsākir have been related.[5269] According to Ibn Ḥajar, Aʹmash would performed tadlīs, and the bulk of the traditions he quoted from numerous individuals lacked intermediary sources.[5270] Similarly, Ibn Ḥajar said, "He was familiar with the recitations [of the Qurʾān] and was pious, but he would perform tadlīs."[5271] As such, Aʹmash took this forgery and created chains of transmission for it to make it appear like a legitimate tradition.

The Claim that Abū Bakr and ʹUmar were to the Prophet (ص) as Aaron (ع) was to Moses (ع)

According to dozens of Sunnī traditions undoubtedly considered mutawātir, the Prophet (ص) told ʹAlī (ع), "You are in relation to me as Aaron was in relation to Moses, except that there is no prophet after me."[5272] However, there is an invented tradition that says, "Abū Bakr and ʹUmar are in relation to me as Aaron was in relation to Moses."[5273] Amazingly, this invention has even omitted the part that says, "except that there is no prophet after me"! This tradition, according to Dhahabī, has been related through a number of chains, all of which are through Qazaʹah ibn Suwayd, who "was shaky in his traditions," whose traditions one "could not reason based on," who was "weak," and who transmitted "rejected" traditions, including this one.[5274]

The Claim that Abū Bakr was the Prophet's (ص) Friend (Khalīl)

As was discussed earlier, according to absolutely mutawātir traditions, the Messenger of Allāh (ص) set brotherhood between himself and ʹAlī (ع).[5275] Some have invented a tradition to counter this. According to this tradition, the Prophet (ص) said, "If I were to take a khalīl (friend), I would have taken Abū Bakr."[5276] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd said in regards to the Bakrīyyah who held Abū Bakr to be superior to ʿAlī (ع): "They invented traditions for their companion (Abū Bakr) to counter traditions [in support of ʿAlī]. [An example is the tradition], 'If I were to take a khalīl...' They invented this to counter the tradition of brotherhood, and the tradition of closing the [mosque's] doors."[5277] The problem here for the Bakrīyyah is that ʿAlī's (ع) main virtues (e.g. manzilah, brotherhood, closing of the mosque's doors, gate of the city of knowledge, Ghadīr Khumm, delivery of the verses of renunciation, etc., etc.) are undoubtedly true, even if some of his other virtues can be questioned by Sunnīs because they have been related through sound chains of transmission only by the Shīʿah. Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd's comment reflects the fact that Abū Bakr's supporters felt compelled to invent virtues for him.

[5265] Refer to chapters 52, 57-60.

[5266] Tārīkh Damishq 44:283-4 (three traditions).

[5267] Refer to chapter 17.

[5268] Kanz al-ʹUmmāl #32982, #36461; Fayḍ al-Qadīr #2704; Manāqib Ibn Mughāzilī #328; Kifāyah al-Ṭālib 197, chapter 48; Manāqib Khwārazmī #68.

[5269] Tārīkh Damishq 44:283-4.

[5270] Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb vol 4 #386 (Sulaymān ibn Mihrān al-Asadī... al-Aʹmash).

[5271] Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb #2615 (Sulaymān ibn Mihrān al-Asadī... al-Aʹmash).

[5272] Refer to chapter 10.

[5273] Tārīkh Baghdād #6257 (ʹAlī ibn Ḥasan ibn ʹAlī ibn Zakarīyyā); Kanz al-ʹUmmāl #32682; Mīzān al-Iʹtidāl #6894 (Qazaʹah ibn Suwayd).

[5274] Mīzān al-Iʹtidāl #6894 (Qazaʹah ibn Suwayd). Some pronounce his first name as Quzaʹah.

[5275] Refer to chapters 6 and 10.

In any case, this tradition is not even much of a virtue for two reasons. First, the Prophet (ص) is claimed to have said, "If I were to take a khalīl (friend)," which implies that he did not take one. Second, the Prophet (ص) chose not to pick Abū Bakr as his khalīl and instead preferred the generic Islāmic brotherhood, as is clear in another tradition in Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī that says, "If I were to take a khalīl, I would have taken him (i.e. Abū Bakr) as a khalīl, but the Islāmic brotherhood is better."[5278]

The Claim that Abū Bakr and ʿUmar are the Chiefs of the Old Men of Paradise

In a famous, widely narrated, and mutawātir tradition, the Prophet (ص) said, "Ḥasan and Ḥusayn are the chiefs (sayyids) of the young men of paradise."[5279] As this tradition established the fact that the Prophet (ص) gave Ḥasan and Ḥusayn (ع) the highest status among the believers, a tradition had to be invented to grant a similar status to Abū Bakr and ʿUmar. According to this tradition, the Prophet (ص) said, "Abū Bakr and ʿUmar are the chiefs of the old men of paradise."[5280]

Whoever invented this tradition forgot two key facts: (1) there are no old people in heaven, as everyone in heaven is young and never grows old;[5281] and (2) although Ḥasan and Ḥusayn (ع) may have been young during the lifetime of the Prophet (ص), they were no longer young when they were martyred. As such, their being labeled as the chiefs of the young men of paradise referred to the fact that they would be the chiefs of all men in paradise. This is a very obvious conclusion, so the Prophet (ص) noted in the same tradition that "their father is better than them."[5282] It was important for him to state this to show that they were not to be imāms in lieu of their father upon the death of the Prophet (ص). Of note, it is not a contradiction for Ḥasan and Ḥusayn (ع) to be chiefs of

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5276. Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.57.8.

5277. Ibn Abī al-Hadīd 11:49.

5278. Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.57.9.

5279. Sunan Tirmidhī #3768 (certifies the tradition as good-authentic [ḥasan ṣaḥīḥ]), #3781; Sunan Ibn Mājah #118; Musnad Ḥanbal #11012, #11612, #11636, #11794, #23377-8; Mustadrak Ḥākim #4778-9 (certifies both traditions as authentic), #4780, #5630; Faḍāʾil Ḥanbal #1360, #1368, #1384; Sunan al-Kubrā Nasāʾī #8169, #8298, #8514-5, #8525-8; Jāmiʿ al-Ṣaghīr Suyūṭī #93, #3820-2; Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #17795, #32713, #34158, #34246-9, #34259-60, #34285, #34288-9, #34293-5, #37617, #37680, #37682, #37693-6, #37727; Khaṣāʾiṣ Nasāʾī 123-4 (three traditions); Majmaʿ al-Zawāʾid #14967, #15082-92, #15093 (certifies the chain of transmission as good [ḥasan]), #15189 (certifies the chain of transmission as authentic), #15192; Muʿjam al-Awsaṭ Ṭabarānī #368; Muʿjam al-Kabīr Ṭabarānī 3:35-40 (numerous chains of transmission), 3:58, 19:292, 22:403; Usd al-Ghābah 2:14 #1165 (Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī); Istīʿāb 1:441 #573 (Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī).

5280. Tārīkh Baghdād #7505 (Yahyā ibn Mūsā); Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb vol 12 #2552 (ʿĀmir al-Shaʿbī); Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #32654, #32712, #36105; Imāmah wa Sīyāsah 11.

5281. Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #40.6803.

5282. Sunan Ibn Mājah #118; Jāmiʿ al-Ṣaghīr Suyūṭī #3821.

those residing in paradise and for ʹAlī (ع) to be better than them, as the Prophet (ص) and the twelve imāms from his Ahl al-Bayt (ع) are all the chiefs of everyone in paradise.

The Claim that the Companions are Like the Stars

We have already discussed a number of traditions stating that the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) are like the stars.[5283] In one of these traditions, the Prophet (ص) said, "The stars provide safety to those in the skies, and my Ahl al-Bayt provides safety to my nation."[5284] A tradition has been invented according to which the Messenger of Allāh (ص) said, "My companions are like the stars; whichever one's word you follow, you will be guided."[5285] This tradition has been related through Ḥamzah ibn Abī Ḥamzah. Ibn ʹAdī said, "The bulk of what he has related is invented"; Dārquṭnī said, "He is abandoned"; and Bukhārī said, "His traditions are renounced."[5286] A similar tradition in Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim is noteworthy in that the chain of transmission is similar to that of Musnad Ḥanbal, except that one key intermediary person is omitted—Zayd ibn Jārīyah.[5287] According to Ibn Ḥajar, "His traditions are rejected (munkar al-ḥadīth)," and "his traditions are not authentic," but he noted that, "Ibn Ḥibbān has included a Zayd ibn Jārīyah al-Anṣārī who related from Muʹāwīyah among the trustworthy... but I am not sure if that is this [same person] or not."[5288] Apparently Muslim was unaware of the inclusion of this individual in the chain, otherwise he presumably would not have classified this tradition as authentic.

A look at the content of this tradition further clarifies its weakness. First, one must question who the Messenger of Allāh (ص) was speaking to. By Sunnī definition, he was speaking to his companions because they claim that any Muslim who heard the Messenger of Allāh (ص) speak was a companion. It would be quite meaningless for him to tell his companions that they themselves were all stars, and that they could therefore follow any one of themselves that they wished. How can you tell a crowd of stars that they can use any star they wish to become guided when the stars are supposed to be the guiders and not the ones in need of guidance?

Also, the companions contained many hypocrites and liars. The Qur`ān says, "Allāh allowed you to grant them leave until it was made clear to you which ones were truthful and [until] you knew the liars."[5289] It is clear therefore that there were liars among the companions. Moreover, if it was permissible to follow any companion, then it would have also been permissible to follow the many companions that left Islām after the Prophet's (ص) death. However, that is certainly not acceptable. The Sunnīs have realized this problem, so they say that those who left Islām were no longer companions, even though it is not clear how companionship can be nullified by later changes in belief. Indeed, as we have seen, the Prophet (ص) said that many of his companions would be sent away from him when he is at the Fount of Kawthar because of their innovations.[5290] If one were to follow them as one would follow stars when lost in the desert or on a boat, one

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5283. Refer to chapter 44.

5284. Jāmiʹ al-Ṣaghīr Suyūṭī #9313; Kanz al-ʹUmmāl #34155, #34188. Similarly, Mustadrak Ḥākim #3676, #4715 (certifies both traditions as authentic); Faḍā`il Ḥanbal #1145; Kanz al-ʹUmmāl #34189; Khaṣā`iṣ al-Kubrā Suyūṭī 2:396.

R. efer to chapter 44 for this and similar traditions, as well as a discussion of other Sunnī fabrications in this regards.

5285. Mīzān al-Iʹtidāl #2299 (Ḥamzah ibn Abī Ḥamzah).

5286. Mīzān al-Iʹtidāl #2299 (Ḥamzah ibn Abī Ḥamzah).

5287. Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #31.6147 (Arabic original #2531); Musnad Ḥanbal #19584. Refer to chapter 44 for the text of this tradition.

5288. Lisān al-Mīzān vol 2 #2019 (Zayd ibn Jārīyah).

5289. Qur`ān 9:43.

5290. Refer to chapter 36.

would certainly be lost in this world and never find one's way to the fount in the hereafter.

The Claim that Love for Abū Bakr and ʿUmar is a Necessity of Faith

The Prophet (ص) is claimed to have said, "No believer holds a grudge against Abū Bakr and ʿUmar, and no hypocrite loves the two."[5291] This tradition, which parallels traditions we have examined regarding the love of the believers for ʿAlī (ع) and the hatred of the hypocrites for him,[5292] was invented by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Mālik ibn Mighwal. Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal and Dārquṭnī called him "abandoned," and Abū Dāwūd labeled him "a liar," saying that "he invented traditions." Nasāʾī and others said that he "is not trustworthy."[5293] The tradition has also been related by Muʿallā ibn Hilāl, who is also a known liar.[5294] Ibn Maʿīn said, "He is among the famous liars, and he invented [traditions]"; Nasāʾī and others called him "abandoned"; and Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal went even further, saying, "All of his traditions are inventions."[5295]

Indeed, the traditions in regards to the virtues of the companions, particularly the first three caliphs, are innumerable and all fall within the categories of invented traditions we have discussed. Indeed, the fact that Muʿāwīyah desperately wanted traditions to be manufactured regarding their merits suggests that the bulk of their merits were forgeries.

The Chains of Transmission of Sunnī Traditions are Plagued with Inaccuracies (Tadlīs)

According to Ibn Ḥajar, Shuʿbah said, "I have not seen a single one of the relaters of tradition (aṣḥāb al-ḥadīth) who did not perform tadlīs, except for Ibn ʿAwn and ʿAmr ibn Murrah."[5296] This shows that all Sunnī scholars, even their so-called "trustworthy" ones, routinely forged their chains of transmission. As such, what they attributed directly or indirectly to the Prophet (ص) cannot be trusted, as the chains themselves are not trustworthy. This is particularly troubling because hearsay, particularly that which was heard from the Umayyad and ʿAbbāsīd pulpits, would be turned into traditions with "valid" chains of transmission, hiding the true source of the tradition and significant intermediary sources.

The reason for the alteration of chains of transmission was rather simple. In early Islām, traditions were passed on orally and in defiance of the caliphs who sought to suppress the spread of prophetic traditions.[5297] Later, as the science of ḥadīth developed, standards were created to determine the accuracy of a tradition based on its chain of transmission. As such, the bulk of the traditions, including many accurate ones, did not meet the new criteria and were being discarded as weak. The scholars who believed in these traditions were therefore under great pressure to invent or slightly alter the chains of transmission to allow them to pass the new standards.

Traditions Glorifying Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, and ʿUthmān but Not ʿAlī (ع)

[5291] Mīzān al-Iʿtidāl #4949 (ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Mālik).
[5292] Refer to chapter 21.
[5293] Mīzān al-Iʿtidāl #4949 (ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Mālik).
[5294] Mīzān al-Iʿtidāl #4949 (ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Mālik).
[5295] Mīzān al-Iʿtidāl #8679 (Muʿallā ibn Hilāl).
[5296] Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb vol 8 #163 (ʿAmr ibn Murrah).
[5297] Refer to chapter 56.

According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī,

1. Ibn ʿUmar said, "During the lifetime of the Prophet, we considered Abū Bakr as peerless, then ʿUmar, and then ʿUthmān, and then we used not to differentiate between the companions of the Prophet."[5298]

2. Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah said: I asked my father (ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib), "Who are the best people after Allāh's Apostle?" He said, "Abū Bakr." I asked, "Who then?" He said, "Then ʿUmar." I was afraid he would say "ʿUthmān," so I said, "Then you?" He said, "I am only an ordinary person."[5299]

3. Narrated Anas ibn Mālik: The Prophet once climbed the mountain of Uḥud with Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, and ʿUthmān. The mountain shook with them. The Prophet said [to the mountain], "Be firm, O Uḥud! For on you there are no more than a prophet, a ṣiddīq (truthful one), and two martyrs.[5300] This tradition, which has been related in Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī through three chains of transmission all of which are through Saʿīd—Qatādah—Anas, is truly problematic for three reasons.[5301] First, it is widely known that Saʿīd ibn Abī ʿArūbah was completely confused later in life and he would continue to relate mixed-up traditions.[5302] Second, Qatādah ibn Diʿāmah would routinely relate traditions that he did not hear from people as if he directly heard them from them, to the point that Abū Dāwūd said, "Qatādah related traditions from thirty men without having heard anything from them," and to the point that some of his traditions have been classified as "severely weak."[5303] Third, Anas ibn Mālik himself, though a companion, was rather problematic for two reasons—first, because he lied about the tradition of Ghadīr, resulting in his affliction with leprosy,[5304] and second, because even Abū Ḥanīfah considered him untrustworthy.[5305]

4. Narrated Abū Mūsā: While I was with the Prophet in one of the gardens of Madīnah, a man came and asked me to open the gate. The Prophet said to me, "Open the gate for him and give him the glad tidings that he will enter paradise." I opened [the gate] for him, and behold! It was Abū Bakr. I informed him of the glad tidings the Prophet had said, and he praised Allāh. Then another man came and asked me to open the gate. The Prophet said to me, "Open [the gate] and give him the glad tidings of entering paradise." I opened [the gate] for him, and behold! It was ʿUmar. I informed him of what the Prophet had said, and he praised Allāh. Then another man came and asked me to open the gate. The Prophet said to me, "Open [the gate] for him and inform him of the glad tidings, of entering paradise with a calamity which will befall him." Behold! It was ʿUthmān. I informed him of what Allāh's Apostle had said. He praised Allāh and said, "I seek Allāh's aid."[5306]

These traditions are clear inventions as they rather unconvincingly mention Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, and ʿUthmān in order. Indeed, it is a common perception among Ashʿarī Sunnīs that the first four caliphs were the best companions in the exact order in which they became caliph.[5307] However, when ʿUmar was deciding on a caliph, he complained that Abū ʿUbaydah ibn al-Jarrāḥ and Sālim mawlā Abī Ḥudhayfah had died, otherwise he would have readily appointed one of them as caliph. That should then indicate to the Sunnīs that Abū ʿUbaydah and Sālim were superior to ʿUthmān and ʿAlī (ع). If they were not, then ʿUmar was wrong for wishing that he could make them caliphs. The claim that Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, and ʿUthmān were somehow extraordinary while ʿAlī (ع) was an ordinary person with no special virtues is simply absurd. It does not even fit into Sunnī mentality as it has developed over the years,[5308] but it does fit perfectly into the Umayyad plan.

[5298] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.57.47. Similarly, Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.57.7.
[5299] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.57.20.
[5300] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.57.24, #5.57.35, #5.57.46, #5.57.49.
[5301] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī Arabic original #3472, #3483, #3496.
[5302] Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb vol 4 #110 (Saʿīd ibn Abū ʿArūbah).
[5303] Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb vol 8 #637 (Qatādah ibn Diʿāmah).
[5304] Refer to chapter 34.
[5305] Refer to chapter 77.
[5306] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.57.42, #5.57.44.

Of note, Yaḥyā ibn Maʿīn said, in regards to those who only mention the first three caliphs and do not mention ʿAlī (ع) among the best, "You must speak to them with harsh words [because of their error]."[5309] Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr said,

> Whoever says this (i.e. that Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, and ʿUthmān were distinctly virtuous while ʿAlī was an ordinary companion) has spoken against the consensus of the Sunnī experts of jurisprudence and history from the early generations (salaf) and later generations (khalaf) that ʿAlī was certainly the best of people after ʿUthmān. No one disagrees about this (i.e. the fact that ʿAlī was not like the rest of the companions). What they have disagreed about is whether ʿAlī was superior or ʿUthmān. The early generations (salaf) also disagreed about whether ʿAlī was superior or Abū Bakr. The consensus we have discussed is proof that the tradition of Ibn ʿUmar is doubtful and incorrect.[5310]

It should be noted that some Sunnī traditions explicitly state that other companions were also superior to ʿAlī (ع). For example, in two traditions in Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, Marwān ibn Ḥakam, a prominent enemy of the Ahl al-Bayt, claimed that ʿUthmān had said, "[Zubayr] is the best of you."[5311] As such, one can see that there was a strong push by certain companions to claim that everyone was superior to ʿAlī (ع).

Dating of Invented Traditions in Regards to the Early Caliphs

There have been many traditions invented in order to strengthen the Sunnī view of the early caliphate. These traditions generally fall into the following categories:[5312]

1. Traditions in which the names of Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, ʿUthmān, and ʿAlī (ع) are mentioned in order. These traditions must have appeared after the caliphate of ʿAlī (ع) because the names of the first four caliphs appear in order. Since the Umayyads would not be pleased by he inclusion of the name of ʿAlī (ع), these traditions probably date back to the late Umayyad and early ʿAbbāsīd period, when Umayyad power had waned and when Sunnī ideology was becoming solidified.

2. Traditions in which the names of Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, and ʿUthmān are mentioned in order, while ʿAlī (ع) is left out. These probably date back to the Umayyad

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5307. Refer to chapter 52.
5308. Refer to chapter 52.
5309. Istīʿāb 3:213 #1875 (ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib).
5310. Istīʿāb 3:214 #1875 (ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib).
5311. Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.57.64. Similarly, Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.57.63.
5312. Refer to The Role of ʿĀʾishah in the History of Islām of ʿAllāmah Sayyid Murtaḍā ʿAskarī 1:85-88.

period in which traditions were created to glorify the first three caliphs while denying the virtues of ʿAlī (ع).

3. Traditions that mention only the names of Abū Bakr and ʿUmar. These traditions establishing the first two caliphs as the best of companions date back to the caliphate of ʿUmar or later times. Some of the traditions may have left out ʿUthmān because the horrors of his reign were widely known, at least in some parts of the nation. The only traditions citing Abū Bakr and ʿUmar that are plausible are those that cite ʿĀʾishah and Ḥafṣah bringing the two of them. Examples include the tradition of the bird[5313] as well as accounts of the Prophet's (ص) final moments,[5314] as ʿĀʾishah and Ḥafṣah were both present and it is plausible that they called for their fathers at those times.

4. Traditions that only mention Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, or ʿUthmān. These could have been invented at any time during or after their respective reigns.

The Invention of Traditions Counteracting the Traditions About Fāṭimah (ع)

As discussed earlier, there are numerous traditions claiming that the best of women were four—Āsīyah the wife of Pharaoh, Mary the mother of Jesus (ع), Khadījah the wife of the Prophet (ص), and Fāṭimah (ع) the daughter of the Prophet (ص).[5315] Yet, there were some who wanted to delete Khadījah and Fāṭimah (ع) and instead add ʿĀʾishah. According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī,

> Allāh's Apostle said, "Many amongst men attained perfection, but amongst women none attained perfection except Mary the daughter of ʿImrān, and Āsīyah the wife of Pharaoh. And the superiority of ʿĀʾishah over other women is like the superiority of tharīd (an Arab dish) over other meals."[5316]

There are also numerous Sunnī traditions that claim that ʿĀʾishah was the most beloved person to the Prophet (ص). We have already examined how this was false given her intense jealousy towards Khadījah and the Prophet's (ص) other wives, her intrigues against the Prophet (ص), his willingness to divorce her and even compensate her generously if she would agree to leave him, and his boycotting her for an entire month.[5317] In addition to these facts, the verses of the Qurʾān revealed about her indicate that her position vis-à-vis the Prophet (ص) was tenuous at best, and that she was weak of faith and easily replaceable by more virtuous women.[5318] Yet, ʿAmr ibn ʿĀṣ, Muʿāwīyah's governor in Egypt, spread rumors that the Prophet (ص) loved her and her father more than he loved Fāṭimah and ʿAlī (ع). According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī,

> Narrated ʿAmr ibn ʿĀṣ: The Prophet deputed me to reach the army of Dhāt al-Salāsil. I came to him and said, "Who is the most beloved person to you?" He said, "ʿĀʾishah." I asked, "Among the men?" He said, "Her father." I said, "Who then?" He said, "Then ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb." He then named other men.[5319]

[5313] Refer to chapter 20.
[5314] Refer to chapter 38.
[5315] Refer to chapters 7 and 50.
[5316] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.57.113.
[5317] Refer to chapter 27.
[5318] Qurʾān 33:28, 66:1-5. Refer to chapters 27 and 28.
[5319] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.57.14.

It is no surprise that ʿAmr ibn ʿĀṣ would say such a thing, given his devotion to Muʿāwīyah and his animosity towards the Ahl al-Bayt (ع). The father of ʿAmr ibn ʿĀṣ was ʿĀṣ ibn Wāʾil, who claimed that the Prophet (ص) was devoid of offspring (abtar) and in regards to whom Sūrah Kawthar was revealed.[5320] We have already examined traditions proving that the haters of ʿAlī (ع) are from illegitimate birth,[5321] and the animosity of ʿAmr ibn ʿĀṣ towards the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) perhaps stemmed from his being from illegitimate birth, as his mother had intercourse with five men in one month and thus had to pick a father for him from among the men she had engaged in intercourse with.[5322] Of note, the five men who she had intercourse with were Abū Lahab ibn ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, Umayyah ibn Khalaf al-Jumaḥī, Hishām ibn Mughīrah al-Makhzūmī, Abū Sufyān ibn Ḥarb, and ʿĀṣ ibn Wāʾil.[5323] ʿAmr turned out to be most similar to Abū Sufyān ibn Ḥarb, and Abū Sufyān ibn Ḥārith ibn ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib pointed this out by saying, "Your father is Abū Sufyān. There is no doubt about that."[5324] It should therefore be no surprise then that ʿAmr and Muʿāwīyah would be so strongly drawn to one another.

It is also noteworthy that ʿĀṣ ibn Wāʾil had two sons—ʿAmr and Hishām.[5325] While Hishām died without any progeny,[5326] ʿAmr had a son named ʿAbd Allāh, who in turn had a son named Muḥammad as well as a grandson from Muḥammad named Shuʿayb.[5327] As such, ʿAmr clearly had male descendants. Since it is widely accepted that the Qurʾān refers to Āṣ ibn Wāʾil as abtar (i.e. lacking male progeny), the sons of ʿĀṣ must have died without leaving any male issue, as was the case with the Prophet (ص) whose own sons died without offspring. This would necessitate ʿAmr not to be the son of ʿĀṣ, proving the illegitimacy of his birth and explaining his hatred towards the Ahl al-Bayt (ع).

The Cursing of ʿAlī (ع) by the Umayyads

Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd said, "The Banū Umayyah encouraged the speakers [in mosques] to insult ʿAlī on the pulpits."[5328] He also said, "Muʿāwīyah ordered the people of Iraq, Syria, and other [lands] to curse (sabb) ʿAlī and to renounce him. This was preached on the pulpits of Islām and this custom lasted during the reign of the Umayyads until ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz put an end to it."[5329] According to Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd,

> At the end of his Friday prayer sermons, Muʿāwīyah would say, "O Allāh, Abū Turāb indeed became an apostate of Your religion and blocked Your path. So cast upon him a heavy curse and torture him with a great torment." He wrote [these words] to [his governors] in the lands [so they would say it in the Friday prayer sermons as well]. These words were fed [to people] on the pulpits until the caliphate of ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz.[5330]

[5320] Refer to chapter 7.
[5321] Refer to chapter 21.
[5322] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 6:283.
[5323] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 6:283.
[5324] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 6:283.
[5325] Sunan Abū Dāwūd #2883.
[5326] Ansāb al-Ashrāf 3:383.
[5327] Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 5:243.
[5328] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 1:11-12.
[5329] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 4:56.
[5330] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 4:56-57.

Indeed, Mu´āwīyah would go to any length to defame ´Alī (ع). According to Abū Ja´far al-Iskāfī,

> Mu´āwīyah offered Samurah ibn Jundub one hundred thousand dirhams so that he would relate [from the Prophet (ص)] that the following verse was revealed in regards to ´Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib: "Among people are those whose speech about this world's life may dazzle you, and he calls Allāh to witness what is in his heart. Yet is he the most contentious of enemies. When he turns his back, his aim everywhere is to spread mischief through the land and to destroy crops and cattle. But Allāh does not love mischief."[5331] and that the following verse was related in regards to Ibn Muljam: "And there is among mankind the man who gives his life to earn the pleasure of Allāh."[5332] [Samurah] would not agree to do so, so [Mu´āwīyah] raised his offer to two hundred thousand [dirhams] and he still would not agree. He then raised it to three hundred thousand [dirhams], and he [still] would not agree. So he raised to four hundred thousand [dirhams] and he agreed [to do so].[5333]

Later, Mu´āwīyah ordered Zīyād, his governor in Iraq, to massacre anyone who would not curse ´Alī (ع). According to Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd,

> Zīyād intended to force all the people of Kūfah to renounce ´Alī and to curse him, setting out to kill and destroy the houses of all those who refused to do so. That day, Allāh afflicted him with the plague and he—may no mercy of Allāh be upon him— died three days later. This was during the caliphate of Mu´āwīyah.[5334]

Cursing and insulting ´Alī (ع) became a central element of Umayyad religious culture. ´Āmir ibn ´Abd Allāh ibn Zubayr said, "The Banū Marwān cursed ´Alī for sixty years."[5335] In fact, the cursing of ´Alī (ع) by the Marwānīds started with Marwān himself. According to Suyūṭī, when Marwān was the governor of Madīnah, "He would curse ´Alī every Friday on the pulpit."[5336] Decades later, the Umayyad caliph Walīd ibn ´Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān said, "May Allāh curse [´Alī]. He was a thief, the son of a thief."[5337] Abū al-Yaqẓān said, "A man from the descendants of ´Uthmān went to [the Umayyad caliph] Hishām ibn ´Abd al-Malik on the day of ´Arafah and said, 'Indeed this is the day in which the caliphs love insulting Abū Turāb.'"[5338] The situation progressed to a point that, according to Ibn Ḥajar, "When a child was named ´Alī, the Umayyads would kill him."[5339]

Mughīrah ibn Shu´bah Would Insult and Curse ´Alī (ع)

Mughīrah ibn Shu´bah, who was assigned by Mu´āwīyah's to serve as the governor of Kūfah until his death after seven years in office,[5340] was among the leaders of those who cursed ´Alī (ع). According to the Sunnī Mu´tazilī scholar Abū Ja´far al-Iskāfī, "It is proved to us that Mughīrah cursed (la´ana) ´Alī on the pulpit of Iraq innumerable times."[5341] His enmity with ´Alī (ع) stemmed from the fact that when he was ´Umar's governor in Baṣrah he committed adultery and four adult Muslim men witnessed him in the act and reported the incident to ´Umar. However, instead of punishing Mughīrah, ´Umar whipped three of the witnesses eighty times each and set Mughīrah free.[5342] ´Alī (ع), however, believed that Mughīrah should have been stoned and even threatened to do so. During the caliphate of ´Umar, he said, "If I see Mughīrah, I will stone him with rocks."[5343] Later, Mughīrah became an ardent supporter of the Umayyads.

[5331] Qur`ān 2:204-205.
[5332] Qur`ān 2:207.
[5333] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 4:73.
[5334] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 4:58.
[5335] Istī´āb 3:215 #1875 (´Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib).
[5336] Tārīkh al-Khulafā` 168.
[5337] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 4:58.
[5338] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 13:221.
[5339] Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb vol 7 #541 (´Alī ibn Rabāḥ).
[5340] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 18:123.

According to Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, ´Abd Allāh ibn Ẓālim said, "When the pledge of allegiance was given to Mu´āwīyah, Mughīrah ibn Shu´bah stood and gave a sermon in which he cursed ´Alī. Sa´īd ibn Zayd ibn ´Amr ibn Nufayl said, 'Do you not see this oppressor who orders the cursing of a man of paradise?'"[5344] ´Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Akhnas said, "I bear witness that Mughīrah ibn Shu´bah gave a sermon [in which] he mentioned ´Alī, and that he insulted him."[5345] Rīyāḥ ibn Ḥārith said, "Among us was Mughīrah ibn Shu´bah in the Grand Mosque, and with him were some men. When a man named Qays ibn ´Alqamah went to him, he went up to Mughīrah and insulted ´Alī."[5346]

Mughīrah ibn Shu´bah, who was the governor of Kūfah, ordered Ḥujr ibn ´Adī to stand among the people and curse ´Alī (ع). He refused to do so. Mughīrah threatened him, so he stood among the people and said, "O people! Your ruler (amīr) has ordered me to curse ´Alī, so I curse him." The people of Kūfah said, "May Allāh curse him," with their intention of "him" being Mughīrah.[5347] According to Ḥanbal, when Mughīrah slandered ´Alī (ع), Zayd ibn Arqam said, "Know that the Messenger of Allāh (ص) forbade insulting the dead, so do not insult ´Alī since he is dead."[5348] Of note, a similar tradition has been cited by Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal in which Mughīrah is replaced by, "a governor among the Muslim governors,"[5349] thereby trying to cover up the heinous acts of this so-called companion.

The Pious Companions and Successors Did Not Believe in Cursing ´Alī (ع)

There are numerous accounts of Muslims rejecting the cursing of ´Alī (ع) by the Umayyads. The following are a few examples:

1. According to a tradition certified as authentic by Ḥākim, ´Alī ibn Abī Ṭalḥah said: We were going to [the pilgrimage of] ḥajj when we passed by Ḥasan ibn ´Alī in Madīnah. With us was Mu´āwīyah ibn Ḥudayj. Ḥasan was told, "This is Mu´āwīyah ibn Ḥudayj who curses ´Alī." He said, "Bring him to me." He was brought to him. Ḥasan ibn ´Alī asked him, "Are you one who curses ´Alī?! By Allāh, if you meet [him], and I suspect that you will not meet him on the Day of Judgment, you would find him standing upon the fount of the Messenger of Allāh (ص), sending away from it the masses of hypocrites by a cane made from a

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[5341] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 4:70-71.
[5342] Refer to chapter 60.
[5343] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 4:69.
[5344] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 13:220.
[5345] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 13:220.
[5346] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 13:220.
[5347] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 4:58.
[5348] Musnad Ḥanbal #19307.
[5349] Musnad Ḥanbal #19334.

thorn tree. This was related to me by the truth-teller, the oft-truthful, and any liar will be disappointed [on that day]."[5350]

2. Ismā´īl ibn Ibrāhīm said: Ibrāhīm ibn Yazīd and I were sitting in congregational prayer... Mughīrah came out and gave a sermon. He praised Allāh, said what he wished to say, and then insulted ´Alī. Ibrāhīm hit me on my thigh or my back and then said, "Come closer to me." He then told me, "We are not in congregational prayer. Have you not heard what this [man] said?"[5351] This shows that the early generations (salaf) did not consider the haters of ´Alī (ع) to be capable of leading prayer. Why is it then that these people are glorified by the Salafīs today, who claim that they serve as an example for all of us to follow?

3. The son of ´Āmir ibn ´Abd Allāh ibn Zubayr told his son, "O son, do not mention ´Alī except in praise." He added, "Verily the Umayyads cursed [´Alī] on their pulpits for eighty years."[5352]

4. When ´Adī ibn Awṭāh insulted ´Alī (ع) on the pulpit, Ḥasan al-Baṣrī cried and said, "A man has just been insulted today who was the brother of the Messenger of Allāh in this world and the hereafter."[5353]

5. Ibn ´Abbās asked Mu´āwīyah, "Why don't you stop insulting this man (i.e. ´Alī)?" He replied, "I won't do it until every young one is raised in it and every old one becomes senile in it."[5354]

Most of those who knew the virtues of ´Alī (ع) remained in taqīyyah. ´Abd Allāh ibn Shaddād ibn Hād said, "I would love to relate the noble qualities (faḍā`il) of ´Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib from day to night, but certainly this neck of mine would be struck by a sword."[5355] According to Suyūṭī, ´Alī (ع) even recommended to one of his companions to curse him to save his own life:

> Ḥujr al-Madarī said: ´Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib told me, "How will you be when you are ordered to curse (la´n) me?" I said, "I will do that?!" He replied, "Yes." I asked, "How should I do it?" He said, "Curse me [by your tongue] but do not renounce me [in your heart]." [Years later], Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf, the brother of Ḥajjāj, who was the governor of Yemen, may Allāh curse him, ordered me to curse ´Alī. I said, "The governor (amīr) orders me to curse ´Alī, so I curse him, may Allāh's curse be upon him," but I was not intending anyone [by my curse] other than the man [himself].[5356]

Abū Ja´far al-Iskāfī said,

> It is certain that the Banū Umayyah prevented the declaration of the qualities of ´Alī by persecuting the transmitters. Eventually, a man who wanted to relate a tradition that was not even pertinent to [´Alī's] virtues but rather to the laws of

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[5350] Mustadrak Ḥākim #4669 (certifies the tradition as authentic). Similarly, Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 6:88.

[5351] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 13:221.

[5352] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 13:221.

[5353] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 13:221.

[5354] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 13:222.

[5355] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 4:73.

[5356] Tārīkh al-Khulafā` 159.

> religion would not dare to mention his name. He would instead say, "[I heard it] from Abū Zaynab."[5357]

However, on occasion someone would argue against the cursing of ´Alī (ع). Since one could not directly denounce the cursing of ´Alī (ع) without being persecuted for being a Shī´ah, such arguments had to be clothed in ways that would avoid giving the rulers pretexts for meting out undeserved punishments. An example of this appears in the following tradition in Musnad Ḥanbal:

> Mughīrah ibn Shu´bah was in the Grant Mosque and the people of Kūfah were all around him. A man came to him named Sa´īd ibn Zayd. Mughīrah greeted him and sat him next to his feet on his dais. A resident of Kūfah arrived and went to Mughīrah and cursed and cursed away. [Sa´īd ibn Zayd] asked, "Who is he cursing, O Mughīrah?" He replied, "He is cursing ´Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib." He said, "O Mughīr ibn Shu´b! O Mughīr ibn Shu´b! O Mughīr ibn Shu´b! Do you listen to the companions of the Messenger of Allāh (ص) being cursed in front of you, while you neither forbid them [from doing so] nor show any reaction?! I will bear witness upon the Messenger of Allāh (ص) as to what my two ears heard and what my heart retained from the Messenger of Allāh (ص). I would certainly not relate a lie from him that I would be questioned about when I meet him [on the Day of Judgment]. He said, 'Abū Bakr is in paradise, and ´Umar is in paradise, and ´Alī is in paradise, and ´Uthmān is in paradise, and Ṭalḥah is in paradise, and Zubayr is in paradise, and ´Abd al-Raḥmān is in paradise, and Sa´d ibn Mālik (i.e. Sa´d ibn Abī Waqqāṣ) is in paradise, and a ninth member of the believers is in paradise.' If you wish for me to name him, I will." Those in the mosque pressed him, asking, "O companion of the Messenger of Allāh! Who is the ninth?" He said, "You implored me by Allāh, and Allāh [surely] is great. I am the ninth of the believers, and the Messenger of Allāh (ص) is the tenth."[5358]

This tradition shows that cursing ´Alī (ع) was customary in the presence of Mughīrah. What Sa´īd ibn Zayd did was to argue against the cursing of ´Alī (ع) without putting himself in danger. However, whether it was justified to invent a prophetic tradition for this aim is highly doubtful, since his duty under the circumstances was taqīyyah, not inventing a tradition. However, by including himself at the end of the tradition, he left his clue that the tradition he related was a lie, as one's uncorroborated claims regarding one's own virtues are not acceptable to the scholars of Islām. In addition, his purpose for inventing this tradition was clear—to stop the cursing of ´Alī (ع). Since he could not do so by relating the virtues of ´Alī (ع) without fear of reprisal, he resorted to creating a tradition for which he could not be punished, and slipped ´Alī's (ع) name into it. Of course, this tradition is a fabrication, otherwise ´Uthmān would have claimed that he should not be killed by the rebels because he had been promised paradise.

These traditions make it amply clear that Mughīrah ibn Shu´bah was involved in cursing ´Alī (ع). Since the Prophet (ص) said, "Whoever curses ´Alī curses me, and whoever curses me curses Allāh,"[5359] it is clear that the act of Mughīrah was equivalent to cursing Allāh.

The Cursing of ´Alī (ع) was Necessary to Maintain the Umayyad Caliphate

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[5357] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 4:73.

[5358] Musnad Ḥanbal #1629. Similarly, Musnad Ḥanbal #1637-8, #1644.

[5359] Refer to chapter 22 for the sources of this and related traditions.

The Umayyad caliph ʹUmar ibn ʹAbd al-ʹAzīz said,

> My father was giving a speech and made no pauses in his speech until he insulted ʹAlī. Upon insulting him, his tongue was cut off [from speech], his face turned yellow, and his condition changed. I asked him about this. He said, "Did you notice this? Verily had these [people] known in regards to ʹAlī what your father knows, not a single man among them would follow us."[5360]

The Umayyad caliph Marwān [ibn Ḥakam] asked ʹAlī ibn Ḥusayn (ع), "Why is it that the people take the side of our companion instead of yours?" He asked in return, "So why is it that you insult ʹAlī on the pulpits?" He replied, "Our command would not be established for us except by this."[5361]

The Cursing of ʹAlī (ع) Ended with the Caliphate of ʹUmar ibn ʹAbd al-ʹAzīz

A group of the Banū Umayyah went to Muʹāwīyah and said, "O Commander of the Faithful, you have attained what you hoped for, so why don't you stop cursing this man?" He replied, "No, by Allāh, [I won't stop cursing him] until the young ones are raised in it, the old ones become senile in it, and no one mentions or remembers any of his noble qualities."[5362] As such, the cursing of ʹAlī (ع) continued until the caliphate of ʹUmar ibn ʹAbd al-ʹAzīz (99-101 A.H.) a couple of generations later. When he took power, he prohibited the insulting of ʹAlī (ع). When he did so, the people said, "He is abandoning the Sunnah!"[5363] One can see that the sunnah so often talked about was not necessarily the Sunnah of the Prophet (ص), but rather that of the Umayyad caliphs. In fact, the pious and knowledgeable companion Ibn Masʹūd foretold this when he said,

> How will you be when you adopt the evil in which a young one is raised and a mature one becomes senile? The people will go along with it and adopt it as sunnah, and when you change anything of it, it will be said, "The Sunnah has been changed!"[5364]

This reflects the power of the ruling circles to dictate the precepts of Islām for the masses, as the masses take what they hear repeated on the pulpit to be the truth, as they know little about Islām beyond that which they are preached. If falsehood is preached to them, the truth will appear as a false innovation and heresy. According to Suyūṭī,

> The Banū Umayyah would insult ʹAlī in the sermons. When ʹUmar ibn ʹAbd al-ʹAzīz came to power, he put an end to it and he wrote to his representatives to put an end to it as well and to recite in its place, "Surely Allāh commands justice and kindness."[5365] The recitation of [this verse] during sermons has persisted until now.[5366]

The Cursing of ʹAlī (ع) by the Umayyads According to Ṣaḥīh Bukhārī, Ṣaḥīh Muslim, and Sunan Tirmidhī

[5360] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 13:221. Refer to Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 4:58-9 for a more detailed account.
[5361] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 13:220.
[5362] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 4:57.
[5363] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 13:222.
[5364] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 13:222.
[5365] Qurʾān 16:90.
[5366] Tārīkh al-Khulafāʾ 214.

Those who have a utopian view of the time of the companions try to sugar-coat or even deny the fact that ʻAlī (ع) was ever cursed, despite the numerous and indeed mutawātir accounts of it in the books of history and tradition. Even Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim has related the fact that the Umayyad governors would order the Muslims to curse ʻAlī (ع):

> Sahl ibn Saʻd reported that a person from the offspring of Marwān was appointed as the governor of Madīnah. He called Sahl ibn Saʻd and ordered him to abuse ʻAlī. Sahl refused to do that. [The governor] said to him, "If you do not agree to it, [at least] say, "May Allāh curse Abū Turāb."[5367]

According to Tirmidhī, Muʻāwīyah was alerted of the fact that Saʻd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ would not curse ʻAlī (ع), so he called for Saʻd and demanded an explanation from him as to why he would not curse ʻAlī (ع):

> Muʻāwīyah ibn Abī Sufyān called for Saʻd and said, "What prevents you from cursing Abū Turāb?" He said, "Because I remembered three things that the Prophet (ص) said to ʻAlī...: 'Are you not content to be to me as Aaron was to Moses except that there is no prophecy after me,'[5368] and ...on the day of Khaybar, he said, 'I will give the banner to one who loves Allāh and His Messenger and whom Allāh and His Messenger love,'[5369] ...and when the verse was revealed [saying], 'Come, let us call our sons and your sons...'[5370] he called ʻAlī, Fāṭimah, Ḥasan, and Ḥusayn and said, 'O Allāh! These are my family (ahl)."[5371]

Obviously, cursing ʻAlī (ع) was so commonplace during the caliphate of Muʻāwīyah that if someone refused to do so, it would attract the attention of the caliph. Bukhārī tried to cover up the cursing of ʻAlī (ع) on the pulpit as follows:

> A man came to Sahl ibn Saʻd and said, "This is so-and-so," meaning the governor of Madīnah. "He is calling ʻAlī bad names near the pulpit." Sahl asked, "What is he saying?" [The man] replied, "He calls him Abū Turāb." Sahl laughed and said, "By Allāh, none but the Prophet called him by this name and no name was dearer to ʻAlī than this." So I asked Sahl to tell me more, saying, "O Abū ʻAbbās! How [was this name given to ʻAlī]?" Sahl said, "ʻAlī went to Fāṭimah and then came out and slept in the mosque. The Prophet asked Fāṭimah, "Where is your cousin?" She said, "In the mosque." The Prophet went to him and found that [ʻAlī's] covering sheet had slipped of his back and dust had soiled his back. The Prophet started wiping the dust off his back and said twice, "Get up! O Abū Turāb (i.e. O man with dust)."[5372]

Obviously, the word Abū Turāb was used in a derogatory sense as is clear in this tradition. Ibn Kathīr, despite his intense sectarian prejudice, said, "Some of the Banū Umayyah would criticize ʻAlī for being named Abū Turāb, even though this was indeed what the

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[5367] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #31.5924.

[5368] Refer to chapter 10.

[5369] Refer to chapter 20.

[5370] Qurʼān 3:61. Refer to chapter 29 for a discussion of the Mubāhalah.

[5371] Sunan Tirmidhī #3724; Iṣābah 2:1296 #5690 (ʻAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib).

[5372] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.57.53.

Prophet (ص) had named him."[5373] This shows that the Umayyads even tried to turn ʿAlī's (ع) virtues into vices on their pulpits.

Those Assigned the Task of Inventing Traditions Defaming ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib (ع)

Abū Jaʿfar al-Iskāfī said,

> Muʿāwīyah assigned a group of the companions and a group of the successors (tābiʿīn) [the task of] relating traditions regarding ʿAlī that were so shameful that they would necessitate the defamation and renunciation of ʿAlī... Among [the companions] were Abū Hurayrah, ʿAmr ibn ʿĀṣ, and Mughīrah ibn Shuʿbah, and among the successors was ʿUrwah ibn Zubayr.[5374]

The Tradition of ʿAmr ibn ʿĀṣ in Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī and Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim

The following tradition in Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī and Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim is a perfect example of the insults ʿAmr would hurl at ʿAlī (ع):

> ʿAmr ibn ʿĀṣ said: I heard the Prophet say openly, not secretly, "The family (āl) of Abū so-and-so (Ṭālib) are not my walīs; my walīs are only Allāh and the righteous (ṣāliḥ) believers. But they have kinship with me, so I will be good and dutiful to them."[5375]

Ibn Ḥajar did not doubt that ʿAmr was specifically referring to the family of Abū Ṭālib.[5376] As such, this is a clear invention by ʿAmr ibn ʿĀṣ, an avowed enemy of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع), designed to portray ʿAlī (ع) and his entire family as outcasts who had been renounced by the Prophet (ص). He even claimed that the Prophet (ص) tolerated them only because of their kinship. As we have discussed previously, the entire story of the disbelief of Abū Ṭālib was a creation of the Umayyads and their accomplices, particularly Mughīrah ibn Shuʿbah, to portray the entire family of Abū Ṭālib as disbelievers.[5377] All the accounts of Abū Ṭālib's disbelief, according to Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, originated from Mughīrah ibn Shuʿbah,[5378] and anything attributed to others is due to tadlīs (not relating the true source), as Sunnīs to this day see no problem in leaving out a companion from or altering the identity of a companion in a chain of transmission, as all of them are deemed equally and unequivocally trustworthy. As such, companions and successors who heard Mughīrah claim on the pulpit that Abū Ṭālib was a disbeliever would go on to relate it as though they had heard it directly from the Prophet (ص). Indeed, subsequent Sunnī scholars would see no problem in leaving out Mughīrah's name from the chain, as it was an unnecessary addition, since everything he said was by necessity true. Amazingly, they do not think that everything the Prophet (ص) said is necessarily true, as he lacked worldly wisdom,[5379] yet his companions could only speak the truth!

It is hard to know why Bukhārī and Muslim included this tradition. Is it that they wanted to show the enmity of ʿAmr ibn ʿĀṣ to ʿAlī (ع), or was it because they believed its content. In general, they would transmit a tradition only if they believed its content as well. In that case, one must wonder how this tradition can be put together with the mutawātir tradition in which the Messenger of Allāh (ص) said, "Whosever mawlā I am, ʿAlī is his mawlā"?[5380]

[5373] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:371.

[5374] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 4:63.

[5375] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #8.73.19; Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #1.417. Translation is directly from the Arabic (Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5644; Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #215). Note that the account in Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim omits the last sentence.

[5376] Fatḥ al-Bārī #5644.

[5377] Refer to chapter 5.

[5378] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 14:70.

[5379] Refer to chapter 75.

The Traditions ʿUrwah ibn Zubayr Related from ʿĀʾishah

According to ʿUrwah ibn Zubayr, ʿĀʾishah said, "I was with the Messenger of Allāh when ʿAbbās and ʿAlī came. He said, 'O ʿĀʾishah, these two will die on other than my nation' or 'religion.'"[5381] In another tradition, ʿUrwah claimed that ʿĀʾishah said that when ʿAbbās and ʿAlī (ع) came, the Prophet (ص) told her, "O ʿĀʾishah! If you like to see two men who are among the people of the fire, look at these two who just appeared." ʿĀʾishah added, "I looked and just then I saw ʿAbbās and ʿAlī."[5382] ʿAbd al-Razzāq related from Muʿammar,

> There were two traditions with Zuhrī from ʿUrwah [ibn Zubayr] from ʿĀʾishah in regards to ʿAlī. I asked him about them one day. He said, "Why do you need [those] two [specific traditions] and the traditions of those two? Allāh knows best about the two of them. I suspect the two [with regards to their traditions] about the Banū Hāshim."[5383]

The Traditions of Abū Hurayrah

No companion of the Prophet (ص) has related as many traditions as Abū Hurayrah has. However, as will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter, there is great doubt in regards to the bulk of what he related. According to a Shīʿah tradition, Imām Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq (ع) said, "Three people would [routinely] append lies to the Messenger of Allāh (ص)—Abū Hurayrah, Anas ibn Mālik, and a woman (i.e. ʿĀʾishah)."[5384] Abū Hurayrah spent years inventing traditions to support the first three caliphs as well as the Umayyads. During Muʿāwīyah's reign, someone went to Abū Hurayrah and said,

> "O Abū Hurayrah, I adjure you by Allāh, did you hear the Messenger of Allāh (ص) tell ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib, 'O Allāh, be the walī of whoever takes him as walī, and be the enemy of whoever takes him as enemy'?" He replied, "By Allāh, yes." He said, "I bear witness by Allāh that you have taken his enemy as your walī and [that you have] taken his walī as your enemy!"[5385]

[5380]. Refer to chapter 34.

[5381]. Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 4:63-4.

[5382]. Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 4:64.

[5383]. Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 4:64.

[5384]. Al-Khiṣāl of Shaykh Ṣadūq 1:184-5, chapter 3 #226.

[5385]. Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 4:68.

Chapter 77
Abū Hurayrah al-Dawsī: The Leading Narrator of Sunnī Traditions Among the Companions

Abū Hurayrah was one of the most influential companions of the Prophet (ص), not so much because of his political role, as was the case with Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, ʿUthmān, ʿAlī (ع), and Muʿāwīyah, but because of the numerous traditions that he transmitted from the Prophet (ص) that have been incorporated throughout Sunnī texts. According to Ibn Ḥajar, "The experts of tradition (ahl al-ḥadīth) have consensus that he was the companion who related the most traditions [from the Prophet (ص)]. Abū Muḥammad ibn Ḥazm said that the Musnad of Baqī ibn Makhlad contained over 5,300 traditions from Abū Hurayrah."[5386] Abū Hurayrah's traditions are so omnipresent in Sunnī sources that they have played a central role in the formulation of Sunnī theology and jurisprudence to the point that Sunnīsm and Abū Hurayrah's traditions are no longer separable.

His traditions related in Sunnī sources far outnumber those of the first six caliphs—Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, ʿUthmān, ʿAlī (ع), Ḥasan (ع), and Muʿāwīyah—combined. In Musnad Ḥanbal, in which traditions are listed in accordance with the companions who related them, there are 81 traditions from Abū Bakr, 317 from ʿUmar, 163 from ʿUthmān, 819 from ʿAlī (ع), 12 from Ḥasan (ع), and 108 from Muʿāwīyah, while there are 3,879 traditions from Abū Hurayrah, 2,400 from ʿĀʾishah, 2,183 from Anas ibn Mālik, and 2,028 from ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar, out of a total of 27,688 traditions.

We have already discussed the unreliability of ʿĀʾishah,[5387] as well as the fact that Anas ibn Mālik was so adamant in denying the truth about what the Prophet (ص) had said that ʿAlī (ع) cursed him with leprosy so extensively affecting his face that he could not hide it with his turban.[5388] Furthermore, ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar was so adamantly opposed to the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) that he refused to pledge allegiance to ʿAlī (ع).[5389] In fact, Ibn ʿUmar's own words prove his low status as a relater of prophetic traditions better than none other: "Abū Hurayrah is better than me and he knows what he transmits better than I [know what I transmit]."[5390] Once we establish the inaccuracy of what Abū Hurayrah transmitted, it will not take a stretch of the imagination to figure out what one should think of Ibn ʿUmar's traditions.

The reality is that the majority of the companions were not opposed to the Ahl al-Bayt (ع), even though only a small minority could be considered their true devotees. Yet, one can see the partiality of Sunnī scholars towards the most prominent enemies of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع). This, however, is not entirely the fault of Sunnī authors because the enemies of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) were the ones who controlled the levers of power and went on a rampage of spreading fabricated traditions,[5391] while prohibiting the narration of authentic traditions by others, going as far as incarcerating the closest and most truthful companions of the Prophet (ص) such as Abū Dharr, Abū Dardā`, and ʿAbd Allāh ibn Masʿūd in Madīnah.[5392] As such, Sunnī collections of traditions have become disproportionately weighed down by the fabrications of the enemies of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع).

[5386] Iṣābah 4:2387 #10671 (Abū Hurayrah).
[5387] Refer to chapters 6, 27, 28, 37, and 76.
[5388] Refer to chapter 34.
[5389] Refer to chapter 78.
[5390] Iṣābah 4:2391 #10671 (Abū Hurayrah).

A Brief Biography of Abū Hurayrah

There is significant disagreement regarding Abū Hurayrah's name and lineage. According to Ibn Ḥajar, there are twenty opinions regarding his name and fifteen opinions regarding the name of his father.[5393] Sunnī scholars state that that Abū Hurayrah accepted Islām in the year of Khaybar.[5394] Although some claim that he witnessed the Battle of Khaybar, he is quoted as having said, "I arrived on the Day of Khaybar after they had finished fighting."[5395] The Battle of Khaybar occurred in the month of Muḥarram in the year 7 A.H.[5396] Thereupon, he took up residence in Madīnah. As such, he spent a total of four years as a companion of the Prophet (ص).[5397] During the caliphate of ʿUmar, he was appointed as the governor of Baḥrayn, but he was later recalled and retained in Madīnah.[5398] He was subsequently made governor of Madīnah by Muʿāwīyah, but was later replaced by Marwān ibn Ḥakam. He died in Madīnah in the year 57, 58, or 59 A.H. at the age of 78.[5399] Muʿāwīyah's governor in Madīnah at that time was Walīd ibn ʿUtbah ibn Abī Sufyān, who led the funeral prayers over Abū Hurayrah.[5400]

The Companions Rejected Abū Hurayrah

Abū Hurayrah's career as a fabricator of prophetic traditions appears to have started during the lifetime of the Prophet (ص), as the other companions would beat him when he related the sayings of the Prophet (ص). According to Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, during the lifetime of the Prophet (ص), Abū Hurayrah told ʿUmar of what he had heard from the Prophet (ص). According to Abū Hurayrah, "Thereupon ʿUmar struck me on the breast and I fell on my back. He then said, 'Go back, Abū Hurayrah!'"[5401] According to Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, the suspicion of the companions towards Abū Hurayrah's narrations continued after the death of the Prophet (ص), as the companions would not believe Abū Hurayrah without corroboration from others that what he said was true:

> [Khabbāb] said, "Ibn ʿUmar, do you hear what Abū Hurayrah says—that he heard the Messenger of Allāh say, 'He who goes out with the bier when taken out from its residence and offers prayer for it and then follows it till it is buried, he would have two measures of reward, each measure being equivalent to Uḥud; and he who, after having offered prayer, [directly] comes back would have his reward [as great] as Uḥud'?" Ibn ʿUmar sent Khabbāb to ʿĀʾishah to

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[5391] Refer to chapters 75 and 76.

[5392] Refer to chapters 56 and 58.

[5393] Iṣābah 4:2387 #10671 (Abū Hurayrah).

[5394] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 8:111; Usd al-Ghābah 5:120 #6328 (Abū Hurayrah); Istīʿāb 4:334 #3241 (Abū Hurayrah).

[5395] Tadhkirah al-Ḥuffāẓ #16 (Abū Hurayrah al-Dawsī).

[5396] Iṣābah 4:2389 #10671 (Abū Hurayrah).

[5397] Iṣābah 4:2389 #10671 (Abū Hurayrah).

[5398] Usd al-Ghābah 5:121 #6328 (Abū Hurayrah).

[5399] Usd al-Ghābah 5:121 #6328 (Abū Hurayrah); Istīʿāb 4:332-3 #3241 (Abū Hurayrah); Iṣābah 4:2393-4 #10671 (Abū Hurayrah).

[5400] Istīʿāb 4:335 #3241 (Abū Hurayrah).

[5401] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #1.50.

> ask her about the words of Abū Hurayrah [and] come back to him and inform him of what ʹĀʹishah said. [In the meanwhile], Ibn ʹUmar took up a handful of pebbles and turned them over in his hand till the messenger (i.e. Khabbāb) came back to him and told [him] that ʹĀʹishah testified [that the statement of] Abū Hurayrah [was true]. Ibn ʹUmar threw the pebbles he had in his hand on the ground and then said, "We missed a large number of measures [of good deeds]!"[5402]

Of course, Muslim would pick a tradition in which Abū Hurayrah was supposedly found to be truthful, but it is clear in this tradition that Ibn ʹUmar did not trust the word of Abū Hurayrah. However, Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim has another tradition in which Abū Hurayrah was caught lying and was forced to alter his story, claiming he had heard the tradition not from the Prophet (ص), but rather from Faḍl ibn ʹAbbās:

> Abū Bakr [ibn ʹAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Ḥārith] reported: I heard Abū Hurayrah narrating that he who is overtaken by dawn in a state of seminal emission should not observe fast. I made a mention of it to ʹAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Ḥārith but he denied [what Abū Hurayrah had said]. ʹAbd al-Raḥmān went, and I also went along with him till we came to ʹĀʹishah and Umm Salamah, and ʹAbd al-Raḥmān asked them about it. Both of them said, "[At times it so happened] that the Apostle of Allāh woke up in the morning in a state of sexual impurity and observed fast." We then proceeded till we went to Marwān, and ʹAbd al-Raḥmān made a mention of it to him. Upon [hearing] this, Marwān said, "I stress upon you that you better go to Abū Hurayrah and relate to him what is said about it (i.e. confront him about it)." So we came to Abū Hurayrah and Abū Bakr had been with us throughout and ʹAbd al-Raḥmān made a mention of it to him, whereupon Abū Hurayrah said, "Did they (the two wives of the holy Prophet) tell you this?" He replied, "Yes." Upon this [Abū Hurayrah] said, "They have better knowledge." Abū Hurayrah then attributed what [he had] said about it to Faḍl ibn ʹAbbās and said, "I heard it from Faḍl and not from the Apostle of Allāh." Abū Hurayrah then retracted what he used to say about it.[5403]

This shows that Abū Hurayrah directly attributed things to the Prophet (ص) that he did not hear from the Prophet (ص), was caught doing so, and then appended his statement to the Prophet's (ص) cousin. If Abū Hurayrah's traditions are of this sort, one can certainly not trust them. No true scholar of ḥadīth would consider traditions from those who did what Abū Hurayrah did in this tradition (i.e. perform tadlīs) as reliable, because one would not know whether their traditions were directly narrated or not, and, if not, who the traditions were indirectly narrated through. Thus, his traditions should be considered unconnected (mursal), meaning that no known solid chain of transmission linking a tradition to the Prophet (ص) is known to exist if the tradition passes through Abū Hurayrah. These types of traditions are commonly seen from Abū Hurayrah. For example, he transmitted a tradition according to which he was present in the Prophet's Mosque with Dhū al-Yadayn, even though Dhū al-Yadayn was killed in the Battle of Badr several years prior to Abū Hurayrah's conversion to Islām and migration to Madīnah.[5404] As such, he either invented the whole account, or passed hearsay as a personal experience with the Prophet (ص).

[5402] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #4.2068.
[5403] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #6.2451.
[5404] Refer to chapter 75.

Indeed, Abū Hurayrah was widely chastised by the companions for his false traditions. According to Ibn Qutaybah,

> He was accused and renounced [by the companions] and he would be told, "How is it that only you have heard this by yourself and no one else has heard this along with you?" ʿĀʾishah was the most severe in rejecting him and ʿUmar was similarly harsh on him for the large number of his traditions, as well as the fact that he would bring traditions during [civil and criminal] judgments without any witnesses [to the veracity of his claims].[5405]

Ibn Qutaybah also said, "ʿUmar, ʿUthmān, ʿAlī, and ʿĀʾishah denounced Abū Hurayrah as a liar."[5406] Indeed, ʿAlī (ع) said, "Verily the person who appends the most lies upon the Messenger of Allāh (ص) is Abū Hurayrah al-Dawsī."[5407] When ʿUmar could no longer bear his false traditions, he struck Abū Hurayrah with his hand-whip and said, "You have related too many traditions, and I despise that you append lies to the Messenger of Allāh."[5408] ʿUmar also told Abū Hurayrah, "You will abandon [narrating] traditions from the Messenger of Allāh, or I will send you to the land of Daws,"[5409] which is where Abū Hurayrah was from.[5410] Abū Hurayrah said, "ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb accused me, saying, 'You [transmit] traditions from the Messenger of Allāh that you have not heard from him.'"[5411] According to Ibn ʿAsākir, when ʿUmar called Abū Hurayrah back from Baḥrayn, he said, "O enemy of Allāh and enemy of Islām! You betrayed the property of Allāh!" Abū Hurayrah defended himself, claiming that his wealth had all been legitimately acquired, but ʿUmar repeated his accusatory phrase three times. Seeing that Abū Hurayrah maintained his position, ʿUmar gave him 12,000 dirhams,[5412] and then offered to re-appoint him as governor of Baḥrayn, but Abū Hurayrah refused.[5413] This shows the wildly arbitrary manners of ʿUmar. It is clear that ʿUmar did not trust Abū Hurayrah, but since he had no proof that Abū Hurayrah had embezzled public funds or misused his authority, he had to desist. In order to save face after his unproven accusations, ʿUmar gave Abū Hurayrah a big donation from the Bayt al-Māl.

According to Ibn Ḥajar, accounts of the conflicts between ʿĀʾishah and Abū Hurayrah over prophetic traditions "are numerous."[5414] When ʿĀʾishah complained bitterly about the traditions of Abū Hurayrah, he attacked her back. According to Ibn Kathīr and Ibn ʿAsākir, ʿĀʾishah told Abū Hurayrah, "You have [transmitted] too many traditions from the Messenger of Allāh, O Abū Hurayrah!" He replied, "By Allāh, my attention was diverted from him neither by the mascara container nor by hair dye!"[5415] According to Ibn Saʿd, Ibn ʿAsākir, and Ibn Ḥajar, ʿĀʾishah told Abū Hurayrah, "You transmit a tradition from the Prophet that I have not heard about." Abū Hurayrah replied, "O mother! Your attention was diverted by the mirror and the mascara container, while nothing would divert my attention from him."[5416] One time when a tradition of Abū Hurayrah's regarding women, mounts, and houses being items of bad omen was presented to ʿĀʾishah, she was infuriated and said, "He lied! By He who sent the Furqān (i.e. Qurʾān) to Abū al-Qāsim, [the Prophet] did not say this to him. It was only the people of the Days of Ignorance who [believed in] bad omens."[5417]

[5405] Taʾwīl Mukhtalif al-Ḥadīth of Ibn Qutaybah 41.
[5406] Taʾwīl Mukhtalif al-Ḥadīth of Ibn Qutaybah 27.
[5407] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 4:68.
[5408] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 4:67-68.
[5409] Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #29472; Tārīkh Damishq 67:343; Uṣūl al-Sarakhsī 1:341.
[5410] Muʿjam al-Buldān 3:88.
[5411] Tārīkh Damishq 67:344.
[5412] Tārīkh Damishq 67:371.
[5413] Iṣābah 4:2393 #10671 (Abū Hurayrah).
[5414] Iṣābah 4:2391 #10671 (Abū Hurayrah).
[5415] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 8:116; Tārīkh Damishq 67:353.
[5416] Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 2:364; Tārīkh Damishq 67:353; Iṣābah 4:2391 #10671 (Abū Hurayrah).

Other companions shared this negative view of him. Ibn ʿUmar said, "Abū Hurayrah has [narrated] too many [traditions]."[5418] This, of course, would not be a bad thing if what he transmitted was truthful and honest, but Abū Ayyūb said, "Abū Hurayrah heard what we did not hear,"[5419] and Ṭalḥah ibn ʿUbayd Allāh said, "There is no doubt that Abū Hurayrah heard from the Messenger of Allāh things that we did not hear."[5420] These statements indicate that Abū Hurayrah's traditions were substantially different from what the other companions recalled from the Prophet's (ص) words and actions. This places many of his accounts in the category of āḥād or singular traditions that remain uncorroborated, as a minimum of two witnesses is required for any matter of substance.[5421] According to ʿUrwah, his father Zubayr would say, "Rid me of this Yemenite," meaning Abū Hurayrah, "for he [transmits] too many [questionable traditions]."[5422] Once, when Abū Hurayrah was telling a tradition, Zubayr said, "He tells the truth. He lies. He tells the truth. He lies." ʿUrwah asked, "O father, what does your saying, 'He tells the truth, He lies,' [mean]?" He replied, "O son! No doubt I used to hear these traditions from the Messenger of Allāh, but among them is what he keeps in its place, and among them is what he places in other than its place."[5423] That Abū Hurayrah would move words around from proper contexts to change their meanings and implications is a serious allegation, as the Qurʾān says, "Among the Jews there are those who displace words from their [correct] places."[5424] In regards to the Jews, the Qurʾān also says, "They change the words from their [correct] places and neglect part of what they were reminded of,"[5425] and that, "They change the words from their [correct] places."[5426] The words Zubayr used to describe what Abū Hurayrah clearly parallel the words the Qurʾān has used to describe how the Jews adulterated their divine books.

Ibrāhīm ibn Yazīd Denounced Abū Hurayrah

The Shīʿah are not the only ones who have abandoned the traditions of Abū Hurayrah. Ibrāhīm ibn Yazīd ibn ʿAmr al-Kūfī al-Nakhaʿī (d. 95 A.H.) is considered one of the greatest scholars among the successors (tābiʿīn) by the Sunnī scholars.[5427] Ibn Ḥajar said, "[He was] the muftī (grand scholar) of the people of Kūfah, and he was a righteous scholar of Islāmic jurisprudence (faqīh)."[5428] According to Bukhārī, when he died, Shaʿbī said, "A man has died, the likes of whom were not left behind in Kūfah or Baṣrah or Mecca or Madīnah or Syria."[5429] In fact, no Sunnī scholar has questioned the great virtues of Ibrāhīm ibn Yazīd.

5417. Tārīkh Damishq 67:352.
5418. Tārīkh Damishq 67:349.
5419. Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 8:117.
5420. Iṣābah 4:2391 #10671 (Abū Hurayrah).
5421. Qurʾān 2:282.
5422. Iṣābah 4:2392 #10671 (Abū Hurayrah).
5423. Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 8:117; Tārīkh Damishq 67:356; Iṣābah 4:2392 #10671 (Abū Hurayrah).
5424. Qurʾān 4:46.
5425. Qurʾān 5:13.
5426. Qurʾān 5:41.
5427. Tadhkirah al-Ḥuffāẓ #70 (Ibrāhīm al-Nakhaʿī).
5428. Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb vol 1 #325 (Ibrāhīm ibn Yazīd ibn Qays).
5429. Tārīkh Bukhārī vol 1 #1052 (Ibrāhīm ibn Yazīd). Similarly, Tadhkirah al-Ḥuffāẓ #70 (Ibrāhīm al-Nakhaʿī); Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb vol 1 #325 (Ibrāhīm ibn Yazīd).

According to Dhahabī, Ibrāhīm ibn Yazīd declared, "Abū Hurayrah was not a faqīh (expert in jurisprudence)."[5430] He also said, "Many of Abū Hurayrah's traditions are abrogated (mansūkh)."[5431] As such, he did not consider the traditions of Abū Hurayrah reliable. He also claimed, "They would not take every tradition of Abū Hurayrah's,"[5432] that, "Our companions used to call [people] away from [following] the traditions of Abū Hurayrah,"[5433] that, "They would take [some] of Abū Hurayrah's traditions and toss away [others],"[5434] and that, "They would abandon things among what he said."[5435] He further clarified these statements by saying, "They would transmit some of Abū Hurayrah's traditions, but they would not accept every tradition of Abū Hurayrah's, except for the traditions pertaining to the qualities of heaven and hell."[5436] This is because the exact qualities of heaven and hell are not of particular importance, as one would not act or forms key beliefs based on such descriptions. A'mash said,

> Ibrāhīm [ibn Yazīd] was trustworthy in matters of [prophetic] tradition. When I heard traditions, I would take them to him and present them to him. One day I took him traditions that Abū Ṣāliḥ [had narrated] from Abū Hurayrah. He said, "You ask me about Abū Hurayrah—they used to abandon many of his traditions."[5437]

Abū Ḥanīfah Denounced Abū Hurayrah

Abū Ḥanīfah, the founder of the Ḥanafī school of Sunnī jurisprudence, adopted Ibrāhīm ibn Yazīd's view of Abū Hurayrah. As such, one of the principles of Uṣūl al-Fiqh (principles of jurisprudence) of the Ḥanafīs is that they adopt their conclusions based on qīyās (reasoning by analogy) over the narrations of Abū Hurayrah. Abū Bakr al-Sarakhsī (d. 490 A.H.), a prominent Ḥanafī scholar, said in regards to the traditions of Abū Hurayrah,

> [We adopt] what was widely adopted among the early [generations] in this regards. We say that his traditions that agree with [our conclusions based on] qīyās should be acted upon. [As for] what contradicts [our conclusions based on qīyās], if the nation [at large] accepted [his tradition], then it can be acted upon. Otherwise, a qīyās that is performed properly takes precedence over his traditions.[5438]

This is truly the utmost insult to Abū Hurayrah, as the unreliable machinations of one's imagination are considered more reliable than the traditions he attributed to the Prophet (ص). Indeed, Abū Ḥanīfah said, "I imitate the judges among the companions such as Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmān, 'Alī and the three 'Abds[5439], and I never allow myself to contradict them with my opinion, with the exception of three persons."[5440] He also said, "I follow all the companions and do not allow my opinions to oppose their [verdicts], except for three people—Anas ibn Mālik, Abū Hurayrah, and Samurah ibn Jundub." When he was questioned about this, he replied, "Anas became confused towards the end of his life and his mind would issue edicts and I do not follow his mind. As for Abū Hurayrah, he would relate everything he heard without contemplating its meaning and without knowing whether it is abrogating (nāsikh) or abrogated (mansūkh)."[5441] Abū Yūsuf said,

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[5430] Mīzān al-I'tidāl #252 (Ibrāhīm ibn Yazīd al-Nakha'ī).
[5431] Sīyar A'lām al-Nubalā' 4:528 (Ibrāhīm al-Nakha'ī).
[5432] Tārīkh Damishq 67:360; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 8:118.
[5433] Tārīkh Damishq 67:360; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 8:118.
[5434] Uṣūl al-Sarakhsī 1:341.
[5435] Tārīkh Damishq 67:360.
[5436] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 8:118; Tārīkh Damishq 67:360, 67:361; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 4:68.
[5437] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 4:68.
[5438] Uṣūl al-Sarakhsī 1:341.
[5439] 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abbās, 'Abd Allāh ibn Mas'ūd, and 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Umar.
[5440] Mukhtaṣar al-Mu'ammal of Abū Shāmah 1:62-3 #148.

> I asked Abū Ḥanīfah, "What do we do with a tradition from the Messenger of Allāh (ص) that contradicts our reasoning by analogy (qīyās)?" He said, "If trustworthy transmitters bring them, we act based on them and desert [our] opinion (ra`y)." I asked, "What do you say about the traditions of Abū Bakr and ´Umar?" He said, "They settle the matter." I asked, "´Alī and ´Uthmān?" He said, "The same." He then said, "The companions are all just (´ādil) except a few." He then counted among them Abū Hurayrah and Anas ibn Mālik.[5442]

Abū Hurayrah was Denounced in the Presence of the ´Abbāsīd Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd

Indeed, the fact that Abū Hurayrah was a liar appears to have been widely accepted in the first two centuries, as is evidenced by the following account:

> ´Umar ibn Ḥabīb said: We were with the Commander of the Faithful Hārūn [al-Rashīd], and in front of him was a group who were discussing [a subject]. They recalled a tradition and said, "Abū Hurayrah related it from the Messenger of Allāh (ص) and Abū Hurayrah lied in regards to it." They raised their voices in denouncing Abū Hurayrah as a liar. I saw Hārūn following their example and adopting their view, so I said, "I [proclaim] Abū Hurayrah as truthful! Abū Hurayrah was truthful!"[5443]

Abū Hurayrah was Accosted During His Lifetime Regarding His Lies

In fact, people did not wait until Abū Hurayrah's death to renounce him. We have already reviewed some of the accounts of ´Umar, ´Ā`ishah, and others accosting him for his lies. However, they were not the only ones. According to Sha´bī, "Abū Hurayrah related a tradition and Sa´d related a tradition contradicting him, so a verbal brawl broke out between the two until doors were slammed between them."[5444] Moreover, Abū Hurayrah would say, "My friend told me," and "My friend said," and "I saw my friend and he said," so it was said to him, "Since when is the Prophet (ص) your friend, O Abū Hurayrah?!"[5445] One time, after Abū Hurayrah narrated a tradition, someone present protested loudly, proclaiming, "The Messenger of Allāh (ص) spoke the truth and Abū Hirr[5446] lied! The Messenger of Allāh (ص) spoke the truth and Abū Hirr lied! The Messenger of Allāh (ص) spoke the truth and Abū Hirr lied!"[5447]

Abū Hurayrah's Weak Memory

[5441] Mukhtaṣar al-Mu`ammal of Abū Shāmah 1:63 #149.

[5442] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 4:68.

[5443] Tārīkh Damishq 67:361. A similar account appears in Tafsīr Qurṭubī, verse 48:29.

[5444] Tārīkh Damishq 67:346.

[5445] Ta`wīl Mukhtalif al-Ḥadīth of Ibn Qutaybah 28.

[5446] According to Dhahabī (Tadhkirah al-Ḥuffāẓ #16, Abū Hurayrah al-Dawsī), Abū Hurayrah was referred to as Abū Hirr. According to Ibn Ḥajar (Iṣābah 4:2385 #10671, Abū Hurayrah), the Prophet (ص) would call him, "O Abū Hirr!" Furthermore, Abū Hurayrah said, "Call me Abū Hirr... for masculine (i.e. Hirr) is better than feminine (i.e. Hurayrah)" (Iṣābah 4:2389 #10671, Abū Hurayrah).

[5447] Tārīkh Damishq 67:354.

According to Ibn ʿAsākir, "Abū Hurayrah did not write down [any traditions] during the lifetime of the Prophet (ص), and he would rely [solely] on his memory."[5448] According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, Abū Hurayrah said, "There is none among the companions of the Prophet who has narrated more traditions than I except ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAmr [ibn ʿĀṣ] who used to write them though I never did."[5449] Indeed, this would not be such a problem if he had good memory. Yet, when he heard of the allegations against him, his response was, "What is my sin if I memorized [something] but forgot [it]?"[5450] It is a clear and common-sense rule of the science of ḥadīth that if someone had bad memory, traditions they recited based on memory cannot be relied upon. In fact, Abū Hurayrah complained to the Prophet (ص) during his lifetime, "O Messenger of Allāh! I hear a lot of traditions from you that I forget."[5451]

It is noteworthy that a man went to Ṭalḥah and said, "Abū Hurayrah has indeed [transmitted] many [traditions]." Ṭalḥah said, "We heard as he heard, but he remembered and we forgot."[5452] This position is highly troubling for the Sunnīs, because if Abū Hurayrah had bad memory and the other companions had even worse memory, then none of their traditions can be trusted. Without the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) to serve as an incorruptible repository of Islāmic knowledge, the Sunnah of the Prophet (ص) would be corrupted by and lost to the weak and fading memories of his companions. Indeed, the entire Sunnī faith relies upon the unsubstantiated and rather unbelievable claim that the companions all had miraculously accurate memories that would not allow the Sunnah of the Prophet (ص) to be forgotten or corrupted. Yet, no rational person can believe that tens if not hundreds of thousands of mostly illiterate tribal Arabs, many of whom had simply seen the Prophet (ص) as a distant sight, had a steel-trap memory that would neither forget nor distort anything.

Ibn ʿAsākir said, "Marwān, during the time he was the [governor] of Madīnah, intended to write down all of [Abū Hurayrah's] traditions, but [Abū Hurayrah] refused, saying, 'Transmit them as we transmit them (i.e. orally).'" But they brought a scribe to record his traditions nonetheless.[5453] Thus, his traditions were perhaps the first to be officially recorded by the illegitimate ruling circles, even though he preferred them not to be written, as it would be harder to prove his inaccuracies if everything he said remained word of mouth.

Abū Hurayrah Cozied up to the Umayyads

Upon the death of ʿUmar, Abū Hurayrah actively tried to charm ʿUthmān, the first Umayyad caliph. An example of this appears in the following tradition related by Ibn Kathīr and Ḥanbal:

> Abū Hurayrah asked ʿUthmān for permission to speak and he gave him permission [to do so]. He stood, praised Allāh and glorified Him, and then said, "I heard the Messenger of Allāh saying, 'You will encounter tribulations and discord after me.' Someone among the people asked, 'What are we to do, O

[5448] Tārīkh Damishq 67:342.
[5449] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #1.3.113.
[5450] Tārīkh Damishq 67:349.
[5451] Iṣābah 4:2390 #10671 (Abū Hurayrah).
[5452] Tārīkh Damishq 67:356; Iṣābah 4:2392#10671 (Abū Hurayrah).
[5453] Tārīkh Damishq 67:340.

> Messenger of Allāh?' He replied, 'You are to [follow] the trustworthy (amīn) and his companions,' pointing to ʿUthmān."[5454]

Similarly, when ʿUthmān took much heat for shredding, burning, burying, and otherwise destroying all of the Qurʾāns of the companions,

> Abū Hurayrah came to him and said, "You did the right thing. I testify that I heard the Messenger of Allāh say, 'The most beloved of my nation to me will be those who come after me, believing in me without having seen me, acting upon what is in the bound pages.' I would say [to myself], 'What are the [bound] pages [that he is referring to]?' until I saw the Maṣāḥif (i.e. ʿUthmān's collection)." ʿUthmān was so amazed at this that he ordered Abū Hurayrah to be paid ten thousand [dirhams].[5455]

When Muʿāwīyah became caliph, he was in desperate need of companions willing to fabricate virtues for him. Abū Hurayrah rose to the occasion, saying, "I heard the Messenger of Allāh say, 'The ones Allāh trusts are three—Gabriel, myself, and Muʿāwīyah.'"[5456] As such, Muʿāwīyah gave Abū Hurayrah free reign to spread his traditions. According to Ibn ʿAsākir, during the caliphate of Muʿāwīyah, people would be gathered around Abū Hurayrah at night, and "Abū Hurayrah would stand and tell traditions from the Messenger of Allāh (ص) until the morning."[5457] He even admitted that what he transmitted was mostly rubbish when he said, "I transmit traditions [today] that, had I mentioned them during the time of ʿUmar or in front of ʿUmar, he would have split my head open."[5458] In fact, his traditions became so popular that, according to Ashʿath ibn Sulaym, his father said, "I prefer to narrate from Abū Hurayrah than [directly] from the Messenger of Allāh (ص)."[5459]

Muʿāwīyah appointed Abū Hurayrah as his governor in Madīnah, even though he was later replaced with Marwān ibn Ḥakam.[5460] His governorship of Madīnah gave him ample opportunity to spread his false traditions on the Prophet's (ص) pulpit and to spread them far and wide, as Muslim pilgrims would descend upon the Prophet's Mosque from every land. As such, Bukhārī said, "Eight hundred or more people transmitted traditions from him."[5461]

After his replacement as governor, Abū Hurayrah and Marwān had some tension. One particular event was during the burial of Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī (ع), when Abū Hurayrah sided with the Ahl al-Bayt (ع), supporting their right to bury him by the Messenger of Allāh (ص). Marwān, upset by Abū Hurayrah's position on the matter, told him, "O Abū Hurayrah! The people say that you transmit too many traditions from the Messenger of Allāh even though you arrived [in Madīnah] shortly before the Prophet's death."[5462] Perhaps part of the reason he sided with the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) at that time was because he had, as discussed above, very poor relations with ʿĀʾishah and was trying to spite her any way he could by siding with the Banū Hāshim who wanted to Bury Ḥasan (ع) by the Prophet's (ص) gravesite.[5463]

[5454] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:234-5; Musnad Ḥanbal #8522.
[5455] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:243.
[5456] Tārīkh Baghdād #6363 (ʿAlī ibn ʿAbd Allāh) (certifies those in the chain of transmission as trustworthy).
[5457] Tārīkh Damishq 67:341.
[5458] Tārīkh Damishq 67:343.
[5459] Tārīkh Damishq 67:357, 67:358; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 8:117.
[5460] Tadhkirah al-Ḥuffāẓ #16 (Abū Hurayrah al-Dawsī).
[5461] Tadhkirah al-Ḥuffāẓ #16 (Abū Hurayrah al-Dawsī); Usd al-Ghābah 5:121 #6328 (Abū Hurayrah); Iṣābah 4:2388 #10671 (Abū Hurayrah); Istīʿāb 4:334 #3241 (Abū Hurayrah).
[5462] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 8:116. Similarly, Tārīkh Damishq 67:355; Iṣābah 4:2392 #10671 (Abū Hurayrah).

The main claim to piety the Sunnī scholars have put forth for Abū Hurayrah is that he was indigent and preferred the company of the Prophet (ص) to work. They claim that it was his lack of worldliness that made him seek out every tradition and retain each and every tradition he heard. However, thanks to Umayyad generosity, by the time of his death, he was not the indigent man he used to be at the time of the Prophet (ص). According to Ibn Ḥajar, "He died in his mansion in ʿAqīq."[5464] When his death was imminent, Abū Hurayrah asked that a pavilion not be built upon his grave,[5465] as it was customary for the Umayyads, starting with ʿUthmān, to have these built at the burial sites of their family members and devotees. In appreciation of his services, Muʿāwīyah gave 10,000 dirhams to his heirs upon his death.[5466]

Abū Hurayrah During the Caliphate of ʿAlī (ع)

According to Ṭabarī,

> After [the Battle of Ṣiffīn and] the appointment of the two arbitrators, Muʿāwīyah ibn Abī Sufyān dispatched an army under Busr ibn Abī Arṭāt, a man of the Banū ʿĀmir ibn Luʾayy. They came from Syria to Madīnah, whence ʿAlī's governor at the time, Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī, fled to ʿAlī at Kūfah, and Busr entered Madīnah. Busr ascended the minbar of Madīnah, without having met any opposition and cried out, "Dīnār, Najjār, and Zurayq![5467] My shaykh, my shaykh (i.e. ʿUthmān), with whom I was only yesterday—where is he now?" Then he said, "People of Madīnah! By Allāh, if it were not for my charge from Muʿāwīyah, I would not leave any mature man [among you] alive," and then he extracted the oath of allegiance [to Muʿāwīyah] from them. He sent to the Banū Salimah, saying, "By Allāh, you shall have no safe conduct with me, and I shall not accept your oath of allegiance, until you bring me Jābir ibn ʿAbd Allāh."[5468]

Jābir, who was among the pious Anṣār, asked Umm Salamah's opinion, saying, "I am afraid that I shall be killed, but this oath of allegiance is not right." She told him that she had made her son and son-in-law pledge allegiance to Muʿāwīyah and recommended that he do so as well, so he complied.[5469] Of course, this was necessary given the state of taqīyyah and the imminent fear of having themselves and the people of their tribes needlessly killed. Despite the compliance of the Anṣār with his illegitimate demands,

> Busr demolished some houses in Madīnah and then went on to Mecca [where he granted immunity to Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī]... Busr continued on to Yemen, where ʿUbayd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās was governor on behalf of ʿAlī. When ʿUbayd Allāh heard of his approach, he fled to Kūfah, where he joined ʿAlī, leaving behind as his deputy over Yemen ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbd al-Madān al-Ḥārithī. Busr came and killed him together with his son. He also came across the baggage train of ʿUbayd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās, with which were two small sons of the latter.

5463. Refer to chapter 94.
5464. Iṣābah 4:2393 #10671 (Abū Hurayrah).
5465. Iṣābah 4:2393 #10671 (Abū Hurayrah).
5466. Iṣābah 4:2393 #10671 (Abū Hurayrah).
5467. These are the names of the subtribes of Khazraj (Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:206, footnote #810).
5468. Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:206-7. Similarly, Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:100; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:356.
5469. Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:207; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:100; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:356.

> He slaughtered them both... He found the two sons of ʽUbayd Allāh ibn ʽAbbās with a Bedouin of the Banū Kinānah. When he wished to slay them, the Kinānī asked, "Why are you going to kill these two when they have done no wrong? If you are going to kill them, then kill me!" Busr replied, "I will!" ...The Kinānī fought to protect the two children until he was himself killed. One of the children whom Busr killed was called ʽAbd al-Raḥmān and the other Qutham. In the course of that expedition, Busr killed a large number of the partisans (Shīʽah) of ʽAlī in Yemen.[5470]

When ʽAlī (ع) was informed of this, he sent two thousand men under Jārīyah ibn Qudāmah and another two thousand men under Wahb ibn Masʽūd.[5471] Jārīyah chased Busr out of Yemen and Mecca, and then demanded the pledge of allegiance of the Meccans, so they asked whom they should pledge allegiance to since ʽAlī (ع) had been martyred. He told them that they must pledge allegiance to "him to whom the companions of ʽAlī have given [their allegiance]," so they pledged allegiance to Ḥasan ibn ʽAlī (ع).[5472]

Abū Hurayrah's role in all this was that he remained in Madīnah throughout, tacitly supporting Busr's massacres. He was in charge of "leading the people in the prayers,"[5473] which is a clear indication that Muʽāwīyah had appointed him as the illegitimate governor of Madīnah upon Busr's conquest of the city during the caliphate of ʽAlī (ع). According to Ṭabarī,

> Jārīyah then went to Madīnah, where Abū Hurayrah was leading the people in prayers. Abū Hurayrah fled from him and Jārīyah said, "By Allāh, if I had taken Abū Sinnawr,[5474] I would have cut off his head." He then told the people of Madīnah, "Give the oath of allegiance to Ḥasan ibn ʽAlī," and they did so. He remained there for a day, then departed, leaving to Kūfah, while Abū Hurayrah returned and again led the [people of Madīnah] in the prayers.[5475]

The fact that Jārīyah, as ʽAlī's (ع) commander, said that he would have killed Abū Hurayrah was because Abū Hurayrah deserved the death penalty for his crime of collusion with the Umayyad tyrants who killed untold numbers of believers during Busr's campaign. The fact that Abū Hurayrah fled before Jārīyah arrived shows that Abū Hurayrah knew that his presence in Madīnah and his leadership of the city were illegitimate, and that ʽAlī (ع) and his commanders would rightfully have him punished for his role in the massacres.

Abū Hurayrah was the Disciple and Protégé of Kaʽb al-Aḥbār

One of the most unfortunate events for the development of Sunnīsm is the fact that Abū Hurayrah was a constant companion of Kaʽb al-Aḥbār. We have already examined Kaʽb, who was the chief rabbi of Yemen and who had an active role in introducing Jewish concepts into Islām starting from the caliphate of ʽUmar.[5476] Kaʽb and Abū Hurayrah developed a mutual fondness for one another. According to Dhahabī, "Abū Hurayrah joined up with Ka´b and he would transmit [traditions] from him and ask him questions."[5477] Abū Hurayrah himself said, "I joined Ka´b and would take traditions from him and ask him questions."[5478] Abū Hurayrah was such a good disciple that Ka´b said, "I have not seen anyone who has not read the Torah who is more knowledgeable in regards to what is contained in it than Abū Hurayrah."[5479]

[5470] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:207-8. Similarly, Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:100; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:356-7.
[5471] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:208; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:100; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:357.
[5472] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:208; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:100; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:357.
[5473] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:208; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:100; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:357.
[5474] Abū Sinnawr was a derogatory reference to Abū Hurayrah. The word Sinnawr means cat, as does the word Hirr. As such, Abū Hurayrah's title, Abū Hirr, was thus changed to Abū Sinnawr to belittle him.
[5475] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:208-9; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:100; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:357.
[5476] Refer to chapter 56.

Abū Hurayrah avidly retained Jewish concepts, passing them on as the Prophet's (ص) words. According to Bishr ibn Sa´d, "[Abū Hurayrah] would attribute what Ka´b [al-Aḥbār] had said to the Messenger of Allāh (ص) and what the Messenger of Allāh (ص) had said to Ka´b."[5480] Shu´bah said, "Abū Hurayrah would perform tadlīs[5481]—that is he would relate what he heard from Ka´b and what he heard from the Messenger of Allāh (ص), and he would not distinguish one from the other."[5482] This is rather apparent in numerous traditions from Abū Hurayrah. For the sake of brevity, however, we will address only two flagrant examples.

Among the Jewish ideas that Abū Hurayrah took from Ka´b was the concept that Adam (ع) was created in Allāh's image. According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, Abū Hurayrah claimed that the Prophet (ص) said, "Allāh created Adam in his complete shape and form, sixty cubits (about 30 meters) in height."[5483] This appears to be directly adopted from the Book of Genesis, where it says, "When God created man, He made him in the likeness of God."[5484] Abū Hurayrah also claimed that in paradise, "All of them will look alike and will resemble their father Adam [in height], sixty cubits tall."[5485] It is clear that Abū Hurayrah's source was Ka´b al-Aḥbār, not the Prophet (ص). In fact, Abū Hurayrah even went further in developing his Jewish-Muslim fusion faith. According to Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim,

> Abū Hurayrah reported that Allāh's Messenger took hold of my hands and said, "Allāh, the exalted and glorious, created clay on Saturday, and He created the mountains on Sunday, and He created the trees on Monday, and He created the things entailing labor on Tuesday, and He created light on Wednesday, and He caused the animals to spread on Thursday, and He created Adam after ´aṣr (i.e. in the late afternoon) on Friday, [ع] the last creation at the last hour among the hours of Friday, between afternoon and night."[5486]

Abū Hurayrah's claim that Allāh created everything in seven days cannot possibly be from the Prophet (ص), as it directly contradicts the Qur`ān, which says, "Your Lord is Allāh Who created the heavens and the earth in six days."[5487] In fact, the only thing connecting Abū Hurayrah's tradition with the Qur`ān is the fact that there are seven verses proving that he lied because these verses clearly state that Allāh created everything in six days, not seven, as claimed by Abū Hurayrah.[5488] Amazingly, even the Jews believe that Allāh created everything in six days—between Sunday and Friday—and then rested on Saturday. According to the Book of Exodus, "In six days the Lord made the heavens and the earth, the sea, and all that is in them, but He rested on the seventh day."[5489] This Judeo-Christian view is renounced by Muslims, as Allāh does not need rest because, as the Qur`ān asserts, "He feels no fatigue."[5490] So it is clear that Abū Hurayrah remembered neither his Islāmic nor his Jewish teachings very well, and allowed his imagination to play a great part in the traditions he fabricated and attributed to Allāh's Messenger (ص). It is unfortunate that his concoctions would become so widely incorporated into Sunnī texts.

[5477] Tadhkirah al-Ḥuffāẓ #16 (Abū Hurayrah al-Dawsī).

[5478] Iṣābah 4:2391 #10671 (Abū Hurayrah).

[5479] Tadhkirah al-Ḥuffāẓ #16 (Abū Hurayrah al-Dawsī); Tārīkh Damishq 67:343; Iṣābah 4:2389 #10671 (Abū Hurayrah).

[5480] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 8:117 (two similar traditions). Similarly, Tārīkh Damishq 67:359.

[5481] Simply defined, tadlīs, in the science of ḥadīth, refers to the act of altering one's true source for a tradition.

[5482] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 8:117. Similarly, Tārīkh Damishq 67:359.

[5483] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #8.74.246.

[5484] Bible, Old Testament, Genesis 5:1.

[5485] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #4.55.544. Similarly, Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #40.6795-6.

[5486] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #39.6707.

[5487] Qur`ān 7:54.

[5488] Qur`ān 7:54, 10:3, 11:7, 25:59, 32:4, 50:38, 57:4.

Defenses for Abū Hurayrah

There is overwhelming evidence that the companions, the successors (tābi´īn), and the early scholars renounced Abū Hurayrah's traditions as fabrications. Even the traditions of Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim confirm that he performed tadlīs, which is the act of hiding one's true source, when he attributed a claim directly to the Messenger of Allāh (ص) when he had actually heard it from someone else. Despite these facts, his traditions have been widely narrated and adopted by the Sunnī scholars. In his defense, some have claimed that he was the most avid collector of traditions during his four years of companionship, and that worldly matters did not distract him from his task of retaining prophetic traditions in his memory. Such claims, however, address neither the serious charges laid against him by the other companions, nor the fact that there is overwhelming evidence that he performed tadlīs. What is most worrisome is the fact that he would attribute the teachings of Ka´b al-Aḥbār, the Jewish rabbi convert, to the Prophet (ص).

Unfortunately, some have subjugated the reality that not all companions were trustworthy to the theoretical yet unsubstantiated concept that all the companions were just, trustworthy, and guaranteed to go straight to paradise. The concept that the transmissions of every companion can be relied upon not only contradicts innumerable traditions and historical accounts, but also the Qur`ān itself, which says, "O you who believe! When a wicked person comes to you with any news, ascertain the truth lest you harm people unwittingly and afterwards become full of remorse for what you have done."[5491] There appears to be consensus that this verse was revealed in regards to Walīd ibn ´Uqbah when his lie during the lifetime of the Messenger of Allāh (ص) nearly resulted in an unnecessary war against a friendly tribe of fellow Muslims.[5492] This verse clearly ordered the companions not to trust the words of the "wicked" ones among them, proving that wicked companions did exist, and that their words are to be rejected in the absence of independent corroborative evidence. As Muslims, we must believe the statement of Allāh that wicked companions did exist rather than the theoretical ruminations of imaginative "scholars" who claim that wicked, deceitful, untrustworthy, and untruthful companions did not exist. This verse of the Qur`ān accurately predicts what will happen to us if we base our religion on the uncorroborated words of certain companions—we will afterwards become full of remorse for what we have done. Unfortunately, for many, this realization will come too late for the regret to be of any value.

[5489] Bible, Old Testament, Exodus 20:11.

[5490] Qur`ān 2:255.

[5491] Qur`ān 49:6.

[5492] Refer to chapter 64 for a discussion of the background for this verse.

Chapter 78
The Pledge of Allegiance to ʹAlī (ع)

After the execution of ʹUthmān, the vast majority of those present in Madīnah pledged allegiance to ʹAlī (ع), and he immediately started his task of restoring the rule of Islām. However, when it came to his desire to distribute wealth equally and to confiscate property illegitimately obtained and accumulated by certain companions, he ran into fierce opposition. Early opposition to ʹAlī's (ع) rule came from two parallel sources. The first included those who reneged on their pledges of allegiance to him, namely Ṭalḥah and Zubayr, who joined ʹĀʾishah in battle against ʹAlī (ع). The second was Muʹāwīyah who refused to resign his post as governor of Syria and to submit to ʹAlī's (ع) authority. Companions such as ʹUbayd Allāh ibn ʹUmar who had Islāmic punishments awaiting them fled to Syria to be out of ʹAlī's (ع) reach.[5493] Similarly, innovators such as the story-teller Tamīm al-Dārī fled from Madīnah to Syria, where they were welcomed by Muʹāwīyah.[5494]

Since the purpose of this work is to establish the imāmate of ʹAlī (ع) and to discuss a number of topics related to Shīʹah-Sunnī controversies, there is little need to delve into detail regarding the history of ʹAlī's (ع) caliphate, except to reveal the hypocrisy of certain companions, the discord caused by them, and their propensity to choose the wrong path over the right one even when the distinction between right and wrong was most evident. Indeed, according to an authentic, widely narrated, and mutawātir tradition, the Prophet (ص) told ʹAlī (ع),

> You must fight the breakers of vows (nākithīn), the deviants (qāsiṭīn), and the heretics (māriqīn).[5495]

As is accepted by the consensus of the Shīʹah and Sunnīs, the breakers of vows were those who fought ʹAlī (ع) in the Battle of Jamal, the deviants included Muʹāwīyah and his men who fought him in the Battle of Ṣiffīn, and the heretics were the Khārijītes who fought him in the Battle of Nahrawān. The Prophet (ص) also warned ʹAlī (ع), "After me, the nation will treat you with treachery. You will lead your life [in accordance to the precepts] of my nation and will fight over my Sunnah. Whoever loves you loves me and

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5493. Refer to chapter 63.
5494. Refer to chapter 56.
5495. Mustadrak Ḥākim #4674-5; Majmaʹ al-Zawāʾid #8951 (certifies those in the chain of transmission as trustworthy), #10442-3, #12042-5; Kanz al-ʹUmmāl #31552-3, #31649, #31720-1, #36361, #36367; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 1:201, 6:129, 6:130, 7:48, 8:21, 8:218, 8:297, 9:206, 13:183, 13:192, 13:287, 18:24-5; Tārīkh Baghdād #4447 (Khulayd ibn ʹAbd Allāh), #7165 (Muʹallā ibn ʹAbd al-Raḥmān al-Wāsiṭī); Tārīkh Damishq 42:468-73 (numerous chains of transmission); Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:338-40 (multiple chains of transmission), 7:398; Istīʹāb 3:214 #1875 (ʹAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib); Usd al-Ghābah 3:298 #3789 (ʹAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib) (several traditions); Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:226; Khaṣāʾiṣ al-Kubrā Suyūṭī 2:184, 2:208.

whoever hates you hates me."[5496] The Prophet (ص) also told ´Alī (ع), "O ´Alī, I asked for five things from Allāh. Allāh refused one [of my wishes] but granted me [the other] four. I asked Him to gather my nation around you, but He refused..."[5497] The reason for Allāh's refusal to gather the Muslim nation around ´Alī was that Allāh does not force people to perform good deeds. Belief in the imāmate of ´Alī is a test of true belief and not something Muslims are coerced into by Allāh in abrogation of their own will. Indeed, just as Allāh has not forced all of mankind to be Muslim and to submit to Muḥammad's (ص) prophecy, He has not forced the Muslims to be among the Shī´ah of ´Alī (ع) and to submit to his imāmate and wilāyah.

Accounts of the Pledge of Allegiance to ´Alī (ع)

When ´Uthmān died on the eighteenth of Dhū al-Ḥijjah of the year 35 A.H.,[5498] which was the Day of Ghadīr Khumm,[5499] ´Alī (ع) was in the house of Abū ´Amr ibn Ḥuṣayn al-Anṣārī,[5500] which was four farsakhs[5501] away from Madīnah.[5502] According to Ṭabarī, when the companions went to ´Alī (ع) and tried to grab his hand to pledge allegiance to him, "´Alī took his hand away and closed it."[5503] Mālik al-Ashtar said, "Yet again! After three times?! By Allāh! If you reject this rule again, you will look at it with pain for a long time."[5504] ´Ammār said, "Either offer yourself to us or we will take the initiative [in pledging allegiance] to you."[5505] The people said, "Accept our pledge of allegiance, for we will not be satisfied with anyone other than you, and will not be safe from discord and divisions among people [without you]."[5506] According to Ibn Kathīr, ´Alī (ع) shunned the offers and fled to the orchards of the Banū ´Amr ibn Mabdhūl, but the believers persisted in their insistence that he become their caliph.[5507]

The Muhājirīn and Anṣār gathered around Ṭalḥah and Zubayr, and they all came to ´Alī (ع) and said, "Abū al-Ḥasan, let us give you allegiance."[5508] Ṭalḥah said, "You are the Commander of the Faithful, so put out your hand,"[5509] apparently referring to ´Alī's (ع) rightful title as the Commander of the Faithful. "I have no need to be caliph," ´Alī (ع) replied. "It's better that I be a wazīr (vizier) than amīr (ruler)." They replied, "We'll choose no one but you." He said, "It should be done in the mosque then. Allegiance must not be given secretly or without the approval of the Muslims."[5510]

As such, ´Alī (ع) made it very clear that private machinations were illegitimate when it comes to selecting a caliph, which is why he told those who had come to pledge allegiance to him that the pledge must be conducted publicly. This proves that ´Alī (ع) considered the Saqīfah, Abū Bakr's appointment of ´Umar, and the Shūrā as illegitimate,

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5496. Mustadrak Ḥākim #4686 (certifies the tradition as authentic); Kanz al-´Ummāl #31562. The phrase, "The nation will act treacherously with you after me," also appears in Tārīkh Damishq 42:447 and 42:448, as well as in Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 6:244, 7:360.
5497. Kanz al-´Ummāl #33047. Similarly, Tārīkh Baghdād #2167 (Aḥmad ibn Ghālib).
5498. Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:252; Tārīkh Ṭabarī 15:250-1 (several traditions).
5499. Refer to chapter 34.
5500. Kanz al-´Ummāl #14282.
5501. 1 farsakh is approximately 3.5 miles.
5502. Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:301.
5503. Tārīkh Ṭabarī 16:12.
5504. Tārīkh Ṭabarī 16:12.
5505. Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:301.
5506. Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:301.
5507. Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:252-3.
5508. Tārīkh Ṭabarī 16:2.
5509. Tārīkh Ṭabarī 16:12-3.
5510. Tārīkh Ṭabarī 16:2; Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:302; Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:230; Faḍā´il Ḥanbal #969.

as the processes occurred through private selection by those not entitled to select a caliph.

The pledge of allegiance to ʿAlī (ع) took place on the 25th of Dhū al-Ḥijjah, one week after ʿUthmān had died,[5511] showing that ʿAlī (ع) was in no hurry to take on the caliphate since he know what it entailed. To build a straight wall on top of three previously-laid crooked bricks is an impossible act, and ʿAlī (ع) knew that there were many forces that would obstruct his path towards the revival of the Book of Allāh and the Sunnah of His Messenger (ص).

After the pledge of allegiance, ʿAlī (ع) went to the pulpit and said, "I was unwilling to take command of you, but you insisted that I should. You must be aware, however, that I ask for no authority from which you are excluded, other than to hold the keys to your treasury. Know also that I would never take a dirham from it without your permission."[5512] He then sent to Ṭalḥah to have the keys of the treasury taken from him,[5513] since he was the one who had taken control of them during the siege of ʿUthmān.[5514]

Those Who Refused to Pledge Allegiance to ʿAlī (ع)

A number of people could not bring themselves to pledge allegiance to ʿAlī (ع). These included the following: (1) Saʿd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ,[5515] who said, "I won't do so until [all of] the people have, but believe me, you've nothing to fear from me," so ʿAlī (ع) let him go.[5516] (2) ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar,[5517] who refused to either pledge allegiance or to present a guarantor that he would not cause trouble. Upon hearing this, ʿAlī (ع) said, "You are as rude a man as you were as a child." Mālik al-Ashtar said, "Let me cut his head off," but ʿAlī (ع) let him go.[5518] Ibn ʿUmar then left Madīnah for Mecca.[5519] (3) A number of the partisans of ʿUthmān among the Anṣār, including Ḥassān ibn Thābit, Kaʿb ibn Mālik, Maslamah ibn Mukhallad, Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī, Muḥammad ibn Maslamah, Nuʿmān ibn Bashīr, Zayd ibn Thābit, Rāfiʿ ibn Khadīj, Faḍālah ibn ʿUbayd, and Kaʿb ibn ʿUjrah.[5520] Of note, Zayd ibn Thābit had been in charge of ʿUthmān's registry (dīwān) and treasury, and had been amply provided for during ʿUthmān's reign to the point that when he died, an axe was needed to divide his possessions of precious metals.[5521] Furthermore, Kaʿb ibn Mālik had been put in charge of the alms from Muzaynah, and ʿUthmān would let him keep whatever he wanted from the alms.[5522] (4) ʿUbayd Allāh ibn ʿUmar, who fled to Syria because ʿAlī (ع) wanted to execute him for killing Hurmuzān.[5523] (5) Others who fled to Syria without pledging allegiance, including Qudāmah ibn Maẓʿūn, ʿAbd Allāh ibn Sallām, and Mughīrah ibn Shuʿbah.[5524] In this category, Marwān ibn Ḥakam and Walīd ibn ʿUqbah have also been included by Ibn Kathīr.[5525] Of note, after abandoning the rebels who were heading to the Battle of Jamal,[5526] Mughīrah ibn Shuʿbah went to Ṭāʾif, where he remained neutral until the time of the arbitration between ʿAlī (ع) and Muʿāwīyah, at which time he joined Muʿāwīyah.[5527] (6) Ṣuhayb ibn Sinān.[5528] (7) Usāmah ibn Zayd.[5529] (8) Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī.[5530] (9) Abū Masʿūd al-Anṣārī.[5531] (10) Wahb ibn Ṣayfī al-Anṣārī.[5532] (11) Salamah ibn Salāmah.[5533] (12) The entirety of Syria, which was under the control of Muʿāwīyah.[5534] (13) Those in Mecca.[5535]

[5511] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 16:15; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:253-4.
[5512] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 16:3.
[5513] Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:301.
[5514] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 15:238, 16:8.
[5515] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 16:4, 16:9; Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:301; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:23.
[5516] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 16:4; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:23.
[5517] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 16:4, 16:9; Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:301; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:253.
[5518] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 16:4.
[5519] Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:301.
[5520] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 16:6; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:253; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:23. Muḥammad ibn Maslamah is also cited in Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:301.
[5521] Refer to chapter 66.
[5522] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 16:6; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:23.
[5523] Iṣābah 2:1431 #6241 (ʿUbayd Allāh ibn ʿUmar); Usd al-Ghābah 3:176 #3473 (ʿUbayd Allāh ibn ʿUmar); Istīʿāb 3:133 #1737 (ʿUbayd Allāh ibn ʿUmar); Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 5:17; Murūj al-Dhahab 2:388.
[5524] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 16:7; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:253.

ʿAlī (ع) said in regards to some of these, "As for Ibn ʿUmar, he is weak; as for Saʿd, he is envious; as for Muḥammad ibn Maslamah, I killed his brother, Marḥab al-Yahūdī, in the Battle of Khaybar."[5536] It is interesting that some later Sunnī scholars have claimed that everyone in Madīnah pledged allegiance to ʿAlī (ع) with no exceptions, but that Ṭalḥah and Zubayr did so reluctantly.[5537] It appears that they may have found claiming consensus necessary in order to legitimize the caliphate of ʿAlī (ع). They may have also been trying to play down the discord among the companions in Madīnah. Either position is problematic. If there was consensus in Madīnah, then Ṭalḥah and Zubayr should not have broken the consensus, as what is agreed upon by consensus is, by necessity, correct.[5538] If there was no consensus, it was because of the unwillingness of some Muslims to pledge allegiance to the rightful caliph, an act the Prophet (ص) labeled a great sin, equivalent to dying the death of the Days of Ignorance.[5539] Since everyone agrees that pledging allegiance to ʿAlī (ع) was the right thing to do, whether or not Ṭalḥah and Zubayr did so eagerly is of little importance. Had they fasted during Ramaḍān reluctantly, no one would consider their breaking their fast to have been legitimate or justifiable based on the fact that they had fasted reluctantly in the first place. It is unclear how breaking a pledge of allegiance to a rightful imām is justifiable. If one does not believe the imām is rightful, it does not absolve one from maintaining obedience to the rightful imām, as the Prophet (ص) said,

> One who withdraws his band from obedience [to the imām] will find no argument [in his defense] when he stands before Allāh on the Day of Judgment, and one who dies without having bound himself by an oath of allegiance [to the imām] will die the death of one belonging to the Days of Ignorance.[5540]

Clearly, one who withdraws from the obedience of the rightful imām or who does not pledge allegiance to him does so because he is not convinced that the person is the rightful imām. It is exactly this error in not recognizing the rightful imām that makes one

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5525. Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:253.
5526. Refer to chapter 79.
5527. Tārīkh Ṭabarī 18:10. Mughīrah's remaining in Ṭāʾif during the Battles of Jamal and Ṣiffīn is also cited in Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:109.
5528. Tārīkh Ṭabarī 16:9.
5529. Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:301; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:253.
5530. Mustadrak Ḥākim #4596 (certifies the tradition as authentic).
5531. Mustadrak Ḥākim #4596 (certifies the tradition as authentic).
5532. Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:301.
5533. Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:253.
5534. Imāmah wa Sīyāsah 55.
5535. Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:302.
5536. Imāmah wa Sīyāsah 60.
5537. Tārīkh al-Khulafāʾ 155; Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 3:31.
5538. Refer to chapters 18 and 41.
5539. Refer to chapter 42.
5540. Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #20.4562-4.

die the death of the Days of Ignorance. Just as not identifying Muḥammad (ص) as a prophet would make one die the death of the Days of Ignorance, not identifying ʿAlī (ع) as the rightful imām would have the same implications.

ʿAlī (ع) Replaced ʿUthmān's Governors

Soon after accepting the pledge of allegiance, ʿAlī (ع) clarified his criteria for governorship. When he was asked to confirm ʿUthmān's governors such as ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿĀmir, Muʿāwīyah, and ʿUthmān's other governors in office so they would get ʿAlī (ع) the pledges of allegiance of their subjects, ʿAlī (ع) rejected this suggestion, saying,

> By Allāh! Even if I had only one hour of one day, I would have made the decision not to appoint any one of these. Nor should any of their ilk be appointed! ...By Allāh, I have no doubt that [appointing them] would be best for iṣlāḥ (reconciliation) in this life. But I have obligations to the truth, and I know ʿUthmān's governors, so, by Allāh, I'll never appoint a single one of them! If they [leave their posts and] come [to pledge allegiance to me], it'll be best for them, for if they stay back, I'll be generous to them with the sword.[5541]

He then appointed Ibn ʿAbbās to the governorship of Syria, but he refused, telling ʿAlī (ع), "You should write to Muʿāwīyah, raise his hopes, and make him promises."[5542] Mughīrah ibn Shuʿbah gave him similar advice.[5543] Needless to say, ʿAlī (ع) refused this strategy of fortifying the position of the hypocrites, saying, "I would never appoint Muʿāwīyah as governor, even for two days!"[5544] He added, "I don't compromise my religion by cheating, nor do I give contemptible men [a say] in my command."[5545] He also told Ibn ʿAbbās, "I don't want anything to do with these mean schemes of yours or of Muʿāwīyah's."[5546]

ʿAlī (ع) appointed Qays ibn Saʿd ibn ʿUbādah to the governorship of Egypt, and retained Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī as the governor of Kūfah,[5547] as he had been selected earlier by the Kūfans themselves.[5548] He also appointed Khālid ibn ʿĀṣ to the governorship of Mecca. According to Balādhurī,

> After the people pledge allegiance to ʿAlī, he wrote to Khālid ibn ʿĀṣ ibn Hishām ibn Mughīrah, appointing him [as the governor] of Mecca, and instructing him to obtain the pledges of allegiance for him, but the Meccans refused to pledge allegiance to ʿAlī. A young man from the Quraysh named ʿAbd Allāh ibn Walīd ibn Zayd ibn ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā ibn ʿAbd Shams took the letter and chewed it and threw it into the water of Zamzam. This young man was killed [fighting] for ʿĀʾishah [during the battle] of Jamal.[5549]

In the meanwhile, since Muʿāwīyah would not surrender to ʿAlī's (ع) rule and vacate his governorship, ʿAlī (ع) prepared to oust him militarily, leaving Madīnah with all his men. He asked ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar to join him, but he refused and instead left Madīnah to

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[5541] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 16:22.
[5542] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 16:23. Similarly, Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:255.
[5543] Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:302; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:255.
[5544] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 16:23; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:25.
[5545] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 16:23.
[5546] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 16:24.
[5547] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:256-7.
[5548] Refer to chapter 68.
[5549] Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:302.

Mecca.[5550] However, he was forced to re-direct his mission when he became aware of the revolt led by ʿĀʾishah, Ṭalḥah, and Zubayr.[5551] According to Ibn Kathīr,

> ʿAlī prepared [for battle] and left Madīnah, [leaving] Qutham ibn ʿAbbās in charge [of the city]. He set out along with those who obeyed him to fight those who disobeyed him, who refused [to submit to] his authority, and who would not pledge allegiance to him... There was no one among [the fighting men of] Madīnah except that they left [with him] towards Syria. [He was intent upon attacking Syria] until [news] of what would distract him from this [mission] (i.e. the revolt led by ʿĀʾishah, Ṭalḥah, and Zubayr) arrived."[5552]

Ṭalḥah and Zubayr Became Cool-Hearted

There is no dispute that Ṭalḥah and Zubayr pledged allegiance to ʿAlī (ع). However, Sunnī traditions are divided as to whether they were the first or the last to pledge allegiance to him. As for their being first, Ṭabarī has related that Ṭalḥah and Zubayr were among the crowd that went up to ʿAlī (ع) and said, "Stretch out your hand, ʿAlī!" and then gave allegiance to him.[5553] According to another tradition, when ʿAlī (ع) initially refused the caliphate, recommending that people go to someone else such as Ṭalḥah or Zubayr, Ṭalḥah said, "You are more deserving of the [caliphate] than I am because of your record [in Islām] and closeness [to the Messenger of Allāh]."[5554] He is similarly quoted as having told ʿAlī (ع), "Give me your hand so I can pledge allegiance to you, for you are more deserving of it than I am."[5555] It is also stated rather specifically in a number of Sunnī accounts that Ṭalḥah was the first person to pledge allegiance to ʿAlī (ع).[5556] When Ḥabīb ibn Dhuʾayb saw that Ṭalḥah was the first to pledge allegiance, he said, "It is a withered hand that first gave allegiance. No good will come of this."[5557]

Yet other accounts state that after ʿUthmān's death, a group of people gathered around Ṭalḥah with the intention of selecting him as caliph. ʿAlī (ع) was told, "O ʿAlī! The people have gathered around Ṭalḥah and you are neglecting [what is going on]." Upon that, ʿAlī (ع) forced open the doors of the treasury to distribute its wealth. When people heard this, they abandoned Ṭalḥah and went to ʿAlī (ع).[5558] This latter account is rather plausible, as there was a large faction led by Ṭalḥah in the revolt against ʿUthmān, and they would presumably support him upon ʿUthmān's death. However, there were three problems for this faction. First and foremost, Madīnah was under siege not only by Ṭalḥah's men but also by the forces of Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr and Mālik al-Ashtar, both of whom were among the fiercely loyal Shīʿah of ʿAlī (ع) who would not easily allow Ṭalḥah to become caliph. Second, Ṭalḥah did not have any particular claim to the caliphate, any specific designation from the previous caliph, or the legitimacy of having been selected by a Shūrā. Third, Zubayr had an equal claim to the caliphate, as he had also served in the Shūrā created by ʿUmar,[5559] potentially causing division and discord in

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5550. Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:257.
5551. Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:257.
5552. Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:257.
5553. Tārīkh Ṭabarī 16:3.
5554. Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #14282.
5555. Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:303.
5556. Mustadrak Ḥākim #4594 (according to #4596, Ḥākim said that all the traditions he related regarding the pledge of allegiance to ʿAlī were authentic); Tārīkh Ṭabarī 16:4; Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:300, 1:301; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:253, 7:254; Usd al-Ghābah 3:297 #3789 (ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib).
5557. Tārīkh Ṭabarī 16:3-4; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:23.
5558. Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:303; Tārīkh Ṭabarī 16:8; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:14; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 2:148.
5559. Refer to chapter 61.

their camp. Fourth, once ʿAlī (ع) broke down the door to the treasury and divided its wealth, Ṭalḥah's supporters all abandoned him. According to Ṭabarī, Ibn Athīr, and Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, one of the Kūfans said,

> We went into Ṭalḥah ibn ʿUbayd Allāh's house, which was crowded with people. ʿAlī went up to Ṭalḥah and said, "What's this awful situation you've fallen into?" He replied, "Abū Ḥasan, you blame me after things have gotten so far out of control?" ʿAlī said nothing in reply and came to the treasury and said, "Open this door!" When he could not get the keys he said, "Break it down!" So the door of the treasury was forced open, and he said, 'Bring out the money!" He then began distributing the money to all the people. When those who were in Ṭalḥah's house heard what ʿAlī was doing, they began secretly slipping away from him until Ṭalḥah was left on his own. When ʿUthmān heard of this, he was pleased. Ṭalḥah then walked back to ʿUthmān's house. I said to myself, "By Allāh! I'll see what he says." I followed him. He asked ʿUthmān's permission to enter, and when we went in he said, "Commander of the Faithful, Allāh have mercy on me, I repent to Him. I wanted something, but Allāh prevented me from attaining it." ʿUthmān replied, "By Allāh! You haven't come repentant but defeated. Allāh will punish you, Ṭalḥah."[5560]

Seeing the situation as such, Ṭalḥah figured that his best option would be to lead the pledge of allegiance to ʿAlī (ع) and to try to muster a position of power for himself within ʿAlī's (ع) government.

Ṭalḥah and Zubayr, who had amassed immense wealth since the death of the Prophet (ص)[5561] and who hoped to increase their wealth and influence even further, asked ʿAlī (ع) to grant them governorships. According to Ṭabarī and Ibn Kathīr, they asked for the governorships of Kūfah and Baṣrah,[5562] while Ibn Qutaybah asserted that, "Zubayr had no doubts that he would be the governor of Iraq and Ṭalḥah [had no doubts that he would be the governor of] Yemen."[5563] According to Ibn Qutaybah,

> After the pledge of allegiance, Ṭalḥah and Zubayr went to ʿAlī and said, "Do you know on what condition we pledged allegiance to you?" He replied, "Yes. [The two of you pledged allegiance to me] to listen and obey, and on the conditions upon which you pledged allegiance to Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, and ʿUthmān." They said, "No. Rather, we pledged allegiance to you so that we would be your partners in power."[5564]

Instead of granting them the governorships they had demanded, ʿAlī (ع) told them, "You are to stay with me. I need you to share the burden."[5565] Upon hearing this, they realized that they would be treated only as ordinary citizens in ʿAlī's (ع) caliphate, so Ṭalḥah retorted, "A dog just licking its nose is all we'll get from this,"[5566] meaning that he would derive no material benefit out of ʿAlī's (ع) caliphate. According to Ibn Qutaybah, "When the two of them realized that ʿAlī was not going to appoint them as governors, they starting complaining [about him]."[5567] If ʿAlī (ع) were to distribute wealth evenly and not grant them any provincial governorships, their wealth, power, and influence would diminish. Moreover, Ṭalḥah feared that ʿAlī (ع) might confiscate his immense properties in Iraq and Sarāh, which brought him a fortune.[5568] When he died shortly into the caliphate of ʿAlī (ع), he left behind 30,000,000 dirhams and 300 qinṭārs of gold (approximately 30,000 pounds).[5569] Zubayr had similar fears because he had amassed a total wealth of over fifty million dirhams according to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī.[5570] In the meanwhile, ʿAlī (ع) was threatening that, "Every property among the properties of Allāh that ʿUthmān granted will be returned to the Bayt al-Māl (treasury)."[5571] Such a statement surely sent tremors down the spines of those who had enriched themselves with public property.

[5560] TārīkhṬabarī 16:8; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:14; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 2:148.
[5561] Refer to chapter 66.
[5562] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 16:5; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:253.
[5563] Imāmah wa Sīyāsah 58.
[5564] Imāmah wa Sīyāsah 58.
[5565] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 16:5; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:253.
[5566] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 16:5.

As such, Ṭalḥah and Zubayr started to claim that, "We only did it (i.e. pledged allegiance to ʿAlī) out of fear for our lives, since we knew that he would never give us allegiance."[5572] Indeed, their official claim while raising troops to fight ʿAlī (ع) was that their pledge of allegiance was coerced, and that the matter should not have been decided by the Muslim public, but rather by a Shūrā, or consultative council, so that they could pick a caliph that would please them. Their claim that they were pledged allegiance unwillingly was confirmed by Saʿd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ,[5573] one of their associates who had refused outright to pledge allegiance to ʿAlī (ع).[5574] Furthermore, Zubayr's freedman (mawlā) claimed that Zubayr had his sword ready but concealed to fend off ʿAlī (ع) when he came to ask for a pledge of allegiance, and that it was ʿAlī (ع) who claimed that Zubayr had pledged allegiance to him even though he had apparently not done so.[5575]

The best proof that Ṭalḥah and Zubayr were lying about being coerced to pledge allegiance was the fact that a number of individuals refused to pledge allegiance, and ʿAlī (ع) did not force any of them to do so.[5576] In fact, ʿAlī (ع) pointed this fact out himself when he said, "Ṭalḥah and Zubayr were the first to pledge allegiance to me. Had they abstained, I would not have forced them [to do so], as I did not force anyone else [to pledge allegiance to me]."[5577] Therefore, there was no reason for them to pledge allegiance based on taqīyyah, as the basic criterion for the necessity of taqīyyah—that is, fear—did not exist. Moreover, the fact that they were the first to pledge allegiance hurt their cause as well, because it made them appear eager to do so, perhaps due to harboring hopes of some worldly reward. As such, they had to change the story to the claim that they were the last to pledge allegiance to make it sound more believable that they had been coerced to do so.

The claim that the pledges of allegiance of Ṭalḥah and Zubayr were coerced also fits into the view that the two of them made a legitimate, though at the end wrong, decision to rise up against ʿAlī (ع) based on ijtihād. However, such a view implies that a coerced pledge of allegiance is devoid of value. By this view, the pledges of allegiance to Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, and ʿUthmān in which someone refusing to pledge allegiance would be strictly boycotted or killed were devoid of value. Of course, ´Alī (ε) believed that pledges of allegiance under coercion were devoid of value, which is why he did not coerce anyone to pledge allegiance to him as his predecessors had done.

[5567] Imāmah wa Sīyāsah 58.
[5568] Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 3:221; Murūj al-Dhahab 2:342.
[5569] Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 3:222; Tārīkh Damishq 25:120.
[5570] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #4.53.358.
[5571] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 1:269.
[5572] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 16:5; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 1:304; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 11:17.
[5573] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 16:9.
[5574] Refer to earlier in this chapter.
[5575] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 16:9.
[5576] Istiʿāb 3:217 #1875 (ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib).
[5577] Imāmah wa Sīyāsah 147. Similarly, Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 6:97.

´Ā`ishah Revealed Her Treachery

News of ´Uthmān's death reached ´Ā`ishah while she was in Mecca. The person who gave her the news was a man named Akhḍar who played a trick on her, revealing her treachery. ´Ā`ishah asked him, "What are the people doing?" "´Uthmān killed the Egyptians," he replied. "Does he kill people who come seeking justice and denouncing injustice? By Allāh! We don't approve of such a thing!" Then she was told the truth that, "´Uthmān has been killed by the Egyptians."[5578] ´Ā`ishah was pleased by this and rushed back to Madīnah to support the caliphate of Zubayr and Ṭalḥah, who were both her brothers-in-law,[5579] while the latter was also her tribesman from the Banū Taym.[5580] On her way back to Madīnah, ´Ā`ishah met ´Ubayd ibn Umm Kilāb:

> [Ibn Umm Kilāb told her], "They killed ´Uthmān and then did nothing for eight nights... [Then] the people of Madīnah handled the issue by consensus, and matters proceeded very well for them. They agreed upon ´Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib." "By Allāh!" she replied. "Would that the sky were overturned if the command is decided in favor of your leader (i.e. ´Alī)! Take me back! Take me back!" So she departed to Mecca, saying, "By Allāh! ´Uthmān has been killed unjustly, and I will seek revenge for his blood!" Ibn Umm Kilāb said to her, " How is that? By Allāh! You were the first to incline the blade against ´Uthmān and were saying, 'Kill Na´thal, for he has become a disbeliever!'" "They asked him to repent," she replied, "and then they killed him. I said things, and they said things, but my latter statement was better than my former one." Ibn Umm Kilāb then recited,
>
> From you come new opinions, from you come change,
> from you are the winds, and from you the rain!
> You ordered the killing of the imām
> and told us that he was a disbeliever
> Suppose we did obey you and kill him;
> nevertheless his killer, to our mind, was the one who issued the order.
> The roof did not fall down from over us,
> our sun and moon were not eclipsed.
> The people have given allegiance to one with power,
> who will remove the sting and establish pride.
> He will put on the clothes for war.
> He who fulfills is not like he who has broken contract.[5581]

As such, ´Ubayd ibn Umm Kilāb made it clear to everyone that ´Ā`ishah was among the killers of ´Uthmān due to her instigations against him, and thereby revealed her hypocrisy and treachery in rising to avenge ´Uthmān's blood upon discovering that ´Alī (ε) had become the new caliph when she was the one who bore responsibility for killing him in the first place. Nevertheless, 'Ā'ishah returned to Mecca, had people gather around her, and proclaimed, "'Uthmān has been killed unjustly, and, by Allāh, I will seek vengeance for his blood!"[5582] Thereby, she began laying the framework for her mutiny, known as the Battle of Jamal.

[5578] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 16:39.

[5579] Zubayr was married to Asmā` bint Abī Bakr (Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 3:100), while Ṭalḥah was married to Umm Kulthūm bint Abī Bakr (Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 8:462), both of whom were the half-sisters of ´Ā`ishah (Iṣābah 4:2573 #11452, ´Ā`ishah bint Abī Bakr al-Ṣiddīq).

[5580] Talhah's lineage was Ṭalḥah ibn ´Ubayd Allāh ibn ´Uthmān ibn ´Amr ibn Ka´b ibn Sa´d ibn Taym (Iṣābah 2:949-50 #4269, Ṭalḥah Ibn ´Ubayd Allāh), while Abū Bakr's lineage was Abū Bakr ibn ´Uthmān ibn ´Āmir ibn ´Amr ibn Ka´b ibn Sa´d ibn Taym (Iṣābah 2:1088 #4819, ´Abd Allāh ibn ´Uthmān).

[5581] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 16:52-3; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:28-9; Imāmah wa Siyāsah 59. This is presented summarily in Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:304.

[5582] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 16:53. A very similar statement appears in Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:305.

Chapter 79
The Battle of Jamal

ʿĀʾishah, Ṭalḥah, and Zubayr Raised a Rebel Army

Four months after the killing of ʿUthmān,[5583] Ṭalḥah and Zubayr asked ʿAlī (ع) for permission to travel to Mecca for the lesser pilgrimage (ʿumrah).[5584] ʿAlī (ع) expressed doubts regarding their true intentions, saying, "By Allāh! It is not the ʿumrah you are intending to perform!"[5585] He then asked, "Are you intending to go to Syria or to Iraq?" They replied, "May Allāh grant forgiveness. We are only going on the ʿumrah."[5586] He then extracted promises from the two of them that they were not up to any mischief.[5587] The two of them then proceeded to Mecca, where they met up with ʿĀʾishah, and Marwān ibn Ḥakam joined them as well.[5588] Yaʿlā ibn Umayyah, who had been recently deposed by ʿAlī (ع) from the governorship of Yemen, brought them 600,000 dirhams and 600 camels,[5589] which he had obtained from the Muslim treasury as ʿUthmān's governor. According to Ṭabarī, ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿĀmir, who had served as ʿUthmān's governor in Baṣrah, also provided them with "much money and camels."[5590]

Their purported reason for uprising was that ʿUthmān had been killed unjustly and that they wanted a consultative body (shūrā) to select a caliph in a manner similar to that which ʿUmar had arranged.[5591] They clearly wanted a shūrā because a shūrā composed of their supporters would ensure that the caliphate would be taken away from ʿAlī (ع), just as ʿUmar had set up a shūrā in such a way as to create the illusion of a legitimate process, while guaranteeing that ʿAlī (ع) would not be selected as caliph.[5592] As such, Muʿāwiyah later claimed that he also wanted a shūrā to decide on the caliph, and he even had a list of those he wanted to serve on it—Saʿd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ, ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar, Muʿāwiyah, ʿAmr ibn ʿĀṣ, ʿAlī (ع), and ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās.[5593] Such a shūrā would guarantee that ʿAlī (ع) would not be selected as the caliph, as Muʿāwiyah and ʿAmr ibn ʿĀṣ would never vote for ʿAlī (ع), and Ibn ʿUmar and Saʿd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ had already refused to pledge allegiance to ʿAlī (ع).[5594] Presumably, the shūrā Ṭalḥah and Zubayr were asking for would include the two of them, Saʿd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ, and ʿAlī (ع), as the four of them had been selected by ʿUmar to be part of the Shūrā that selected become the new caliph when she was the one who bore responsibility for killing him in the first place. Nevertheless, ʿĀʾishah returned to Mecca, had people gather around her, and proclaimed, "ʿUthmān has been killed unjustly, and, by Allāh, I will seek vengeance for his blood!"[5582] Thereby, she began laying the framework for her mutiny, known as the Battle of Jamal.

[5583] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 16:43; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:23.
[5584] Imāmah wa Sīyāsah 58; Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:305.
[5585] Imāmah wa Sīyāsah 59.
[5586] Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:305.
[5587] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 16:101.
[5588] Imāmah wa Sīyāsah 60.
[5589] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:258
[5590] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 16:43.
[5591] Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:305; Imāmah wa Sīyāsah 79.
[5592] Refer to chapter 61.
[5593] Imāmah wa Sīyāsah 111.
[5594] Refer to chapter 78.

[5582] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 16:53. A very similar statement appears in Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:305.

Chapter 79
The Battle of Jamal

ʿĀʾishah, Ṭalḥah, and Zubayr Raised a Rebel Army

Four months after the killing of ʿUthmān,[5583] Ṭalḥah and Zubayr asked ʿAlī (ع) for permission to travel to Mecca for the lesser pilgrimage (ʿumrah).[5584] ʿAlī (ع) expressed doubts regarding their true intentions, saying, "By Allāh! It is not the ʿumrah you are intending to perform!"[5585] He then asked, "Are you intending to go to Syria or to Iraq?" They replied, "May Allāh grant forgiveness. We are only going on the ʿumrah."[5586] He then extracted promises from the two of them that they were not up to any mischief.[5587] The two of them then proceeded to Mecca, where they met up with ʿĀʾishah, and Marwān ibn Ḥakam joined them as well.[5588] Yaʿlā ibn Umayyah, who had been recently deposed by ʿAlī (ع) from the governorship of Yemen, brought them 600,000 dirhams and 600 camels,[5589] which he had obtained from the Muslim treasury as ʿUthmān's governor. According to Ṭabarī, ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿĀmir, who had served as ʿUthmān's governor in Baṣrah, also provided them with "much money and camels."[5590]

Their purported reason for uprising was that ʿUthmān had been killed unjustly and tha they wanted a consultative body (shūrā) to select a caliph in a manner similar to tha which ʿUmar had arranged.[5591] They clearly wanted a shūrā because a shūrā composed of their supporters would ensure that the caliphate would be taken away from ʿAlī (ع), just as ʿUmar had set up a shūrā in such a way as to create the illusion of a legitimate process, while guaranteeing that ʿAlī (ع) would not be selected as caliph.[5592] As such, Muʿāwīyah later claimed that he also wanted a shūrā to decide on the caliph, and he even had a list of those he wanted to serve on it—Saʿd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ, ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar, Muʿāwīyah, ʿAmr ibn ʿĀṣ, ʿAlī (ع), and ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās.[5593] Such a shūrā would guarantee that ʿAlī (ع) would not be selected as the caliph, as Muʿāwīyah and ʿAmr ibn ʿĀṣ would never vote for ʿAlī (ع), and Ibn ʿUmar and Saʿd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ had already refused to pledge allegiance to ʿAlī (ع).[5594] Presumably, the shūrā Ṭalḥah and Zubayr were asking for would include the two of them, Saʿd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ, and ʿAlī (ع), as the four of them had been selected by ʿUmar to be part of the Shūrā that selected

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[5583] Tārikh Ṭabarī 16:43; Tārikh Ibn Athīr 2:23.
[5584] Imāmah wa Sīyāsah 58; Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:305.
[5585] Imāmah wa Sīyāsah 59.
[5586] Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:305.
[5587] Tārikh Ṭabarī 16:101.
[5588] Imāmah wa Sīyāsah 60.
[5589] Tārikh Ibn Kathīr 7:258
[5590] Tārikh Ṭabarī 16:43.
[5591] Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:305; Imāmah wa Sīyāsah 79.
[5592] Refer to chapter 61.
[5593] Imāmah wa Sīyāsah 111.
[5594] Refer to chapter 78.

ʹUthmān as caliph.[5595] In the new shūrā, they would likely include two others, perhaps ʹAbd Allāh ibn ʹUmar and ʹAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Bakr to replace ʹUthmān and ʹAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʹAwf who had died. Since ʹAlī (ع) could not get the votes of Ṭalḥah, Zubayr, and Saʹd, he would never get a majority in any case, and the caliphate would be usurped yet again.

While preparing for battle, the rebels concluded that they were not likely to be victorious if they were to directly attack Madīnah, so they decided to go to Iraq, as Ṭalḥah had some connections in Kūfah, as did Zubayr in Baṣrah.[5596] They also figured that if they were defeated in Iraq, they could flee to Syria where Muʹāwīyah would protect them.[5597] In contrast, if they were defeated in Ḥijāz, they would have little recourse but to surrender to ʹAlī's (ع) authority.

They bought ʹĀʾishah a particularly stunning camel in return for 600 dirhams and a Mahrīyyah she-camel,[5598] as Mahrīyyah camels were renowned for their speed and intelligence.[5599] ʹĀʾishah left Mecca with an army composed of 700 men from Mecca and Madīnah, and she was also able to attract a number of others so that her overall army numbered 3,000 men.[5600] They asked ʹAbd Allāh ibn ʹUmar to join their uprising, but he refused.[5601] He also prevented his sister Ḥafṣah bint ʹUmar from going along with ʹĀʾishah as she had intended.[5602] ʹAlī (ع) was not the least bit concerned by the congregation of the rebels against him. He said, "Neither would a large number of people around me add to my prestige, nor would their dispersing away from me create any fear in me, for I am rightful and Allāh is with the rightful."[5603]

At the time, ʹAlī (ع) was camped outside Madīnah, preparing to proceed to Damascus to forcibly depose Muʹāwīyah from the governorship of Syria.[5604] Upon becoming aware that the Meccan army was headed to Baṣrah, he changed course. While ʹĀʾishah was calling people to rise for ʹUthmān's blood and for the creation of a consultative council (shūrā) to select a caliph, Umm Salamah was calling people to adopt piety (taqwā) and to submit to ʹAlī (ع).[5605] When Umm Salamah heard of ʹĀʾishah's plot, she told ʹAlī (ع), "O Commander of the Faithful! But for the fact that I would be disobeying Allāh [for leaving my house] and that you wouldn't accept it from me, I would come out with you. But here is my son ʹUmar—dearer to me than my very self, by Allāh! He will come out with you and will be there with you at your battles."[5606] Umm Salamah also went to ʹĀʾishah and said, "You have indeed cast aside the cover (ḥijāb) that Allāh has cast upon you and have abandoned His covenant."[5607] ʹĀʾishah, however, was in no mood for guidance and good advice.

The Rebel Army Splintered, Encountered Bad Omens, and Fell into Disputes

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5595. Refer to chapter 61.
5596. Tārīkh Ṭabarī 16:43; Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:305.
5597. Imāmah wa Sīyāsah 66.
5598. Tārīkh Ṭabarī 16:50; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:30.
5599. Tārīkh Ṭabarī 16:50, footnote #342.
5600. Tārīkh Ṭabarī 16:43; Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:305; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:29; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:258.
5601. Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:257; Imāmah wa Sīyāsah 65.
5602. Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:258.
5603. Imāmah wa Sīyāsah 62.
5604. Refer to chapter 78.
5605. Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:305.
5606. Tārīkh Ṭabarī 16:42.
5607. Imāmah wa Sīyāsah 63.

Sa'īd ibn 'Āṣ, who was 'Uthmān's Umayyad tribesman and who had served as his governor in Kūfah, met up with the rebels, but when he discovered that their mission was to purportedly avenge 'Uthmān's blood, he proclaimed, "Your leaders killed 'Uthmān!"[5608] and said, "Where are you heading for? Those from whom you seek revenge (i.e. 'Ā'ishah, Ṭalḥah, and Zubayr) are on the rumps of camels. Kill them and go back to your houses. Don't kill yourselves!"[5609] Mughīrah ibn Shu'bah said, "Sa'īd's opinion is the right one. Let all those here from the [tribe of] Thaqīf go back."[5610] As such, a number of the troopsmen abandoned the army early on. This also put a hamper on 'Ā'ishah's plan to recruit Iraqis to her side, as Mughīrah had served as the governor of both Baṣrah and Kūfah during the caliphate of 'Umar.[5611]

According to Ṭabarī, on the way to Iraq, "They came upon a she-camel that had just been slaughtered, and blood was flowing from her neck. They saw this as a bad omen."[5612] An even worse omen came at Ḥaw'ab. According to Ṭabarī,

> 'Ā'ishah then heard the dogs barking and asked, "What water is this?" "Ḥaw'ab," they replied. At this, 'Ā'ishah shrieked at the top of her voice and hit the upper foreleg of her camel to make it kneel down. 'Ā'ishah said, "By Allāh! I'm the one the dogs of Ḥaw'ab have barked at night at! I am she! I heard the Messenger of Allāh say in the presence of his wives, 'I wish I knew at which of you the dogs of Ḥaw'ab will bark!' Take me back! Take me back! Take me back!" [Since 'Ā'ishah was] refusing to move for a full twenty-four hours, [her nephew 'Abd Allāh] ibn Zubayr came up to her and said, "Escape! Escape! 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib is upon you, by Allāh!" He then said, "Whoever said that this was Ḥaw'ab was lying."[5613]

In fact, Ibn Zubayr brought a group of desert Arabs to falsely testify that this was not Ḥaw'ab, thus committing an act that Sunnī scholars have referred to as the first falsified testimony in the history of Islām.[5614] The barking of the dogs of Ḥaw'ab at 'Ā'ishah is a famous event that has been widely transmitted in various though similar forms in Sunnī sources such as Mustadrak Ḥākim,[5615] Musnad Ḥanbal,[5616] Muṣannaf 'Abd al-Razzāq,[5617] Kanz al-'Ummāl,[5618] Majma' al-Zawā'id,[5619] Fatḥ al-Bārī,[5620] Tārīkh Ṭabarī,[5621] Tārīkh Ibn Athīr,[5622] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr,[5623] Ansāb al-Ashrāf,[5624] Sīrah Ḥalabīyyah,[5625] Tārīkh

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[5608] Imāmah wa Siyāsah 68.

[5609] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 16:44; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:30.

[5610] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 16:44; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:30.

[5611] Refer to chapter 60.

[5612] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 16:46.

[5613] This is a composite of the two accounts provided in Tārīkh Ṭabarī 16:50 and 16:68.

[5614] Imāmah wa Siyāsah 69. The footnotes of Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr (7:258 footnote #3) relate the same claim that this was the first false testimony in Islām and add that Ibn al-Zubayr brought fifty witnesses to testify falsely. However, this claim is not true, as Tamīm al-Dārī had provided false testimony during the Prophet's (ص) lifetime and a verse of the Qur'ān was revealed in this regards (refer to chapter 56).

[5615] Mustadrak Ḥākim #4613.

[5616] Musnad Ḥanbal #24299, #24698.

[5617] Muṣannaf 'Abd al-Razzāq #20753.

[5618] Kanz al-'Ummāl #31208, #31668.

[5619] Majma' al-Zawā'id #12025 (certifies the tradition as authentic), #14070.

[5620] Fath al-Bārī #6686.

[5621] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 16:50, 16:68.

[5622] Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:30.

[5623] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 6:236, 7:258.

[5624] Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:305.

[5625] Sīrah Ḥalabīyyah 3:354-5.

Ya´qūbī,[5626] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd,[5627] Imāmah wa Sīyāsah,[5628] and Khaṣā`iṣ al-Kubrā Suyūṭī.[5629]

Disagreements then broke out over who would be caliph if they were to win the battle. Sa´īd ibn ´Āṣ, after accusing them of being the ones who killed ´Uthmān, had told them that it would only make sense for them to select ´Uthmān's son as caliph if they truly were rising to avenge ´Uthmān's blood.[5630] Marwān subsequently asked Ṭalḥah and Zubayr, "Which one of you should I hail as caliph when I call to prayer?" Then an argument broke out between ´Abd Allāh ibn Zubayr and Muḥammad ibn Ṭalḥah, as each wanted their own fathers, "Abū ´Abd Allāh" (i.e. Zubayr) and "Abū Muḥammad" (i.e. Ṭalḥah), respectively, to be hailed as caliph. ´Ā`ishah then sent to Marwān and said, "What are you up to? Are you wanting to make divisions in our leadership? Let my sister's son (i.e. Ibn Zubayr[5631]) lead prayer."[5632] Marwān thereafter supported the caliphate of Zubayr, claiming that ´Uthmān had declared him as the best of the nation and approved of him as his successor. According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, Marwān ibn Ḥakam said,

> While I was with ´Uthmān, a man came to him and said, "Appoint your successor." ´Uthmān said, "Has such successor been named?" He replied, "Yes, Zubayr." ´Uthmān said, thrice, "By Allāh! Indeed you know that he is the best of you."[5633]

The Massacre of Innocent Baṣrans

Eventually, the rebels reached the outskirts Baṣrah. ´Uthmān ibn Ḥunayf, who was ´Alī's (ع) governor there, rode out to see why an armed band was advancing towards his city. He asked them, "What makes you angry at your companion (i.e. ´Alī)?" "We don't consider him more eligible for leadership than we," they replied. "The man made me governor, so I will write to him and inform him why you have come."[5634] Even though ´Ā`ishah and her troopsmen agreed to remain there peacefully until ´Alī (ع) would send a reply, only two days later they started spilling Baṣran blood.[5635] This occurred after they realized that the Baṣrans were rather suspicious of them and their motives. This became evident to them because when Zubayr and Ṭalḥah spoke of ´Uthmān's blood, people said, "You two lie! You two were the harshest of people against ´Uthmān!"[5636] ´Abd Allāh ibn Ḥakīm al-Tamīmī then came with a letter Ṭalḥah had written to them condemning ´Uthmān and said, "Do you recognize this letter?" He replied, "Yes." ´Abd Allāh then said, "What would make you conspire against him yesterday and seek vengeance for his blood today?" Ṭalḥah replied, "I found nothing to do in regards to ʿUthmān but to repent and demand [retribution for] his blood."[5637]

[5626] Tārīkh Ya´qūbī 2:181.

[5627] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 6:225, 9:310-11.

[5628] Imāmah wa Sīyāsah 68.

[5629] Khaṣā`iṣ al-Kubrā Suyūṭī 2:207.

[5630] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 16:44; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:30.

[5631] ´Abd Allāh ibn Zubayr was the son of Asmā` bint Abī Bakr (Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 8:462), who was ´Ā`ishah's half-sister. Even though Ṭalḥah was married to Umm Kulthūm bint Abī Bakr, his son Muḥammad was born to Ḥamnah bint Jaḥsh (Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 5:52), who was the sister of Zaynab bint Jaḥsh (the Prophet's [ص] wife), and he was therefore not the nephew of ´Ā`ishah. Furthermore, ´Ā`ishah did not like Ḥamnah because she was among those who had spread the rumors of her infidelity and who was whipped eighty times for doing so (refer to chapter 82).

[5632] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 16:46; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:29.

[5633] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.57.64. Similarly, Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.57.63.

[5634] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 16:68; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:32.

[5635] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 16:68. Similarly, Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:33 (says two or three days).

[5636] Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:306.

Ṭalḥah rose and said, "People of Baṣrah! Repentance should fit the crime. We wanted the Commander of the Faithful (ʿUthmān) only to satisfy [our complaints]. We didn't want him to be killed, but the fools prevailed over the wise men and killed him." "But Abū Muḥammad!" the people replied to Ṭalḥah, "The letters you sent us said otherwise."[5638] A man from the Banū ʿAbd al-Qays stood up facing Zubayr and criticized the Muhājirīn in the rebel army, saying that they had picked Abū Bakr without consulting them, that Abū Bakr had picked ʿUmar without consulting them, that ʿUmar had handed the decision to six men without consulting them, that a Shūrā composed solely of the Muhājirīn had pledged allegiance to ʿUthmān without consulting them, that they had killed ʿUthmān without consulting them, that they had pledged allegiance to ʿAlī (ع) without consulting them, and now Ṭalḥah and Zubayr wanted them to fight ʿAlī (ع) without any proper cause. "So what exactly are you angry with him about that we should join you and fight him?"[5639] According to Ṭabarī and Ibn Athīr, "Ṭalḥah and Zubayr's men then tried to kill this man, but his clansmen stood in their way. But the next morning they leaped upon him and his men and killed seventy men."[5640]

On that day, the companions of ʿĀʾishah took a significant amount of booty from the innocent Baṣran civilians. Ṭabarī said, "Now Zubayr wanted the army to be given its pay and what was in the treasury to be divided, but ʿAbd Allāh his son pointed out, 'If the army is paid, it will disperse.'"[5641] So they withheld the distribution of the booty. They also captured ʿUthmān ibn Ḥunayf, the governor of Baṣrah, in this attack.[5642] According to Ibn Kathīr, after killing forty Baṣrans, they went to his residence and dragged him out to Ṭalḥah and Zubayr.[5643]

The Baṣrans were furious at this atrocity. Ḥukaym ibn Jabalah said, "To spill your blood is now in fact lawful for us, to the extent of those of our brothers you've killed. Do you have no fear of Almighty and glorious Allāh! On what grounds do you consider the shedding of blood lawful?" "It was to repay ʿUthmān ibn ʿAffān's blood," replied Ibn Zubayr. Ḥukaym said, "But those you killed, did they kill ʿUthmān?! Do you not fear Allāh's hatred?"[5644] The companions of the camel then attacked Ḥukaym ibn Jabalah and his men. According to Ṭabarī,

> A fierce battle ensued. A man struck Ḥukaym [ibn Jabalah] in the foot and cut off, so Ḥukaym grabbed it, hurled it, and hit him in the neck, knocking him dow senseless. Ḥukaym ibn Jabalah then crawled over to him, killed him, and restec his head against him. "Who killed you?" asked a passer by. "My pillow."[5645]

Ḥukaym was then beheaded, and Ṭabarī said that, "[Ḥukaym's] head was dangling backward, hanging on only by its skin, and his face was turned against his back."[5646]

[5637] Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:307.
[5638] Tārikh Ṭabarī 16:69; Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:307; Tārikh Ibn Athīr 2:33.
[5639] Tārikh Ṭabarī 16:69; Tārikh Ibn Athīr 2:33.
[5640] Tārikh Ṭabarī 16:69; Tārikh Ibn Athīr 2:33. Tārikh Ibn Kathīr 7:261 mentions that they killed seventy of the people of Baṣrah as well.
[5641] Tārikh Ṭabarī 16:77.
[5642] Tārikh Ṭabarī 16:68; Tārikh Ibn Athīr 2:33.
[5643] Tārikh Ibn Kathīr 7:260.
[5644] Tārikh Ṭabarī 16:77.
[5645] Tārikh Ṭabarī 16:78. Similarly, Tārikh Ibn Athīr 2:33; Tārikh Ibn Kathīr 7:260-1.
[5646] Tārikh Ṭabarī 16:76.

Ḥukaym's son Ashraf and brother Ri'l were also killed along with him.[5647] The rebels carried out all this atrocity and bloodshed for no reason other than the fact that they could not bear to hear the words of truth that Ḥukaym had spoken.

According to Ṭabarī, the rebels then decided to kill ʽUthmān ibn Ḥunayf, the governor of Baṣrah, "but they feared the wrath of the Anṣār, so they attacked his hair and body instead."[5648] When they were about to behead him, he said, "As you wish, but Sahl ibn Ḥunayf is the governor of Madīnah. If you kill me, he will retaliate on my behalf."[5649] So they released him. ʽUthmān ibn Ḥunayf then left Baṣrah and joined ʽAlī (ع) at Rabadhah, with the hair of his head, beard, and eyebrows all plucked out. He said, "Commander of the Faithful! When you sent me I had a fine beard, but I return to you beardless!" "You've earned a great reward," ʽAlī (ع) replied.[5650]

ʽĀʼishah Tried to Rally Kūfan Support

ʽĀʼishah wrote to Zayd ibn Ṣūḥān, "Come and assist us in this undertaking! If you don't, then at least make the people abandon ʽAlī."[5651] He replied, "If you withdraw from this undertaking and return home, then I will be your devoted son. If you don't, I will be the first to break with you." He further explained his position as follows: "She was ordered to stay at home,[5652] and we were ordered to fight. But she didn't do what she was ordered and ordered us to do it (i.e. stay at home), and she did what we were ordered [to do] and ordered us not to do it (i.e. fight in battle)."[5653]

ʽAlī (ع) Deposed Abū Mūsā al-Ashʽarī from Kūfah

ʽAlī (ع), while proceeding towards Baṣrah, sent Ḥasan (ع), ʽAmmār ibn Yāsir, and Mālik al-Ashtar to Kūfah with orders to depose Abū Mūsā al-Ashʽarī, who had been preaching neutrality, and to install Qaraẓah ibn Kaʽb al-Anṣārī in his place.[5654] He wrote a letter telling Abū Mūsā, "Withdraw from our employment 'blamed and defeated.'[5655] If you do not, then I have ordered him to oppose you. If you resist him and he overcomes you, I have ordered him to cut you to pieces."[5656]

Upon their arrival in Kūfah, they found Abū Mūsā al-Ashʽarī, preaching neutrality in the mosque. He was saying, "This fitnah (tribulation) is blind and deaf... The sitter in it is better off than the stander. The stander in it is better off than the walker..." Ḥasan (ع) said, "Resign from the governorship over us!" and told him, "Step down from our pulpit (minbar)!" ʽAmmār then said, "The Messenger of Allāh was saying something specifically to you when he said, 'You're better off sitting than you will be standing in it.'" In the meanwhile, Mālik al-Ashtar headed to Abū Mūsā's castle and beat and evicted his slaves. When Abū Mūsā left the pulpit and entered his castle, Mālik al-Ashtar said, "Get out of our castle, motherless man! May Allāh eject your soul! By Allāh! You have been one of the secret dissenters for a long time!"[5657]

[5647] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 16:78; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:34.
[5648] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 16:68. Similarly, Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:306; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 2:260; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:33.
[5649] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 16:76-7.
[5650] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 16:85; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:37.
[5651] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 16:79; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:32.
[5652] A reference to Qurʼān 33:33, which tells the wives of the Prophet (ص), "Stay in your homes."
[5653] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 16:80; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:32. Similarly, Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:261.
[5654] Mustadrak Ḥākim #4602; Tārīkh Ṭabarī 16:112-3; Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:307; Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 3:32 (summarily).
[5655] Qurʼān 17:18.
[5656] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 16:113; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:52.
[5657] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 16:94-5.

Thus, Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī was deposed from the governorship of Kūfah for tacitly siding with the rebels and for preaching neutrality to the Kūfans instead of supporting the rightful imām in battle against the renegades. His act was similar to how the hypocrites would preach the avoidance of battle and the benefits of staying home to the Prophet's (ص) companions. An army of 12,001 men was then raised from Kūfah. 'Alī (ع) said, "There will come to you from Kūfah 12,001 men." Abū al-Ṭufayl said, "So I sat on the hill at Dhū Qār and counted them, and [sure enough] they numbered no more and no less."[5658]

Many Baṣrans Joined 'Alī (ع)

After the massacres of the Baṣrans, Ṭalḥah, Zubayr, and 'Ā'ishah had a very tenuous hold on the city. 'Ā'ishah told them, "We became angry at 'Uthmān on your behalf because of three things he did: giving command to youths, expropriating common property, and beating with whip and stick. But we shouldn't be acting justly if we weren't angry at you on his account for three things that you perpetrated against him: the sanctity of the month, city, and blood." The people asked, "But didn't you give allegiance to 'Alī and agree to his command?" "We agreed," they replied, "with the sword at our neck."[5659]

'Ā'ishah, Ṭalḥah, and Zubayr were great at using their titles of "mother of the believers (umm al-mu'minīn)" and "companion of the Prophet" for propaganda. This created some confusion. Some people thought, "It would be extremely serious for me not to support these people, among who are the mother of the faithful and the disciple of the Messenger of Allāh. But it would also be extremely serious for me to fight a man who is the paternal first cousin of the Messenger of Allāh and to whom they commanded me to give allegiance."[5660]

A group of Baṣrans were rather suspicious of the rebels, so they went to 'Alī's (ع) camp to hear what he had to say. He said,

> When the people rose against this man (i.e. 'Uthmān), I kept away. Then they killed him and made me ruler against my will. But for anxiety for the religion, I wouldn't have acceded to them. Then these two suddenly reneged, but I didn't let them get away with it and extracted promises from them before letting them go on the 'umrah pilgrimage. They then came to their mother, the wife of the Messenger of Allāh, and they approved for her what they disapproved for their own wives and exposed her to things that were taboo to them and were no good. So I pursued them both to stop them from ripping Islām apart and splitting the unity.[5661]

When asked about Ṭalḥah and Zubayr's claim that they had given allegiance only because there was a sword at their necks, 'Alī (ع) said, "It wasn't like that."[5662] He also explained, "Ṭalḥah and Zubayr were the first to pledge allegiance to me. Had they abstained, I would not have forced them, as I did not force anyone else [to pledge allegiance to me]."[5663] He similarly said, "Whoever pledged allegiance willingly, I accepted it, while I left those who avoided [pledging allegiance] alone and did not coerce them [to do so]."[5664] Upon hearing the truth, a group of the Baṣrans pledged allegiance to ʿAlī (ع). Indeed, between 2,000 and 6,000 Baṣrans sided with ʿAlī (ع) in the battle.[5665]

[5658] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 16:113-4; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:40.

[5659] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 16:100. 'Ā'ishah's statement also appears in Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:309.

[5660] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 16:110.

[5661] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 16:101.

[5662] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 16:102.

Another major setback for ʿĀʾishah was the fact that Aḥnaf ibn Qays, one of the military commanders who had served under ʿUmar during the conquest of Persia, went to ʿAlī (ع) and said, "If you wish, I personally will join you, or if you wish I will prevent four thousand swords from attacking you... [because] to fight them is to fulfill my promise to Almighty and Glorious Allāh." ʿAlī told him, "Prevent whomever you can from fighting [me]."[5666] Aḥnaf then addressed the tribes of Khindif, Tamīm, and Saʿd, and got as many as 10,000 of them to withdraw from ʿĀʾishah's side.[5667] This was a severe blow to her cause, as it seriously fractured the unity of her troops.

ʿAlī (ع) Advised Ṭalḥah and Zubayr

Seeing that their military options were rapidly dwindling, Ṭalḥah and Zubayr dug a defensive trench to protect their troops from attack.[5668] In the meanwhile, ʿAlī (ع) set up camp along on the outskirts of Baṣrah in Zāwīyah.[5669] According to Ṭabarī and Ibn Athīr, "They remained three days, and no fighting occurred between them. ʿAlī continued to send messages to them, speak with them, and restrain them."[5670] Horsemen arrived, reassuring Zubayr that they had seen ʿAlī's (ع) army and that they had "never seen one with shabbier weapons and smaller numbers and more fearful [men]," and that when ʿAlī's (ع) forces "heard of the numbers, equipment, and arms that Almighty and Glorious Allāh has amassed for you... [Allāh] put fear in their hearts so they have turned back in retreat." Zubayr said, "That's enough from you just now! By Allāh! If all Ibn Abī Ṭālib could find was ʿarfaj (a small desert shrub), he would walk against us holding it."[5671]

Then a horseman came to Zubayr and told him that he had met and spoken with ʿAmmār ibn Yāsir who was fighting on ʿAlī's (ع) side. Zubayr said, "He is not on their side!" and, "I swear, Allāh would not have put him on their side!" Since the horseman adamantly maintained that he had indeed seen ʿAmmār among ʿAlī's (ع) men, Zubayr rode off to see if he was telling the truth. Zubayr returned, saying, "He spoke the truth. It feels as though my nose has been cut off! It feels as though my back has been cut into two!" The narrator of the tradition added, "He began to tremble such that his weapon shook... I swear by He Who holds my soul in His hand that this fear I see that has taken hold of him is [only] because of something he heard or saw from the Messenger of Allāh."[5672]

[5663] Imāmah wa Sīyāsah 147.

[5664] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 6:97.

[5665] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 16:122.

[5666] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 16:114; Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:309. Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:43 and Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:267 contain similar accounts, except for stating "ten thousand swords" instead of "four thousand swords."

[5667] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 16:109.

[5668] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 16:102.

[5669] TārīkhṬabarī 16:114; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:42; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:266.

[5670] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 16:115; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:42.

[5671] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 16:128; Tārikh Ibn Athīr 2:52; Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:314; 3:278; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 2:168; Tārīkh Damishq 11:335-6.

[5672] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 16:128-9. A very similar account appears in Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:314, 3:278 and Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:52, except that these accounts state that Zubayr did not ride off himself but rather sent others to confirm that ʿAmmār was in ʿAlī's (ع) army.

It was also noted that "Ṭalḥah preferred to sit alone and would flick his beard against his chest." He said, "There was indeed something I did against ʿUthmān, and my penance for it can be nothing less than having my blood spilled in the course of seeking vengeance for his blood."[5673] Indeed, when ʿAlī (ع) heard voices from the rebel camp, he asked, "What are they saying?" He was told, "They are insulting and cursing the killers of ʿUthmān." He said, "Good. May Allāh curse the killers of ʿUthmān. By Allāh, no one killed him other than themselves, and they are insulting and cursing none other than their own selves!"[5674]

When the two armies came in plain sight of one another, Zubayr and Ṭalḥah rode out, heavily armed, to meet ʿAlī (ع).[5675] Zubayr explained their cause by saying, "I don't find you suitable for this leadership or more entitled to it than we." ʿAlī (ع) replied, "After ʿUthmān, it is certainly not you who are suitable for it. We considered you one of [our close relatives from among the] Banū ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib[5676] until your son, the son of evil, reached maturity and created a division between us and you." He then added, "Are you asking me for compensation for the blood of ʿUthmān, when it was you who killed him? I ask Allāh, in His power, right now to give a hateful punishment to he among us who was the severest in opposing ʿUthmān."[5677] ʿAlī (ع) told Ṭalḥah, "You Ṭalḥah! You are seeking revenge for the blood of ʿUthmān! May Allāh curse ʿUthmān's killers (i.e. you)!" He then said, "Zubayr! Do you remember the day you passed me in Banū Ghanm territory with the Messenger of Allāh and he looked at me and laughed and I laughed with him, and you said, 'Ibn Abī Ṭālib is always proud!' and the Messenger of Allāh said to you, 'Quiet! He is not conceited. Believe me, you're going to fight him, and you'll be the aggressor'?" Zubayr answered, "O Allāh! I do, and had I remembered, I wouldn't have come out like this. By Allāh! I will never fight you!"[5678]

Zubayr then went to ʿĀʾishah and said, "I want to leave [the army] and go." His son, ʿAbd Allāh, said, "You've brought these two armies face to face and they've set up their lines of battle against each other, and you want to leave them and go! You've caught sight of Ibn Abī Ṭālib's banners and realized that strong young men are carrying them." "I have sworn an oath not to fight him," he replied. ʿAbd Allāh ibn Zubayr said, "Redeem your oath and fight him." So Zubayr called for a slave of his named Makḥūl and freed him to expiate his broken vow.[5679]

ʿAlī (ع) Quickly Won the Battle

According to Ṭabarī,

> ʿAlī then said to those around him, "Which of you will hold this copy of the Qurʾān and what is in it before them? Should his hand be cut off, he will then take it with his other one; if that is cut off, he will take it with his teeth." A young boy said, "I will." ʿAlī put this to everyone around him, but none volunteered except the boy, so ʿAlī said to him, "Hold this up before them and

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[5673] Tārīkh Tabarī 16:79; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:34.

[5674] Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:310.

[5675] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 16:115; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:43.

[5676] Zubayr was the son of Ṣafiyyah bint ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib (Iṣābah 1:623 #2791, Zubayr ibn ʿAwwām), and therefore the son of ʿAlī's (ع) paternal aunt.

[5677] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 16:126.

[5678] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 16:116. Similarly, Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 2:167. The Prophet's (ص) prophecy also appears in Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:268, 7:398; Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:313; Dalāʾil al-Nubuwwah of Bahyaqī 8:415.

[5679] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 16:116-7; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:44. A similar account appears in Tārīkh Ṭabarī 16:126, except that the name of the slave Zubayr freed is said to have been Sarjis.

> say, 'Every word in this shall judge between you and us, and I beg of you for Allāh's sake to stop shedding our blood and yours.'" But, with the copy of the Qur`ān in his hand, the boy was attacked. His hands were cut off, so he took it in his teeth until he was killed. ´Alī then said, "Battle is now justified, so fight them."[5680]

´Alī's (ع) army attacked the enemy and routed them after only a few hours of battle. Many of ´Ā`ishah's soldiers renounced her army and yelled out, "We follow the way of ´Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib!"[5681] Early in the battle, Zubayr fled, but Ibn Jurmūz came and killed him.[5682] The remaining troops loyal to ´Ā`ishah gathered around her camel. Forty[5683] or seventy[5684] men were killed that day holding the noose of ´Ā`ishah's camel, among them Muḥammad ibn Ṭalḥah.[5685] ´Alī (ع) decided that the best way to disperse the crowd from around ´Ā`ishah and to end the bloodshed was to hamstring her camel. According to ´Abd Allāh ibn Zubayr, "A man struck it and it fell."[5686] "A man" here, according to Shī´ah traditions, referred to Ḥasan ibn ´Alī (ع),[5687] but due to the hatred of this man for the Ahl al-Bayt (ع), he could not bear to mention the name of Ḥasan (ع), just as his aunt ´Ā`ishah could not bear to mention the name of ´Alī (ع) when she related events.[5688] After being wounded, Ibn Zubayr hid himself among the dead, and he was recovered after the war was over.[5689] Amazingly, he later claimed to have been the bravest of warriors, yet his bravery amounted to not much more than hiding among corpses to save his own life.

After the camel was hamstrung, ´Ā`ishah's forces were routed. ´Alī (ع) called out, "Don't pursue those who flee! Don't finish off the wounded! Don't go into any house!"[5690] In the mayhem, Marwān ibn Ḥakam fired an arrow at Ṭalḥah, killing him and thereby avenging the blood of ´Uthmān. Indeed, it is widely accepted that Marwān deliberate killed Ṭalḥah during the Battle of Jamal to avenge ´Uthmān's blood.[5691] He declared, "That was an arrow cast by Allāh, the oft high."[5692] After he killed Ṭalḥah, he said, "I will no longer seek vengeance for my blood (i.e. the blood of ´Uthmān) after this day."[5693] He then went to ´Uthmān's son Abān and said, "I have just taken care of one of your father's murderers."[5694] In fact, the caliph ´Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān said, "Were it not for the fact that Commander of the Faithful Marwān informed me that he was the one who killed Ṭalḥah, I would not have spared a single one of Ṭalḥah's offspring from being killed [in retaliation for the blood] of ´Uthmān ibn ´Affān."[5695] When Ṭalḥah was killed, he left his heirs 30,000,000 dirhams,[5696] and in terms of gold he left behind 100 chests full of gold, with each chest containing 3 qinṭārs,[5697] and each qinṭār weighing approximately 100 pounds (i.e. 30,000 pounds of gold). His son Muḥammad, however, died in the Battle of Jamal, so he did not get to enjoy his share of his father's fortune.[5698]

[5680] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 16:126-7. Similar accounts also appear in Tārīkh Ṭabarī 16:129-30 and Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:52.
[5681] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 16:130.
[5682] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 16:111-2; Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:313; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:277-8; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:46.
[5683] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 16:138.
[5684] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 16:127; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:48 (says all seventy were from the Quraysh).
[5685] Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:48.
[5686] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 16:140; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:48.
[5687] Manāqib Āl-i Abī Ṭālib of Ibn Shahr Āshūb 3:185.
[5688] Refer to chapter 37.
[5689] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 16:127; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:52.
[5690] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 16:102; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:49.
[5691] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 16:127; Iṣābah 2:951 #4269 (Ṭalḥah ibn ´Ubayd Allāh); Istī´āb 2:318-320 #1289 (Ṭalḥah ibn ´Ubayd Allāh) (several accounts); Usd al-Ghābah 2:492 #2627 (Ṭalḥah ibn ´Ubayd Allāh) (several accounts); Mu´jam al-Kabīr Ṭabarānī 1:113; Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 3:223; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:269-70; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:46; Tārīkh Damishq 25:112, 113, 122, 124 (numerous traditions); Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:311-2 (several traditions).
[5692] Usd al-Ghābah 2:492 #2627 (Ṭalḥah ibn ´Ubayd Allāh).
[5693] Iṣābah 2:951 #4269 (Ṭalḥah ibn ´Ubayd Allāh); Istī´āb 2:319 #1289 (Ṭalḥah ibn ´Ubayd Allāh); Usd al-Ghābah 2:492 #2627 (Ṭalḥah ibn ´Ubayd Allāh); Tārīkh Damishq 25:112; Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:311.
[5694] Istī´āb 2:319 #1289 (Ṭalḥah ibn ´Ubayd Allāh); Usd al-Ghābah 2:492 #2627 (Ṭalḥah ibn ´Ubayd Allāh).
[5695] Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 3:223.

Upon ʿAlī's (ع) victory, Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr went to ʿĀʾishah's howdah, which looked like a hedgehog because of the number of arrows stuck to it.[5699] He said, "Did you not hear the Messenger of Allāh (ص) say, 'ʿAlī is with the truth and the truth is with ʿAlī'?"[5700] ʿAlī (ع) told her, "Allāh has ordered you to sit in your home, but you then left in battle!"[5701] He also told her, "You roused the people, and they became excited. You stirred up discord among them such that some killed others," and he went on at length. ʿĀʾishah replied, "Ibn Abī Ṭālib! You have gained your victory. Give me an honorable pardon," so ʿAlī (ع) let her go.[5702]

According to Ṭabarī, over 6,000 Muslims died in that battle,[5703] and according to Ibn Saʿd and Suyūṭī there were over 13,000 Muslim casualties.[5704] Ibn Athīr and Ibn Kathīr have claimed that there were 10,000 casualties, half of them from each camp.[5705] Two of the chiefs of the mutiny—Ṭalḥah and Zubayr—were killed on that day, but others such as ʿAbd Allāh ibn Zubayr and Marwān ibn Ḥakam, survived to cause further mischief.

In the aftermath of the battle, all of ʿĀʾishah's troopsmen pledged allegiance to ʿAlī (ع), and ʿAlī (ع) appointed ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās as the governor of Baṣrah.[5706] ʿAlī (ع) spent some fifteen nights in Baṣrah and then left to Kūfah,[5707] which became his center of operations for the rest of his caliphate.

5696. Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 3:222; Tārīkh Damishq 25:120.
5697. Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 3:222.
5698. Usd al-Ghābah 4:73 #4746 (Muḥammad ibn Ṭalḥah).
5699. Tārīkh Ṭabarī 16:156.
5700. Imāmah wa Sīyāsah 82.
5701. Imāmah wa Sīyāsah 82.
5702. Tārīkh Ṭabarī 16:127; Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:312.
5703. Tārīkh Ṭabarī 16:171.
5704. Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 3:32; Tārīkh al-Khulafāʾ 155.
5705. Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:50; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:273.
5706. Tārīkh Ṭabarī 16:102.
5707. Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 3:32.

Chapter 80
The Companions in Light of the Battle of Jamal

The events leading up to and including the Battle of Jamal raises a number of serious issues, as it involves the companions of the Prophet (ص) rising up against ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib (ع), whom Sunnīs consider to be the fourth rightly-guided caliph. The issues include the following:

Issue 1: The Refusal of Certain Companions to Pledge Allegiance to ʿAlī (ع)

A number of companions including ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar, Saʿd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ, Muʿāwīyah, and Zayd ibn Thābit refused to pledge allegiance to ʿAlī (ع). This is even though Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim includes several traditions according to which the Prophet (ص) said, "Whoever dies without having bound himself by an oath of allegiance [to an imām] will die the death of the Days of Ignorance."[5708] Since none of these individuals pledged allegiance to ʿAlī (ع), one would have to say that either ʿAlī (ع) was not a legitimate imām or that those companions died the death of the Days of Ignorance. Since the consensus of the nation, including the Khārijītes, is that ʿAlī's (ع) caliphate was valid at its inception, one can readily conclude that those companions who refused to pledge allegiance to him thereby committed a grave sin, and that, based on this prophetic tradition, they will die the death of the Days of Ignorance. Furthermore, ijtihād cannot be invoked when it comes to pledging allegiance to the rightful ruler, because the Prophet's (ص) traditions are clear that there is only one rightful ruler, that the opponents of the rightful ruler are doomed to die the death of the Days of Ignorance, and that those who dispute the authority of the rightful ruler are to be killed.[5709] Using one's own judgment to fail to recognize, to fail to pledge allegiance to, or to oppose the rightful imām is exactly what makes one die the death of the Days of Ignorance.

Issue 2: The Breaking of the Pledge of Allegiance by Certain Companions

A number of the companions of the Prophet (ص) withdrew their pledges of allegiance and broke their promises not only to ʿAlī (ع) but even to the Baṣran mayor, whose companions they needlessly slaughtered after promising him peace. Indeed, Zubayr broke his pledges to ʿAlī (ع) three times—his pledge of allegiance to ʿAlī (ع) as the caliph, his pledge not to cause trouble prior to leaving Madīnah for Mecca, and his pledge to immediately abandon the fight after speaking to ʿAlī (ع) prior to the outbreak of fighting. The Qurʾān clearly states, "Do not break your oaths after you have confirmed them."[5710] Moreover, the Qurʾān lists holding one's oath as among the most basic element of righteousness.[5711] The Qurʾān also says, "And those who believe will say,

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[5708] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #20.4562-4. Refer to chapter 42.
[5709] Refer to chapter 42.
[5710] Qurʾān 16:91.
[5711] Qurʾān 2:177.

'Are these the men who swore their strongest oaths by Allāh that they were with you?' All that they do will be in vain, and they will fall into [nothing but] ruin."[5712] Indeed, ʿAlī (ع) did the right thing by fighting them, as the Qurʾān asks, "Will you not fight people who have violated their oaths?"[5713] If Ṭalḥah and Zubayr made an empty oath when they pledged allegiance to ʿAlī (ع), then those who followed them erred because the Qurʾān says, "Do not obey despicable men ready with oaths."[5714]

Amazingly, after the Saqīfah, the companions told Fāṭimah (ع) that had ʿAlī (ع) asked for their pledge first, they would have given it to him instead of to Abū Bakr, but since they had given their pledge of allegiance to Abū Bakr, they were bound to uphold it.[5715] Those companions clearly erred, because the Qurʾān says, "And do not turn Allāh's [name] into an excuse in your oaths against doing good or acting righteously or making peace between people."[5716] The Qurʾān also says, "They have turned their oaths into a cover [for their misdeeds]; thus they obstruct from the path of Allāh; therefore they shall have a humiliating penalty."[5717] As such, if one swears by Allāh to commit a sin, one must break one's oath and avoid the sin. Conversely, when one swears to do what is right, one is obligated to uphold one's oath. The bulk of the companions erred in the Saqīfah for upholding their oath to do what was wrong, while a number of them erred in the Battle of Jamal for breaking their oath to do what was right. Furthermore, the Qurʾān says, "Kill the leaders (imāms) of disbelief (kufr), for they have no [binding] oaths."[5718] As such, the pledges of allegiance to a false imām are non-binding.

According to the Qurʾān, the expiation (kaffārah) for breaking an oath is feeding ten indigent persons, freeing a slave, or fasting three days.[5719] Thus, some have expiated Ṭalḥah and Zubayr from their sins by claiming that they may have fasted for three days after breaking their pledge of allegiance to ʿAlī (ع), and that Zubayr freed his slave after breaking his promise to ʿAlī (ع) not to fight. It should be noted that after explaining the kaffārah for the expiation of broken oaths, the Qurʾān maintains the importance of upholding the oath in the first place by saying, "But keep your oaths!"[5720] Moreover, the basic error in this argument is that they broke their pledges in order to commit forbidde acts—that is, to rise up against a legitimate ruler, to cause discord, and to kill innoce Muslims. Although the act of breaking their oaths was a sin in and of itself, no kaffāra would undo what they did after breaking their oaths. For example, if one were to drin wine while fasting, the proper kaffārah may make up for breaking one's fast, but one still needs to be whipped eighty times for drinking alcohol. Similarly, a married man or woman who promises never to commit adultery, but who does so nonetheless, would not be let go because he freed a slave to expiate his broken oath. Rather, he would be dragged away for stoning. As such, for someone who breaks a pledge of allegiance by rising up against a legitimate ruler, the kaffārah for breaking the pledge would do nothing to mitigate the sins of rising up against the legitimate ruler, creating discord, and causing the death of innocent Muslims, regarding which the Qurʾān says,

> The punishment of those who wage war against Allāh and His Messenger and who strive for mischief through the land is execution, crucifixion, the cutting off

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[5712] Qurʾān 5:53.
[5713] Qurʾān 9:13.
[5714] Qurʾān 68:10.
[5715] Refer to chapter 48.
[5716] Qurʾān 2:224.
[5717] Qurʾān 58:16. Similarly, Qurʾān 63:2.
[5718] Qurʾān 9:12.
[5719] Qurʾān 5:89.
[5720] Qurʾān 5:89.

> of hands and feet from opposite sides, or exile from the land. This is their disgrace in this world, and a heavy punishment will be theirs in the hereafter.[5721]

Since the Prophet, according to a mutawātir tradition told ʹAlī (ع), "I am at war with whoever is at war with you and I am at peace with whoever is at peace with you,"[5722] it is clear that waging war against ʹAlī was equivalent to waging war against the Prophet (ص), and those who engaged in such a war were clearly subject to this verse.

Issue 3: The Massacre of Innocent Muslims

The massacre of innocent Muslims raises the following four issues:

1. A number of the companions of the Prophet (ص) massacred innocent Muslims for no apparent reason. If they were seeking ʹUthmān's blood, they should have identified his murderers and brought them to Imām ʹAlī (ع) for justice, instead of arbitrarily killing Baṣrans who were in no direct way responsible for ʹUthmān's death. This proves that some of the companions were unjust, which goes against the belief that they were all just.[5723]

2. Even if they were seeking to avenge ʹUthmān's blood, they were only allowed to kill one person from among the tribe that killed ʹUthmān. This is very clear in the Qur`ān, which says, "A free man for a free man... Whoever exceeds the limits after this will have a great penalty."[5724] They clearly exceeded the limits in regards to avenging ʹUthmān's blood.

3. If it was the Egyptians who killed ʹUthmān, the rebels had no right to massacre the Baṣrans. Indeed, they went to Baṣrah not to slaughter them but because they expected them to be most receptive to their claims. As such, even though they used the "you killed ʹUthmān" excuse when massacring them, they really killed them because many Baṣrans rejected their absurd arguments about why they should abandon ʹAlī (ع) and join their camp. How anyone can claim that not abandoning ʹAlī (ع) is a crime worthy of the death penalty in Islām is not clear. In fact, anyone who would allow ijtihād according to which someone who does not abandon a rightful ruler is worthy of being beheaded is clearly promoting injustice.

4. The Qur`ān says, "And whoever kills a believer intentionally, his punishment is hell; he shall abide therein, and Allāh will send His wrath upon him, curse him, and prepare for him a painful punishment."[5725] Indeed, according to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, the Prophet (ص) said, "None of you should point out towards his Muslim brother with a weapon, for he does not know, Satan may tempt him to hit him and thus he would fall into a pit of fire."[5726] Yet ʹĀ`ishah, Ṭalḥah, and Zubayr did much more than point weapons at the Muslims of Baṣrah and Madīnah.

[5721] Qur`ān 5:33.

[5722] Refer to chapter 22.

[5723] According to Ibn Ḥajar (Iṣābah 1:9), the Ahl al-Sunnah have consensus that the companions were all just. Refer to chapter 36.

[5724] Qur`ān 2:178.

[5725] Qur`ān 4:93.

[5726] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #9.88.193.

Issue 4: Ignoring the Prophet's (ص) Prophecies

The Prophecy of Ḥaw`ab

Ṭalḥah, Zubayr, and ʿĀ`ishah persisted on their mission even after ʿĀ`ishah knew that she was wrong when she heard the dogs barking at her at Ḥaw`ab, as the Prophet (ص) had predicted would happen to the most mischievous of his wives. Not only did they not heed the Prophet's (ص) warning, but they knowingly deceived themselves by claiming that the place had another name. Thus, they justified their illegitimate uprising through lies. Even if someone were to claim that the companions could lie based on ijtihād, it would prove that the companions included liars who must be identified and renounced, and that we must identify their lies from the truths they spoke.

The Prophecy Regarding ʿAmmār

The rebels persisted in their war even after they saw that ʿAmmār was with ʿAlī (ع) and Zubayr knew that this was proof of their being the "army of transgressors," as the Prophet (ص) had maintained in a mutawātir tradition that ʿAmmār would be fought and killed by "an army of transgressors."[5727]

The Prophecy that Zubayr Would Fight ʿAlī (ع)

The rebels continued their fight even after ʿAlī (ع) reminded Zubayr that the Prophet (ص) had told him that he would fight ʿAlī (ع) and that he would be the aggressor. Zubayr's duty would have been to inform all the rebels of this prophecy and pressure them to end the war and to submit to ʿAlī's (ع) authority.

Issue 5: What Kinds of Imāms Were the Leaders of the Rebellion?

Even though Zubayr fled the battlefield himself, he did not lead his troops to do the right thing by telling them to leave the battlefield as well, as he should have done if he was a righteous leader. The Qur`ān classifies leaders into those who guide towards the truth in a path that leads to heaven, and those who guide towards falsehood in a path that leads to the fire.[5728] This also holds true for Ṭalḥah and ʿĀ`ishah as well, as they led their troops into this battle.

Issue 6: The Dishonesty of the Rebels with Respect to Their Purported Cause

ʿĀ`ishah, Ṭalḥah, and Zubayr came up with the entire excuse of avenging ʿUthmān death, when the three of them were the main instigators inciting against ʿUthmān in th first place.[5729] This is the utmost of deceit and treachery. Even Saʿīd ibn ʿĀṣ, ʿUthmān' Umayyad tribesman and former governor in Kūfah, criticized them for this fact, saying that if they wanted to avenge ʿUthmān's death, all they needed to do was to kill their own selves and let the troops head back home instead of leading the troops to their deaths in a wrongful and unnecessary war. Mughīrah ibn Shuʿbah, who was clearly no friend of ʿAlī's (ع), accepted this argument and withdrew his men. According to Ḥākim,

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[5727] Refer to chapter 65.

[5728] Refer to Qur`ān 32:24 and 28:41, respectively.

[5729] Refer to chapters 71, 72, and 79.

> Ḥasan said: Ṭalḥah and Zubayr went to Baṣrah and the people asked them, "What brings you here?" They said, "We are seeking [to avenge] ʻUthmān's blood." Ḥasan said, "Subḥān Allāh! Don't the people have the minds to say [to them], 'By Allāh! No one has killed ʻUthmān except you!'?"[5730]

In fact, it is obvious that Marwān ibn Ḥakam, ʻUthmān's right hand man, believed that as well, which is why he killed Ṭalḥah to avenge ʻUthmān's blood. Indeed, by the execution of Ṭalḥah, ʻUthmān's blood was fully avenged, as it constituted "a free man for a free man."[5731] Therefore, any further action by Muʻāwīyah and his cohorts was even more illegitimate. The fact that Marwān killed Ṭalḥah to avenge ʻUthmān's blood while they used his blood as a pretext to fight ʻAlī (ع) shows the hypocrisy of the rebel camp and makes it clear that they rose in rebellion only to oppose ʻAlī (ع) and that they would come up with any excuse to justify their uprising.

Issue 7: The Killing of Ṭalḥah by Marwān, a Future Umayyad Caliph

If Ṭalḥah was truly seeking ʻUthmān's blood and was not guilty of ʻUthmān's murder himself, then Marwān would be the murderer of an innocent Muslim, and should not have been able to become an Umayyad caliph later and been allowed to establish the caliphate among his own children. Indeed, ʻAlī (ع) or Muʻāwīyah should have punished him for this deliberate murder of his consort-in-battle, as they were both fighting on the same side on the battlefield, not against one another. That neither caliph thought it necessary to punish him suggests that it was clearly permissible to spill Ṭalḥah's blood.

Indeed, there are numerous conclusions one can draw from the events, and they all prove that the companions included those who were driven by worldly desires to perform the greatest of sins.

Sunnī Responses to the Battle of Jamal

There is no good answer to the questions that arise regarding the Battle of Jamal. Typically, Sunnīs are told that the companions were all holy saints and that we are in no position to judge them. Furthermore, they erred in their ijtihād, thereby deserving one reward. Some have gone farther by stating that all the historical traditions that appear in their books that make the companions look bad originated from the Shīʻah. And when all else fails, it is sometimes claimed that ʻĀʼishah, Ṭalḥah, and Zubayr sinned but that they repented and were forgiven. In this regards, Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd said, "As for ʻĀʼishah, Zubayr, and Ṭalḥah, the belief of our school (madhhab) is that they erred but then repented and that they will be among the people of paradise."[5732] And finally, a number of verses of the Qurʼān and fabricated traditions are used to claim absurd and clearly untrue virtues for the companions.

The Claim that It is Impermissible to Criticize the Companions

In terms of the first argument, anyone reasonable can see that the companions were not all good. They committed major sins—they killed, they pillaged, they drank, and they made innovations in Islām. We must rise to the position of judging them if we ever want to find out what Islām truly says, as opposed to following the devil that self-admittedly guided them at times.[5733] Furthermore, the Qur`ān is clear that we must not follow the wicked ones among the companions when it says, "O you who believe! When a wicked person comes to you with any news, ascertain the truth lest you harm people unwittingly and afterwards become full of remorse for what you have done."[5734] As such, it is mandatory for us to ascertain the identities of the wicked companions and to avoid following them.

[5730] Mustadrak Ḥākim #4606.

[5731] Qurʼān 2:178.

[5732] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 20:34.

The Claim that the Companions Erred in Their Ijtihād

In terms of the second argument, we have discussed at length the difference between struggling to reach the right conclusion when the Qur`ān and Sunnah do not provide a clear answer, yet erring in the process after having expended due diligence on the one hand, and doing the wrong thing that clearly contradicts the Qur`ān and Sunnah on the other.[5735] It is clear that ʿĀ`ishah, Ṭalḥah, and Zubayr knew that they were doing the wrong thing, yet, despite that knowledge, proceeded to choose the wrong path at every turn. Someone who could not figure out that ʿAlī (ع) was the rightful leader and on the right path was not in a position to judge, and definitely not in a position to judge that Muslims should be killed and that their lives and property should be confiscated. Indeed, if any religion permits the taking of innocent lives simply because a sinful individual says so, and this religion further claims that the murderers of the innocent are just and noble and will be rewarded for their murder, it would not be a religion of justice and therefore not a religion of Allāh.

Moreover, if it is permissible for ʿĀ`ishah, Ṭalḥah, and Zubayr to condemn, rise up against, and fight with the sword a companion such as ʿAlī (ع) based on their ijtihād, then it must be permissible for the Shīʿah to condemn companions such as ʿĀ`ishah, Ṭalḥah, Zubayr, Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, ʿUthmān, Muʿāwīyah, and their supporters based on ijtihād. If there is an Islāmic law that states that one cannot oppose a companion, yet companions opposed ʿAlī (ع), one would conclude that the companions themselves performed a sin worthy of being opposed and condemned. This creates an obvious internally inconsistent and paradoxical view that can only be maintained suspending reason and blindly believing that it is forbidden to discuss or even ponder the conduct c the companions. Such beliefs are based on illusion, not reality. The Qur`ān asks agai and again, "Do you not use your minds?"[5736] Clearly, those who demand us not to us our minds are not calling us to follow Islām.

The Claim that Some Historical Accounts are Unreliable

In terms of the third argument, some claim that Shīʿah historical accounts have gotten mixed into Sunnī sources. This thought process is particularly common among Wahhābīs who try to rid themselves of the arduous task of studying the immense Islāmic literature that has accumulated over the last fourteen centuries. This type of argument arises from the fact that the historical accounts, as recorded by early Muslim scholars, no longer fit the naïve "Sunday school" version of history that some prefer to believe in. Certain concepts have solidified in the abstract to the point that it has become difficult, if not impossible, to fit historical reality into the concept that all of the companions were holy saints. Indeed, if anyone were to narrate the truth about historical events, they would be labeled Rāfiḍītes by some who prefer for history to be buried behind a smokescreen, as was done by Sayf the liar. Of note, a number of Sunnī scholars have considered Sayf to have been a zindīq, or a heretic, who tried to destroy Islām by creating imaginary stories that would be incorporated into Islāmic texts.[5737] It is a strong proof for Shī´ism that a zindīq who sought to destroy Islām by falsifying its history would concoct narratives that substantiate particular extreme Sunnī beliefs to the point that some to this day find his mostly fictional accounts so comforting.

[5733] Refer to chapters 28 and 40 for discussions on the devils that plagued ʿĀ`ishah and Abū Bakr, respectively.

[5734] Qur`ān 49:6. Refer to chapter 64 for a discussion of the revelation of this verse in regards to Walīd ibn ʿUqbah, who fits the Sunnī definition of companion.

[5735] Refer to chapter 54 for a discussion on ijtihād.

[5736] Qur`ān 2:44, 2:76, 3:65, 6:32, 7:169, 10:16, 11:51, 12:109, 21:10, 21:67, 23:80, 28:60, 37:138.

In reality, one does not need a detailed or lengthy account of an event such as the Battle of Jamal to draw the conclusions that need to be drawn. Even the simple facts that ´Uthmān was killed, that his grave rests far away from the graves of the other companions buried at Baqī´, that some companions renounced their pledge of allegiance to ´Alī (ع), that certain companions led an armed uprising against the rightful ruler, and that these certain companions caused bloodshed are enough to prove everything that needs to be proved from this battle. Any further historical details are merely for the sake of historical interest. It is absurd that one finds people obsessed with the significance of the barking of the dogs at ´Ā`ishah at Ḥaw`ab, when the issue of the barking dogs pales in comparison to the undisputed discord and bloodshed caused by her armed uprising.

The Claim that Repentance Would Erase the Sins Committed During this Battle

In terms of the fourth argument, there is no proof that, for example, Ṭalḥah repented, as he was killed during the battle. ´Ā`ishah lived long enough to see the aftermath of what she had caused and to regret her most major of sins. This regret, however, appeared only after she lost the battle and her regret intensified when forces allied to Mu´āwīyah killed her brother Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr on his way to Egypt,[5738] and when her other brother, ´Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Bakr, was being humiliated by the Umayyads for his unwillingness to support Yazīd's appointment as the heir to Mu´āwīyah's throne.[5739] Zubayr ran away from battle, but was not truly repentful, otherwise he would have tried to actively end the battle and prevent further bloodshed.

Indeed, even if they did repent, which is highly doubtful, their repentance is worthless, as one cannot deliberately kill innocent Muslims and then repent. Even though Allāh can forgive sins against His rights (e.g. prayer, zakāt, ḥajj, etc.), He does not forgive sins in which one takes away the rights of others to their lives or property (e.g. murder, theft, etc.), as these rights must be fully restituted and be forgiven by the victim of the crimes. Unless ´Ā`ishah, Ṭalḥah, and Zubayr can prove that they have been forgiven by the 13,000 people who needlessly died during the Battle of Jamal, and that they were forgiven by every single child of their victims who was orphaned, every single wife who was widowed, and every single mother, father, brother, sister, relative, and friend of their victims who was bereaved, and that they restituted all the properties they seized, any repentance of theirs amounts to empty words.

Moreover, according to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, "No repentance is accepted from [one who kills a believer]."[5740] Apparently, some were advancing the claim that killers of believers can be forgiven, but they were proved wrong:

5737. Refer to chapter 74.

5738. Refer to chapter 88.

5739. Refer to chapter 63 for an example of disputes between ´Ā`ishah and the Umayyads over her brother ´Abd al-Raḥmān.

5740. Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #6.60.287.

> Narrated Qāsim ibn Abī Bazzah that he asked Sa´īd ibn Jubayr, "Is there any repentance of the one who has murdered a believer intentionally?" Then I recited to him, "Nor kill such life that Allāh has forbidden except for a just cause."[5741] Sa´īd said: I recited this very verse before Ibn ´Abbās as you have recited it before me. Ibn ´Abbās said, "This verse was revealed in Mecca and it has been abrogated by a verse in Sūrah Nisā` which was later revealed in Madīnah."[5742]

The verse in Sūrah Nisā` referred to here says, "And whoever kills a believer intentionally, his punishment is hell; he shall abide in it, and Allāh will send His wrath on him and curse him and prepare for him a painful punishment."[5743] According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, Ibn ´Abbās said, "Nothing has abrogated this verse."[5744] According to another tradition in Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, Sa´īd ibn Jubayr said,

> The people of Kūfah differed in regards to the killing of a believer, so I entered upon Ibn ´Abbās [and asked him] about that. Ibn ´Abbās said, "The verse [in Sūrah Nisā`] was the last thing revealed in this respect and nothing cancelled its validity."[5745]

It appears that some have confused the concepts of regret and repentance. If things don't turn out as one planned, one regrets what one did, whereas if one truly discovers the sinfulness of one's acts, one repents. The difference is obvious. If one commits adultery and contracts a sexually transmitted disease, one might regret having engaged in that particular episode of intercourse, but this is not repentance from sin, which would require an acknowledgement of the sinfulness of the act and a resolve never to commit the act again. Some have confused ´Ā`ishah's later regret for having entered a battle that she disgracefully lost with true repentance. Had she emerged victorious, she would have had no regrets. She only regretted her acts because she lost the battle, because she was publicly humiliated, because her arch-enemy ´Alī (ع) remained the caliph after her uprising, and because her failed campaign led to the ascension of Mu´āwīyah to the caliphate, which turned out not to be to her advantage in the long run.

Indeed, repentance requires all of the following elements: (1) understanding th sinfulness of the act; (2) a resolve never to commit that sin again; and (3) makin recompense for the sin (for example, making up missed prayers, paying the kaffārah fo broken fasts, returning stolen property, asking forgiveness from the one gossiped about, etc). The third fact is made clear by the Qur`ān where it says, "Verily, if any of you who did evil in ignorance thereafter repents and makes amends (aṣlaḥa), then He is oft-forgiving, most merciful."[5746] Thus, making amends is a necessary condition for repentance to be accepted.

Moreover, according to the Qur`ān, repentance also requires two additional elements: (1) the sin should have been committed based on ignorance, and (2) one must repent immediately upon realizing the sinfulness of the act. These requirements are evident in the following verse of the Qur`ān: "Repentance with Allāh is only for those who commit evil [acts] due to ignorance, then turn [to Allāh in repentance] soon thereafter."[5747] Therefore, if, as some claim, ʿĀʾishah, Ṭalḥah, and Zubayr repented and their repentance was accepted, it necessitates that their sin was committed due to their ignorance. If they were so ignorant as to not know that fighting ʿAlī (ع), killing innocent Muslims, and seizing Muslims and their property was Islāmically forbidden, then it becomes evident that some companions had no share of Islāmic understanding whatsoever and were therefore worthy of renunciation rather than emulation. Furthermore, if they were ignorant, one must not follow them, as they required guidance from those who knew: "So is someone who guides to the truth worthier to be followed than someone who does not guide unless he himself is guided?"[5748]

[5741] Qur`ān 17:33.
[5742] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #6.60.285.
[5743] Qur`ān 4:93.
[5744] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #6.60.289.
[5745] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #6.60.286.
[5746] Qur`ān 6:54.

When Khālid ibn Walīd needlessly massacred the Banū Jadhīmah,[5749] the Prophet (ص) renounced him, proclaiming, "O Allāh, I am free from what Khālid [ibn Walīd] has done!"[5750] It is clear that if he was alive during the Battle of Jamal, he would have turned to Allāh and renounced what ʿĀʾishah, Ṭalḥah, and Zubayr had done in terms of rising in opposition to ʿAlī (ع) and needlessly killing thousands of innocent Muslims. It is therefore mandatory for the Muslims to renounce what these companions did as well, along with all their other blatant sins.

Of note, ʿAlī (ع), according to some traditions, said that the killer of Zubayr will burn in the fire.[5751] If that is true, it is because of the fact that Zubayr was a refugee prisoner of war who had been granted protection and then killed. As a prisoner of war, he should have been either kept as a slave after a fifth of his value was set aside khums or he should have been freed depending on the edict of the imām in regards to how the spoils of war and prisoners were to be handled. Killing Zubayr in captivity, when ʿAlī (ع) had issued an edict for his troops not to chase the fleers, was clearly against Islāmic law. Indeed, if the killer of Zubayr has to go to hell for killing a man who had the blood of thousands of Muslims on his hands, one can only imagine the destiny of those who led to this bloodshed in the first place. The fact that ʿAlī (ع) did not kill the killer of Zubayr is clear proof that it was permissible to kill Zubayr, otherwise ʿAlī (ع) would have been obligated to punish his killer for his crime.

Of note, there are also traditions stating that the killer of Ṭalḥah will go to hell.[5752] Although traditions like this tend to follow a standard pattern of fabrications, particularly because it closely parallels the claims about Zubayr's killer, the content of this one is not hard to believe, as his killer was Marwān ibn Ḥakam, a leader of hypocrisy who took over the Umayyad caliphate in Damascus upon the death of Muʿāwīyah ibn Yazīd ibn Muʿāwīyah ibn Abī Sufyān shortly after Yazīd's death.[5753] It is not hard to believe that Marwān will go to hell, and his killing Ṭalḥah will not be the reason why.

The Claim that the Companions are Unassailable According to the Qurʾān and Sunnah

It should be noted that some have defended the companions by citing a number of dubious traditions alongside Qurʾānic verses that are taken out of context and arranged in such a way as to create the impression that the Prophet (ص) and the Qurʾān have universally praised the companions. An evaluation of such traditions and verses will be the subject of the next two chapters.

[5747] Qurʾān 4:17.
[5748] Qurʾān 10:35.
[5749] Refer to chapter 25.
[5750] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.59.628, #9.89.299 (Arabic original #4084, #6766).
[5751] Mustadrak Ḥākim #5579.
[5752] Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 3:225.
[5753] Refer to chapter 63.

Chapter 81
Traditions Claiming Special Privileges for the Companions

One of the key differences between the Sunnīs and the Shī´ah is that the former believe that all companions are virtuous and just, have great knowledge of and insight into Islāmic law (faqīh and mujtahid), and are all going to paradise, whereas the Shī´ah believe that the companions included a variety of individuals, including those who were virtuous, just, knowledgeable, and headed to paradise. Moreover, the Sunnī scholars have defined a companion as anyone who ever saw or spoke to or came into any sort of contact with the Prophet (ص) while believing in him and who died as a Muslim,[5754] whereas the Shī´ah believe that being a companion requires companionship, which involves duration of stay with the Prophet (ص). The Shī´ah point out the fact that a fair number of those who fit the Sunnī definition of companion reluctantly accepted Islām out of fear of death, particularly during and after the conquest of Mecca, and that among those who resided with the Prophet (ص) in Madīnah there were a number of hypocrites. As such, only the virtuous ones among the companions are to be revered. For example, if one lived in Ṭā`if, reluctantly accepted Islām, and saw the Prophet (ص) only a single time from a great distance during his farewell pilgrimage, barely making out a few of his words, one would not be guaranteed any particular sense of justice, the power of ijtihād, or guaranteed entry into paradise. Rather, to be a companion, one needs companionship, which requires the devotion of a significant amount of time to the Prophet (ص) as his personal devotee. This is obvious to anyone who thinks about the matter. If one runs into someone in the elevator one time, no one would consider the two to be companions. Indeed, even companionship is not sufficient for our reverence, as hypocrites were among the Prophet's (ص) companions. As such, those to be revered are the Prophet's (ص) devotees among his true companions who stayed loyal to Islām, neither innovating nor straying.

The topic of the companions was addressed in chapter 36, in which a number of traditions predicting the straying of the companions were addressed. There are, however, a number of Sunnī traditions claiming all sorts of virtues for the Prophet's (ص) companions. The most prominent and oft-quoted of these traditions will be addressed in this chapter. In the next chapter, verses of the Qur`ān that the Sunnī scholars commonly cite in support of their exuberant claims regarding the virtues of the companions will be examined.

Traditions Claiming that the Companions were the Best of all Generations

The Prophet (ص) is claimed to have said, "The best people are those living in my generation, and then those who will follow them, and then those who will follow the latter."[5755] This forgery apparently dates to the early Umayyad era or perhaps to the caliphate of ʿUthmān, and many of its chains of transmission are rather problematic. Of note, in Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, two of these traditions are related through Muḥammad ibn Kathīr,[5756] who Ibn Maʿīn said "is not trustworthy (thiqah)."[5757] Four traditions in Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī are through Zahdam ibn Muḍarrib from ʿImrān ibn Ḥusayn.[5758] The former is barely known, as there are only two traditions related from him,[5759] while the latter worked for ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿĀmir while he served as the governor of Baṣrah during the caliphate of his cousin ʿUthmān.[5760]

[5754] Refer to chapter 36.

Nevertheless, this tradition states nothing to support the belief that every companion was just. It was obviously not the hypocrites among the companions who were the best of all time, but rather the Prophet's (ص) righteous companions. In fact, the Shīʿah have no trouble accepting the claim that the best people were the devoted companions of the Prophet (ص), followed by the devoted companions of ʿAlī (ع), followed by the devoted companions of Ḥasan (ع) and Ḥusayn (ع).

Indeed, to use this tradition to claim that the companions were all exemplary characters is absurd. Were those who left Islām after the Prophet's (ص) death among the best of all times? Were the companions who he promised would innovate in his religion and be sent to hell because of what they would do after his death[5761] the best of all times? What about the eight or twelve companions he promised would never enter paradise until a camel fits through a needle hole?[5762] What about those who harassed him in his life, who plotted to assassinate him,[5763] who usurped the caliphate upon his death, and who fought ʿAlī (ع) after him? What about the breaker of vows, the deviants, and the heretics whom he ordered ʿAlī (ع) to fight—were they the best of all time?

Traditions Claiming Immunity for the Companions Present at Badr and Ḥudaybīyyah

According to Sunnī traditions, the Prophet (ص) said in regards to the companions present at Badr, "Do as you please for you have been forgiven."[5764] This tradition has been narrated through seven chains of transmission in Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī and one chain o transmission in Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim. Three of Bukhārī's chains as well as the one in Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim include ʿAmr ibn Dīnār. According to Ibn Ḥajar, Bukhārī believed that he had not heard certain traditions he had attributed to Ibn ʿAbbās, and as such he would commit tadlīs (i.e. attributing traditions to other than whom he had heard them from).[5765] The remaining four of Bukhārī's traditions are through Ḥuṣayn ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sulamī, who according to opinions cited by Ibn Ḥajar was forgetful, would alter traditions, and would mix up his accounts.[5766]

[5755] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.57.3. Similarly, Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #3.48.819, #3.48.820, #5.57.2, #8.76.436, #8.46.437, #8.78.652, #8.78.686.

[5756] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī (Arabic original) #2509, #3451.

[5757] Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb vol 9 #686 (Muḥammad ibn Kathīr al-ʿAbdī).

[5758] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī (Arabic original) #2508, #3450, #6064, #6317.

[5759] Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb vol 3 #633 (Zahdam ibn Muḍarrib).

[5760] Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb vol 8 #220 (ʿImrān ibn Ḥuṣayn).

[5761] Refer to chapter 36.

[5762] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #36.6688-9.

[5763] Refer to chapter 61.

[5764] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #4.52.251, #4.52.314, #5.59.319, #5.59.572, #6.60.412, #8.74.276, #9.84.72; Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #31.6087.

[5765] Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb vol 8 #45 (ʿAmr Ibn Dīnār al-Makkī).

[5766] Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb vol 2 #659 (Ḥuṣayn ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sulamī).

This tradition indicates that the people present at Badr were allowed to sin as they pleased, as they had been forgiven for all their sins of the past, present, and future. However, this contradicts both the Qur`ān and common sense. The Qur`ān is clear that many of the Muslim fighters went to the Battle of Badr unwillingly and not out of service to Allāh, describing them as "a group of believers [who] disliked it... as if they were being driven along towards death while they could see it [coming].[5767] The Qur`ān also says,

> When fighting was prescribed to them, behold! A group of them fears people as much as or even more than they fear Allāh. They say, "Our Lord, why have You prescribed fighting for us? If You would only postpone it for a little while longer!"[5768]

Indeed, their presence in battle was no help to the believers at all, as the Qur`ān says, "Had they gone forth with you, they would not have added to your [strength], but would only hurry among you, sewing discord among you, and there would have been some among you who would have listened to them."[5769] Verses like these are numerous and prove that the companions did not fight willingly at Badr and others battles. It is clear that one cannot be rewarded for a virtuous act that one was compelled to perform against one's wish, as this constitutes either compulsion or pretense (rīyā`). The Qur`ān says, "So woe to those who pray who are neglectful of their prayers and who are setting up a pretense."[5770] As such, prayers may enable one to enter paradise, but not if one prays out of pretense, as indicated by this verse, or if one offers prayers out of compulsion, as the Qur`ān says, "There is no compulsion in religion."[5771] As such, those companions who were forced to fight at Badr cannot be expected to receive immense rewards for doing so. Indeed, the hypocrites have no reward, regardless of whether their act is performed willingly or unwillingly, as the Qur`ān says in regards to the companions, "Say: Spend willingly or unwillingly—it will not be accepted from you, [for] you are surely a wicked group."[5772]

Furthermore, in contrast to the invented tradition that states, "Do as you please for you have been forgiven," the Qur`ān says, "Do as you please for He sees what you do."[5773] While the forged tradition has lifted accountability from the companions, the Qur`ān has established it rather clearly for everyone.

Some have similarly claimed that the Prophet (ص) said, "Not a single one of the companions of the Tree [of Riḍwān] who pledged allegiance [to me] under it will, Allāh willing, enter the fire."[5774] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim has related this tradition from Ḥajjāj ibn Muḥammad from Ibn Jurayj from Abū Zubayr (Muḥammad ibn Muslim[5775]) from Jābir ibn ʿAbd Allāh. As for Ḥajjāj ibn Muḥammad, he would mix up traditions and has thereby been considered weak.[5776] As for Ibn Jurayj, he was known to commit tadlīs and has been considered weak to the point that Dārquṭnī said, "He is disgusting [in the way he performs] tadlīs," and Yaḥyā ibn Saʿīd said, "Everything [he relates] is weak."[5777] Ibn

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[5767] Qur`ān 8:5-6.
[5768] Qur`ān 4:77.
[5769] Qur`ān 9:47.
[5770] Qur`ān 107:4-6.
[5771] Qur`ān 2:256.
[5772] Qur`ān 9:53.
[5773] Qur`ān 41:40.
[5774] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #31.6090 (Arabic original #2496).
[5775] Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb vol 12 #448 (Abū Zubayr al-Makkī).
[5776] Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb vol 2 #381 (Ḥajjāj ibn Muḥammad).
[5777] Tahdhīb al-Tahdhib vol 6 #758 (ʿAbd al-Malik ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ibn Jurayj al-Umawī).

Ḥajar confirmed these statements by saying, "He would perform tadlīs and leave out intermediary sources."[5778] As for Abū Zubayr, Ayyūb considered him weak, and Abū Ḥatim said that they would not reason based on his traditions.[5779] The fact that Muslim would include a tradition with such an appallingly problematic chain of transmission in his compilation of "authentic" traditions shows his desperateness in trying to come forth with traditions proving that the companions at large will be immune from the fire. Regardless of its weak chain of transmission, this tradition clearly contradicts the Qur`ān which says,

> Those who swear allegiance to you swear allegiance only to Allāh; the hand of Allāh is over their hands. Then whoever breaks his oath breaks it only to the detriment of his own self, while whoever keeps his covenant with Allāh, on him He will bestow a great reward.[5780]

As such, the Qur`ān makes it clear that those who pledged allegiance to the Prophet (ص) can be divided into two groups—those who would keep their pledge and those who would break it. The Shī'ah, in accordance with this verse of the Qur`ān, believe that those who kept their pledge will receive a great reward, while those who broke their pledge will be punished accordingly. To claim that everyone who pledged allegiance to the Prophet (ص) at Ḥudaybīyyah was guaranteed to enter paradise is clearly against the word of Allāh. As such, this tradition has clearly been invented to support fallacies, and as it explicitly contradicts the Qur`ān, it cannot be from the Prophet (ص).

Furthermore, traditions such as these are absurd because one of the Prophet's (ص) specific qualities, according to the Qur`ān, was that he would "command what is just" and "forbid from what is evil."[5781] For the Prophet (ص) to tell people that they could sin as they pleased would have completely undermined his prophetic mission and would create a nation of carefree sinners. Moreover, there is no act that will absolve all future sin. Indeed, it is impossible and impermissible to guarantee someone who is not protected from sin that he will enter paradise.

Traditions Claiming that Ten Companions were Promised Paradise

A tradition that is commonly cited to prove the case that Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmā Ṭalḥah, and Zubayr will go to paradise is the following:

> 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Akhnas said that Sa'īd ibn Zayd said: I heard the Messenger of Allāh (ص) say, "There are ten in paradise." The Prophet (ص) is in paradise, and Abū Bakr is in paradise, and 'Umar is in paradise, and 'Uthmān is in paradise, and 'Alī is in paradise, and Ṭalḥah is in paradise, and Zubayr ibn 'Awwām is in paradise, and Sa'd [ibn Abī Waqqāṣ] is in paradise, and 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Awf is in paradise. And if you like, I can name the tenth. I ('Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Akhnas) said, "Tell me." He was quiet. I asked again who it was. He said, "It is Sa'īd ibn Zayd."[5782]

Similarly, it is claimed that 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Awf said,

5778. Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb #4193 ('Abd al-Malik ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Jurayj al-Umawī).
5779. Taḥdhīb al-Taḥdhīb vol 9 #729 (Muḥammad ibn Muslim... Abū Zubayr al-Makkī).
5780. Qur`ān 48:10.
5781. Qur`ān 7:157.
5782. Sunan Abū Dāwūd #4649. Similarly, Sunan Tirmidhī #3748, #3757.

> The Messenger of Allāh (ص) said, "Abū Bakr is in paradise, and ʿUmar is in paradise, and ʿUthmān is in paradise, and ʿAlī is in paradise, and Ṭalḥah is in paradise, and Zubayr is in paradise, and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿAwf is in paradise, and Saʿd is in paradise, and Saʿīd is in paradise, and Abū ʿUbaydah ibn al-Jarrāḥ is in paradise."[5783]

These traditions are highly doubtful for a number of reasons: (1) Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī and Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim have not related them despite their intense anti-Shīʿah sentiment. If they gave these traditions any validity, they would have never overlooked them. (2) The traditions are related by Saʿīd ibn Zayd and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿAwf who are listed in their own traditions. These make the traditions self-congratulatory, and such traditions are generally not given much weight. (3) A number of individuals listed are not particularly noteworthy, in particular Saʿīd ibn Zayd. (4) If this tradition was true, ʿUthmān should have mentioned it when he was under siege to prove that the uprising against him was illegitimate. (5) It makes no sense to tell someone who is not protected from sin (maʿṣūm) that they will enter paradise, because that will just encourage them to sin. (6) Ṭalḥah and Zubayr illegitimately rose up against ʿAlī (ع), and it makes little sense for both sides of a battle to be rightly guided and promised paradise. Moreover, they murdered innocent believers and no repentance is accepted for that crime.[5784] (7) ʿAlī (ع) had a very low opinion of Abū Bakr and ʿUmar and many of the others on the list. Indeed, according to Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, ʿAlī (ع) thought that Abū Bakr and ʿUmar were "liar[s], sinful, treacherous, and dishonest."[5785] ʿAlī (ع) would not think that of them if they belonged in paradise. (8) As we have previously discussed, Saʿīd ibn Zayd invented this tradition to urge the Umayyads to desist from cursing ʿAlī (ع).[5786] (9) Among those listed are Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, ʿUthmān, Ṭalḥah, Zubayr, Saʿd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ, Abū ʿUbaydah ibn al-Jarrāḥ and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿAwf who are arguably banned from paradise—the first three caliphs because of usurping the caliphate, Abū ʿUbaydah ibn al-Jarrāḥ for his role in usurping the caliphate for Abū Bakr at the Saqīfah, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿAwf for usurping the caliphate for ʿUthmān in the Shūrā, Ṭalḥah and Zubayr for rising against the rightful ruler and killing innocent Muslims, and Saʿd for refusing to pledge allegiance to ʿAlī (ع) and thereby dying the death of the Days of Ignorance according to prophetic traditions.

Furthermore, it appears that the attribution of this tradition to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿAwf is highly doubtful, as the chain attributing it to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān is through his grandson, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Ḥumayd ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿAwf, who quoted this from his father from his grandfather, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿAwf.[5787] Yet, according to another tradition that appears in Sunan Tirmidhī and in Sunan al-Kubrā Nasā`ī, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Ḥumayd said that his father, Ḥumayd ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿAwf, told him that Saʿīd ibn Zayd had related this tradition to him while in a group.[5788] It is therefore likely that the attribution of the tradition from Ḥumayd to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿAwf was either a case of altering the chain of transmission (tadlīs), or perhaps an error one of the conveyors of the tradition made, assuming that Ḥumayd ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿAwf heard the tradition from his father, when in fact he had heard it from Saʿīd ibn Zayd. The group being referred to is apparently the same group described in the tradition in Musnad Ḥanbal cited earlier.[5789] It therefore appears that the entire tradition is based only on the account of Sa'īd ibn Zayd who invented it to prevent Marwān from allowing the cursing of 'Alī (ع), as we discussed in detail previously in chapter 76. This makes the tradition singular (āḥād) and therefore completely useless in establishing matters central to faith, particularly when the reason behind the invention of the tradition is rather obvious.

[5783] Sunan Tirmidhī #3747.

[5784] Refe to chapter 80.

[5785] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #19.4349.

[5786] Refer to chapter 76.

[5787] Sunan Tirmidhī #3747.

[5788] Sunan Tirmidhī #3748; Sunan al-Kubrā Nasā`ī #8195.

[5789] Refer to chapter 76.

Traditions Banning the Cursing of the Companions

It is claimed that Prophet (ص) said, "The curse of Allāh and the angels and the people will all be upon he who curses my companions,"[5790] and "Whoever curses my companions and harasses them has only harassed me."[5791] These traditions, which I have not been able to find in the ṣiḥāḥ sittah, are clear forgeries for two reasons. The first is that they mimic the traditions in which the Prophet (ص) forbade the cursing of 'Alī and his Ahl al-Bayt (ع).[5792] As such, these traditions were forged to befuddle the merits of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) and to make it appear that their merits were part of the generic merits of the companions at large. The second reason is that a number of the companions left Islām altogether during and after the life of the Prophet (ص). As such, it is necessary to curse at least those companions. If anyone claims that by leaving Islām they lost their status as companions, it then becomes apparent that the status of every companion has to be evaluated to determine whether or not they left Islām and can therefore be cursed. This proves the contention of the Shī'ah. Indeed, some companions openly left Islām while others were or became hypocrites. Both groups are explicitly cursed in the Qur'ān:

> Allāh has promised the hypocrites, both men and women, and the disbelievers the fire of hell to abide therein. It will suffice them. Allāh curses them, and theirs is a lasting torment.[5793]

The Shī'ah, in accordance with this verse of the Qur'ān, only allow the hypocrites and disbelievers among the companions to be cursed and absolutely ban cursing any of the true believers among the companions. It should also be noted that the Qur'ān says, "The curse of Allāh is on the oppressors (ẓālimīn)."[5794] As such, it is also permissible to curse the oppressors among the companions, as Allāh has cursed all oppressors. This entire issue comes back to the concept that hypocrites did not exist among the companions at least after the Prophet's (ص) death, an absurd concept that contradicts the most obviou verses of the Qur'ān. In any case, if Allāh can curse the hypocrites, the Shī'ah mo definitely can as well, and the issue comes down to who the hypocrites were, not wheth or not it is permissible to curse them. If someone ask how one can tell which companior were hypocrites and which were not, the following tradition in Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī answers thei question:

> Ḥudhayfah ibn Yamān said, "The hypocrites of today are worse than those of the lifetime of the Prophet, because in those days they used to do evil deeds secretly but today they do such deeds openly."[5795]

As such, the open conduct of the companions after the death of the Prophet (ص) is our guide as to whether each companion was a hypocrite or not, which is why it is necessary to examine the conducts of Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmān, Mu'āwīyah, 'Ā'ishah, Ṭalḥah,

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[5790] Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 1:23.
[5791] Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 1:23.
[5792] Refer to chapter 22.
[5793] Qur'ān 9:68.
[5794] Qur'ān 7:44.
[5795] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #9.88.229.

Zubayr, Khālid ibn Walīd, and other companions after the death of the Prophet (ص). Indeed, the companions became so open in their opposition to Islām after the death of the Prophet (ص) that, according to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, Ḥudhayfah said, "In fact, it was hypocrisy that existed in the lifetime of the Prophet but today it is disbelief (kufr) after belief."[5796] Ḥudhayfah's statement is true because hypocrisy is pretending to believe when one truly disbelieves. Yet, as is evident from this tradition, after the Prophet's death (ص), a large group of the companions committed acts that openly and clearly established their disbelief. As such, a thorough examination of the acts of the companions, as has been carried out diligently only by the Shīʿah, is necessary to identify the companions who continued to claim to be Muslim yet openly expressed their hypocrisy, thereby proving their disbelief. Without such due diligence, the Muslims are at the mercy of traditions cited by the enemies of Islām, not its guardians.

The Tradition Ordering Khālid ibn Walīd Not to Revile the Companions

The most famous tradition in terms of prohibiting the reviling of companions is the following tradition in Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim:

> There was some altercation between Khālid ibn Walīd and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿAwf and Khālid reviled him. Thereupon Allāh's Messenger said, "No one should revile my companions, for if one amongst you were to spend as much gold as Uḥud, it would not amount to as much as one mudd (a dry measure) of one of them or half of it."[5797]

This tradition was discussed previously in our discussion of Khālid ibn Walīd.[5798] It is noteworthy here that the chains of transmission in Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim both include Aʿmash.[5799] According to the accounts of Ibn Ḥajar, "he would performed tadlīs," and the bulk of the traditions he attributed to numerous individuals lacked intermediary sources.[5800] Similarly, according to Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb, "He was familiar with the recitations [of the Qurʾān] and was pious, but he would perform tadlīs."[5801]

Although commonly cited to ban criticizing companions, this tradition does not help that cause at all because it shows that the Prophet (ص) did not consider Khālid to be his companion, otherwise his statement would be rather absurd. If Khālid was not a companion, it was either due to his lack of companionship or due to his hypocrisy. In the first case, it becomes clear that companionship is a requirement for being a companion, proving the Shīʿah definition of companion, and thereby eliminating one of the central concepts that has distinguished Sunnīsm—that anyone who ever came in any sort of contact with the Prophet (ص) as a Muslim and who died a Muslim was a companion. In the second case, it proves that the merits of the companions do not pertain to the hypocrites, therefore establishing Khālid as a hypocrite, and necessitating a differentiation between the believers and hypocrites among the companions. If Khālid was not a companion, then we must figure out who else was not a companion, and reviling them would be permitted if they performed an act deserving of condemnation.

[5796] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #9.88.230.
[5797] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #31.6168-9.
[5798] Refer to chapter 25.
[5799] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim Arabic original #2540-2541.
[5800] Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb vol 4 #386 (Sulaymān ibn Mihrān al-Asadī... al-Aʿmash).
[5801] Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb #2615 (Sulaymān ibn Mihrān al-Asadī... al-Aʿmash).

In fact, it would be impossible for the Prophet (ص) to say that we cannot revile a companion, because his companions performed major sins such as committing adultery, drinking intoxicants, and murdering innocent believers, among other heinous crimes. How can one not revile them? Some of them even left Islām after his death—should we not revile them? Some will be sent away from him in the hereafter due to their innovations in his religion[5802]—should we not revile them? In fact, there is no reason why companions who drank, stole, committed adultery, or expressed hypocrisy should not be renounced for their sins.

Indeed, the Prophet (ص) himself renounced the sinful deeds of his companions. According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, he said, "O Allāh, I am free from what Khālid [ibn Walīd] has done!"[5803] His words in Arabic were, "Allāhumma innī abra`u ilayka mimmā ṣana´a Khālid."[5804] The word abra`u is a derivate of the word barā`ah, which means renunciation. Indeed, barā`ah from the hypocrites and their sins is a fundamental element of the Shī´ah faith alongside wilāyah of the rightful imām. Clearly, the Shī´ah do not renounce the righteous acts of any companion, but rather their sinful acts, exactly as the Prophet (ص) did. Those who do not join the Shī´ah in renouncing the sins of the companions have abandoned the Sunnah of the Prophet (ص), and if they renounce those who renounce the sins of the companions, they have renounced the Messenger of Allāh (ص) himself, as he openly and explicitly renounced Khālid.

The truth is that the Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim tradition appears to have mixed up two different events, one of which was when Khālid and ´Abd al-Raḥmān ibn ´Awf got in an altercation, and the other when Khālid and ´Ammār got in an altercation. According to a number of Sunnī commentaries on the Qur`ān, the Prophet (ص) sent ´Ammār and Khālid ibn Walīd on a mission, and when they caught up to the group they were seeking, the enemy men all fled except for one man, Dhū al-´Uyaynatayn, who went to ´Ammār and told him that he has chosen to accept Islām and asked whether his Islām would be accepted or whether they would fight him anyways. ´Ammār told him that his Islām was valid. In the morning, Khālid could not find anyone except this man, so he seized him and his property. ´Ammār was informed of this and ordered Khālid to release the man, but Khālid opposed him and an altercation ensued. The matter was taken to the Prophet (ص) and he approved of the protection ´Ammār had extended to the recent convert. Khālid asked, "O Messenger of Allāh, will you allow this young slave to insult me?" H replied, "O Khālid, do not insult ´Ammār, for Allāh insults whoever insults ´Ammār, Allā is angry at whoever makes ´Ammār angry, and Allāh curses whomever ´Ammā curses."[5805] As such, it is likely that this was when the Prophet (ص) told Khālid, "No one should revile my companions, for if one amongst you were to spend as much gold as Uḥud, it would not amount to as much as one mudd (a dry measure) of one of them or half of it," he was referring to ´Ammār, who was one of his true and loyal companions and not to ´Abd al-Raḥmān ibn ´Awf.

Comments

There are numerous forgeries claiming that Allāh is pleased with all or a certain subset of the companions, that the companions or a certain subset of them will never be touched by the fire, that one must not hold any grudge against the companions, etc, etc. The strongest and most oft-cited traditions in this regards have been addressed here. It is clear that all these traditions, aside from their typically weak chains of transmission, are fabrications for of a number of reasons.

[5802] Refer to chapter 36.

[5803] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.59.628, #9.89.299.

[5804] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī Arabic original #4084, #6766.

[5805] Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, Tafsīr Tabarī, Tafsīr Ibn Kathīr, and Tafsīr Tha´labī, verse 4:59.

First, there were hypocrites among the companions whose identity the Prophet (ص) did not inherently know, and according to the Qur`ān, "the hypocrites will be in the lowest depths of the fire."[5806] The Qur`ān clearly states that, "Among those around you of the Arabs there are hypocrites, and among the people of Madīnah [there are those who] persist in hypocrisy whom you do not know. We know them, and We shall punish them twice. Then they will be relegated to a painful doom."[5807] It is therefore clear that the Prophet (ص) did not inherently know the identities of all the hypocrites among his companions. There was no way for him to say that his companions were all perfect when Allāh had informed him that some of his companions were hypocrites. Moreover, the hypocrites in Madīnah were considered among the companions of the Prophet (ص) as is evidenced by the following tradition in Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī:

> ʿUmar said, "O Allāh's Prophet! Shall we not kill this evil person (i.e. ʿAbd Allāh ibn Ubayy ibn Salūl, the leader of the hypocrites)?" The Prophet said, "[No], lest the people should say that Muḥammad used to kill his companions."[5808]

Second, the Prophet (ص) said in mutawātir traditions that some of his companions whose faces he would recognize will be sent away from the Fount of Kawthar because of their innovations.[5809] These traditions are explicit that they will not enter paradise. Indeed, it would be impossible for Allāh to be pleased with all the companions if some of them innovated in Islām, just as Allāh is not pleased with the Jews and Christians who have innovated in their religion. Therefore, it is necessary to identify the companions who innovated in Islām so that we can renounce them for their deplorable acts.

Third, a study of the conduct of the companions shows that Allāh cannot be pleased with the conduct of each and every one of them, as some of them committed grievous sins that are inherently repulsive. Indeed, much of in this book has focused on the dreadful conduct of some of the Prophet's (ص) companions. When anyone performs despicable acts publicly, it is the duty of the Muslims to renounce them.

Fourth, these traditions were highly rewarded by the Umayyads who wanted to glorify the companions in order to counter the virtues of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع), and Muʿāwīyah specifically wanted to tout his own virtue as a companion to his subjects in Syria who had not seen the Prophet (ص).[5810] As such, there were clear incentives to fabricate such traditions.

Of note, the claim that the Shīʿah curse the companions at large is inaccurate. What the Shīʿah do is examine the lives of the companions to determine which ones were worthy of respect and which ones either innovated in Islām or revealed their hypocrisy. The former are revered, while the traditions of those who innovated are rejected, and the hypocrites and those who killed believers are cursed in accordance with the Qur`ān.[5811] Indeed, it would be naïve to revere all of them.

[5806] Qur`ān 4:145.

[5807] Qur`ān 9:101.

[5808] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #4.56.720.

[5809] Refer to chapter 36.

[5810] Refer to chapter 76.

[5811] Qur`ān 9:68 and 4:93, respectively.

Chapter 82
The Verdict of the Qur`ān Regarding the Companions

A number of verses of the Qur`ān are commonly quoted to establish a high status for all the companions. When these verses are taken out of context and arrayed among praiseful commentary, they may appear rather stunning. Yet, anyone who reads the verses in their Qur`ānic context would see that the verses are either not conferring much of a virtue or are specifically addressing the virtuous ones among the companions.

Verses Cited in Praise of the Companions

The following are the twelve verses most commonly cited to glorify the companions:

Verse 1: The Pledge of Riḍwān

> Indeed, Allāh was pleased with the believers when they gave their pledge to you [O Muḥammad] under the tree. He knew what was in their hearts and He sent down serenity upon them.[5812]

This verse refers to the event in which 1,400 or so companions pledged allegiance to the Prophet (ص) under the Tree of Riḍwān during Ḥudaybīyyah, and was previously discussed in a different context during our discussion of the Peace of Ḥudaybīyyah.[5813] This verse merely refers to Allāh's pleasure with their act of pledging allegiance to the Prophet (ص). As such, the verses continue by saying, "If the disbelievers fight you, they (i.e. your companions) would certainly turn their backs; then would they find neither guardian nor helper,"[5814] which means that the companions would have turned their backs were war to break out. Therefore, the pledge of many of the companions was rather superficial in nature and nothing more than an empty promise. In fact, when one takes the former verse in the context of the latter verse, the word "believers" stands out as a key word in the former verse—not everyone who pledged allegiance was a believer. There were believers as well as hypocrites among the companions, and Allāh was pleased only with the believers who pledged allegiance, not with the hypocrites who did so but who would turn their backs at the first opportunity. No one denies that Allāh is pleased with the believers, especially when they pledge allegiance to the Prophet (ص). In fact, the Qur`ān makes it explicitly clear that those who pledged allegiance to the Prophet (ص) could readily break the pledge in yet another verse: "Those who pledge allegiance to you pledge allegiance only to Allāh; the hand of Allāh is over their hands. Then whoever breaks his oath breaks it only to the detriment of his own soul, while whoever keeps his covenant with Allāh, on him He will bestow a great reward."[5815] As such, it is explicitly stated that the companions who pledged allegiance could break their pledges, and therefore Allāh could only be pleased with the true believers who pledged allegiance to the Prophet (ص) and who would never break their vows.

[5812] Qur`ān 48:18.
[5813] Refer to chapter 19.
[5814] Qur`ān 48:22.
[5815] Qur`ān 48:10.

Verse 2: The Pious Muhājirīn and Ansār are the Successful Ones

> For the indigent ones who fled their homes and their possessions, seeking grace from Allāh and [His] pleasure and assisting Allāh and His Messenger—these it is who are the truthful. And those who made their abode in the city [of Madīnah] and in the faith [of Islām] before them, [who] love those who have fled to them, who do not find in their hearts a need of what they are given, and who give preference to [the Muhājirīn] over their own selves even though poverty may afflict them—whoever is preserved from the niggardliness of his soul, these it is that are the successful ones.[5816]

These verses clearly refer to the pious companions including the poor Muhājirīn who left only for the purpose of Allāh's grace, as well as the devoted Anṣār who openly embraced them despite their poverty. It does not refer to the wealthy Muhājirīn like Abū Bakr, who took thousands of dirhams with him to Madīnah,[5817] nor to the hypocrites among the Anṣār who despised having to house the Muhājirīn in their city. It also makes assisting the Prophet (ص) a condition, meaning those who opposed him and who abandoned him in battle are not included. With all the conditions stated in this verse, this verse proves that the devoted and pious Muhājirīn and Anṣār are virtuous, while it imparts no particular virtue on either the hypocrites or the of weak faith among them.

Verse 3: The First Pioneers Among the Muhājirīn and Anṣār

> And the first pioneers among the Muhājirīn and the Anṣār and also those who followed them in good deeds—Allāh is pleased with them, as they are pleased with Him. He has prepared for them gardens under which rivers flow, to dwell therein forever. That is the supreme success.[5818]

This verse shows that the pioneers in faith among the Muhājirīn and Anṣār will go to heaven. It guarantees nothing for their masses. Indeed, no one disputes the fact that there were pious and devoted companions who will go to paradise.

Verse 4: The Emigrants who Perform Jihād are Higher in Rank

> Those who believed and migrated and performed jihād in Allāh's way with their property and their lives are much higher in rank with Allāh. They are the triumphant.[5819]

No one disputes the fact that those who strive and make sacrifices have a higher rank than those who don't. However, the verse provides no immunity from straying. If the same individual who makes these sacrifices then turns his back on Islām, his struggles and sacrifices are all for naught. Furthermore, the verse adds the criterion of performing jihād with one's property and life. Those who excused themselves from battle, who reluctantly joined the Muslim army, or who fled the battlefield when it seemed as though they might lose their lives were clearly not those described by this verse.

[5816] Qur`ān 59:8-10.
[5817] Tārīkh al-Khulafā` 40; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 13:274.
[5818] Qur`ān 9:100.
[5819] Qur`ān 9:20.

Verse 5: A Witness on the People

> And strive (jāhidū) in Allāh's way [with] a striving that is due to [Him]. He has chosen you and has laid upon you no burdens in the observance of your faith. [This is] the nation of your father, Abraham. He named you Muslim both before and in this [Revelation] so that the Messenger may be an ultimate witness on you, and you an ultimate witness on the people.[5820]

On the surface, this verse is a statement of the following facts: (1) the Muslims must follow the nation of Abraham (ع) in worshipping only Allāh; (2) the Muslims must strive in Allāh's way; (3) the Messenger (ص) will be a witness as to whether the Muslims fulfilled their duties or not; and (4) the Muslims will be a witness as to how the other faiths treated Islām. According to this interpretation, this verse pertains to the timespan from the Prophet (ص) to the Day of Judgment and therefore would not be specifically referring to the companions but rather to the Muslims at large, thereby eliminating any specific virtue for the companions.

However, a deeper understanding of this verse makes it clear that the verse is addressing specifically the Ahl al-Bayt (ع). This is evident for two reasons. First, it cites Abraham (ع) as their father. The verse could not be referring to the companions at large because many of the preeminent companions, most notably Bilāl and Salmān, were not among the descendants of Abraham (ع). Second, the fact that those addressed in the verse will be called to testify on the Day of Judgment makes it clear that it is not referring to the Muslims at large, as there are many Muslims whose testimony would be rejected in a court of law, even if the matter is a dispute over a mustard seed. How could Allāh then take such people as witnesses and what purpose would such testimony serve? Indeed, if every single Muslim, including those who could not be trusted with a dime, is rounded up to testify on the Day of Judgment, only injustice would be served. Furthermore, if the nation at large were to testify, each Muslim would testify to something different, and no consensus would ever exist in the hereafter, just as none exists today. As such, the verse is telling the Ahl al-Bayt (ع), whose father is Abraham (ع), that they have been selected to follow in the monotheistic religion of Abraham (ع) and that they will testify as to how the people conducted themselves until the Day of Judgment, while the Prophet (ص) will be the ultimate witness upon them.

Verse 6: A Nation in the Middle

> And thus have We made you a nation in the middle, so that you be an ultimate witness on the people and the Messenger be an ultimate witness on you.[5821]

This verse is also specifically referring to the Ahl al-Bayt (ع), as we just discussed the fact that the witnesses have to be ones whose testimony is guaranteed to be accurate. Even if interpreted more generally, this would refer to the fact that Muslims are ordered to be a moderate nation, that at all times Muslims are the witnesses on other nations, and that the Prophet (ص) is the ultimate witness, as he will testify as to whether his nation remained loyal or strayed. The exact virtue that it proves for the companions in particular is rather illusory. Moreover, this verse cannot be referring only to the companions, as they cannot be a witness for all people of all times. Thus, it would have to refer to all Muslims, thereby eliminating any particular virtue for the companions.

[5820] Qur`ān 22:78.
[5821] Qur`ān 2:143.

Verse 7: Those Who Converted Before the Conquest of Mecca are More Exalted in Rank

> And what reason do you have not to spend in Allāh's way? To Allāh belongs the inheritance of the heavens and the earth. Not equal are those among you who spent and fought before the victory [in Mecca]—they are more exalted in rank than those who spent and fought afterwards; and Allāh has promised good to all.[5822]

This verse shows that those who spent and fought when the times were bleak and Islām was weak were higher in rank than those who fought after Islām gained in strength. This verse was, in fact, a rebuke to the new converts who converted out of fear of death, telling them that their rewards would not be as significant as those who had struggled before them. This verse also promises all those who strive and spend in Allāh's cause a reward. It claims neither that companions were immune from straying nor that each and every one of them was virtuous. Moreover, the verse specifically and directly scolded the companions for not spending in Allāh's way, showing that many of them preferred the wealth of this world to the reward of the hereafter.

Verse 8: Praying for Forgiveness for the Believers Before Us

> And those who come after them say, "Our Lord! Forgive us and our brethren who have preceded us in faith, and put not in our hearts any hatred towards those who have believed."[5823]

This shows that we should pray for forgiveness for believers among the companions and in fact all the believers who have preceded us. It does not imply that there were neither hypocrites among the companions nor those who would abandon or betray Islām. In this verse, the Qur`ān is merely calling us to specifically pray for the believers of all times past, as the Shī´ah routinely do.

Verse 9: The Verse of the Cave

> If you do not help [the Prophet, it does not matter], for Allāh did indeed help him when the disbelievers drove him out. He was the second of the two when they were in the cave. When he was saying to his companion, "Do not worry, Allāh is with us," Allāh sent His serenity upon him and helped him with troops that cannot be seen.[5824]

Some use this verse to prove that Abū Bakr was a companion of the Prophet (ص) and therefore guaranteed all sorts of virtues and rewards. However, this verse rather clearly proves Abū Bakr's lack of faith, as was discussed previously.[5825]

Verse 10: Being Compassionate yet Firm Against the Disbelievers

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[5822] Qur`ān 57:10.
[5823] Qur`ān 59:10.
[5824] Qur`ān 9:40.
[5825] Refer to chapter 6.

> Muḥammad is the Messenger of Allāh, and those with him are firm against the disbelievers yet compassionate amongst themselves. You will see them bowing down [in prayer and] prostrating themselves, seeking grace and pleasure from Allāh. Their marks are in their faces from the effect of prostration—that is their description in the Tawrāt. And their description in the Injīl is like that of a seed that puts forth its sprout, then strengthens it, so it becomes stout and stands firmly on its own stem, delighting the sowers, and enraging the disbelievers on account of them. Allāh has promised those who believe and do good deeds among them forgiveness and a great reward.[5826]

The first sentence, which is often quoted by itself, is a statement of obvious fact—the Prophet's (ص) companions were to deal harshly with the disbelievers yet be kind to one another, and it indeed describes the quality of the pious companions, not those who were trying to figure out a way to make amends with the pagans during the battle of Uḥud because they feared death.[5827] In no way does this statement prove that they could not stray or that they were all saints guaranteed to enter paradise. The fact that this verse addresses only the most devout of the companions is obvious in that it continues to describe them as those who would prostrate to the point of having permanent marks on their foreheads. It is hard to imagine that every single companion, including those who were forced into Islām and those who saw the Prophet (ص) once from a great distance, prostrated to the point of developing lichenification on their foreheads. Finally, the verse ends even more explicitly by stating that Allāh has promised a great reward not to all of the companions, but rather to those "who believe and do good deeds." As such, the companions who believed and performed good deeds will be rewarded generously, while those who did not truly believe or who performed bad deeds would not.

Verse 11: The Believers are Rightly Guided

> So if they believe in the like of that which you believe, they are rightly guided, but if they turn away, then they are only in opposition. So Allāh will suffice you against them.[5828]

This verse is very generic—those who believe in what the Prophet (ص) has believed in are rightly guided, while those who do not are not. This verse does not provide any immunity or guarantees of paradise to the companions, and it clearly excludes the hypocrites who did not believe in the Islām in their hearts. It also specifically addresses the distinct possibility that the companions may turn away from Islām, which is why only the beginning of this verse is typically quoted, ignoring the rest of the verse.

Verse 12: The Best Nation

> You are the best nation raised for mankind; you enjoin good and forbid evil, and you believe in Allāh. If only the People of the Book had faith, it would be best for them.[5829]

No Muslim disputes the fact that the Muslim nation is the best nation. This verse shows that the qualities that make it the best include enjoining good, forbidding evil, and believing in Allāh. The People of the Book are scolded merely for lack of proper faith.

[5826] Qur`ān 48:29.
[5827] Refer to chapter 11.
[5828] Qur`ān 2:137.
[5829] Qur`ān 3:110.

Furthermore, those who do not possess the elements of faith, who do not enjoin good, and who do not forbid evil are not being addressed in this verse. Thus, the hypocrites and the weak of faith are not the best of people raised for mankind, but rather the pious and believing Muslims are. Furthermore, it is not the totality of Muslims who comprise the best nation, but rather the truly devout among them who strictly adhere to Islām. As such, the Qur`ān called Abraham (ع) a nation all by himself: "Surely Abraham was a nation, obedient to Allāh, true in faith."[5830] If the verse is not taken in this sense and it is taken as referring to people who just call themselves Muslims but who commit every egregious sin, then the verse would not be a praise of the Muslim nation but rather a criticism of the other nations who are even worse sinners than the Muslims.

Verses Criticizing the Companions

The preceding verses, which clearly establish the virtue of the virtuous ones in the Muslim nation, have to be contrasted with verses that show the weaknesses of many of the Prophet's (ص) companions. There are innumerable such verses, only twelve of which are presented below:

Verse 1: Will You Turn Back on Your Heels?

> Muḥammad is but a messenger; there have indeed been messengers before him. Will it be that if he dies or is killed, you will turn back on your heels? And he who turns back on his heels does not hurt Allāh.[5831]

This verse shows that Allāh was concerned that the companions would turn their backs on Islām upon the Prophet's (ص) death. Obviously, one must take this verse seriously and make sure that one follows only the footsteps of the companions who did not turn on their heels. It is the utmost arrogance to assume that the companions could not turn their backs on Islām after the Prophet's (ص) death when Allāh has raised serious concern that they would do exactly that, suggesting that they would turn their backs on Islām en masse upon the Prophet's (ص) death just as they turned their backs during the Battle of Uḥud.

Verse 2: Avoiding Jihād

> O You who believe, what [excuse] have you that when it is said to you, "Go forth in Allāh's way [in jihād]," you incline heavily to earth? Are you contented with this world's life instead of the hereafter? But the provision of this world's life compared to the hereafter is but a trifling. If you do not go forth, He will chastise you with a painful chastisement and bring in your place a people other than you, and you will do Him no harm, as Allāh has power over all things.[5832]

This shows that a group among the companions preferred the life of this world to the promises given to them regarding the hereafter and that they were very reluctant to follow the Prophet (ص) when he ordered them to fight for Islām. This is only due to their weakness of faith. Allāh warned them that if they persisted in their course, Allāh would replace them with better people, proving that the companions were not the best people imaginable.

5830. Qur`ān 16:120.
5831. Qur`ān 3:144.
5832. Qur`ān 9:38-39.

Verse 3: Rejecting Faith After Believing

> On the day when some faces turn white and some faces turn black, those whose faces will be blackened [will be asked], "Did you reject faith after accepting it? Taste then the chastisement for rejecting faith!" But those whose faces are white will be in Allāh's mercy, therein shall they abide.[5833]

These verses clearly prophesized that some of the companions would leave Islām after accepting it. Indeed, Sunnīs do not deny the fact that some companions apostatized, so they added to the definition of companion the requirement that they died professing Islām. Yet, one does not have to profess one's disbelief, as some may have reverted to disbelief internally while professing Islām externally, and therefore become a hypocrite. Unless we can identify who the hypocrites were, we cannot be sure that they are not following the words and actions of the hypocrites.

Verse 4: Refusing to Submit Despite the Lapse of Time

> Has not the time yet come for the believers for their hearts to be submissive to the remembrance of Allāh and what has been revealed of the truth, and [for] them not to be like those who were given the Book before but whose hearts hardened as time passed for them? And many among them are transgressors.[5834]

This shows that many of the companions were not submissive to Islām and that they bore similarities to those who had followed previous religions. The phrase "has not the time yet come," shows that even the companions who had a duration of stay with the Prophet (ص) were not pious Muslims, instead resembling the Christians and Jews, who over time became even further hardened to the message instead of more ripe for following it.

Verse 5: Being Closer to Disbelief than to Faith

> On that day they were closer to disbelief than to faith, saying with their lips wha was not in their hearts; yet Allāh knows what they conceal.[5835]

This shows that on some days the companions would verge closer towards disbelief than to faith. This is also rather evident in the verses of the Battle of Aḥzāb that describe the fact that many Muslims would have quickly abandoned the Prophet (ص) and joined the enemy if the outer defenses of Madīnah were to be breached.[5836] If the companions could be closer to disbelief than to faith, can we revere them unconditionally, follow them blindly, and entrust our religion to them completely when Allāh does not even trust them to remain loyal to Islām and to stay closer to Islām than to disbelief?

Verse 6: Abandoning the Prophet (ص) During Friday Prayers

> O you who believe! When the call is made for prayer on Friday, hasten earnestly to the remembrance of Allāh and leave your trade. That is best for you if you but know! And when the prayer is finished, then disperse through the land and

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[5833] Qur'ān 3:106-107.
[5834] Qur'ān 57:16.
[5835] Qur'ān 3:167.
[5836] Qur'ān 33:14. Refer to chapter 13.

> seek the bounty of Allāh; and praise Allāh often so that you may prosper. But when they see some trade or some amusement (lahw), they break away to it and leave you standing. Say, "What is with Allāh is better than amusement and trade, for Allāh is the best of providers."[5837]

These verses informed the companions of the importance of heeding the call to Friday prayers, and admonished them for abandoning the Prophet while standing, so that they could go off in search of some trade and amusement. "Standing" has to refer either to standing to give the sermon, or standing during prayer. In the former case, it shows that the companions would abandon the Prophet (ص) in the midst of his Friday sermons, which is an act of utmost disrespect. In the latter case, it shows that they would abandon him in mid-prayer, which is a sinful act that would nullify their prayers. In either case, the companions were not abandoning him due to some urgency, but to make or spend a few dirhams or to have some fun. Clearly, these companions did not have their priorities straight, and no Muslim should follow their example. It should be noted that it is absolutely clear that the verse is directed at the companions because the non-Muslims would not have been present during Friday prayers in Madīnah. Indeed Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī explains why this verse was revealed:

> Narrated Jābir ibn ʿAbd Allāh: While we were offering the Friday prayer with the Prophet, some camels loaded with food arrived from Syria. The people diverted their attention towards the camels [and left the mosque], leaving only twelve people with the Prophet. So this verse was revealed: "But when they see some bargain or some amusement, they disperse headlong to it and leave you standing."[5838]

As such, there were only twelve companions loyal enough not to abandon the Prophet (ص) to go grocery shopping. Those who ridicule the Shīʿah for believing that only a small number of companions remained loyal to Islām cannot possibly explain why nearly all the Prophet's (ص) companions would abandon him in the midst of Friday prayers. Those twelve companions must be identified and revered, while the others cannot be trusted not to sell Islām in return for the trifles of this world. Indeed, anyone who reads these verses and ponders their meaning would be appalled by the way the Prophet's (ص) companions treated him, and would be left with no choice but to abandon the naïve and idealistic view that his companions were all devout, pious, and loyal Muslims, devoting their lives entirely to the service of the Prophet (ص).

Verse 7: There are Hypocrites even Among the Muhājirīn and Anṣār in Madīnah

> And among those around you of the [desert] Arabs are hypocrites; and among the people of Madīnah [also are those] who persist in hypocrisy. You do not know them. We know them and We will punish them twice, then they will be turned back to a grievous punishment.[5839]

This verse proves the obvious fact that, even among the companions residing in Madīnah, there were those appeared to be Muslims externally but who persisted in hypocrisy and who will be punished. How can anyone claim that all those professing Islām at the time of the Prophet (ص) and who came in contact with him will for sure enter paradise, when the Qur`ān makes it clear in this verse that among them will be those who will have a grievous punishment?

[5837] Qurʾān 62:9-11.

[5838] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #2.13.58, #3.34.274, #3.34.278, #6.60.422. The account here is a composite of the four very similar traditions in Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī.

[5839] Qurʾān 9:101.

Verse 8: The Slander Against ´Ā`ishah

> Surely those who concocted the lie are a party from among you... Every man of them shall have what he has earned of sin; and [as for] him who took upon himself the main part thereof, he shall have a grievous penalty.[5840]

This verse is referring to the slander created and spread by ´Abd Allāh ibn Ubayy ibn Salūl and others against ´Ā`ishah.[5841] The verse clearly shows that among the so-called companions were those who concocted a lie, indeed a vicious slander against the family of the Prophet (ص) himself. How anyone can believe that the companions were all truthful when the Qur`ān attributes lies to them is unclear. Furthermore, the verse yet again confirms that some of the companions will be punished in the hereafter. What is also troublesome about this verse is that the verse, "Those who accuse honorable women and who do not produce four witnesses, flog them with eighty stripes,"[5842] was also revealed in the same sūrah about those who slandered ´Ā`ishah.[5843] As such, the Prophet (ص) was ordered to flog ´Abd Allāh ibn Ubayy ibn Salūl eighty stripes, even though he did not. The reason he did not do so was because he could not, as nearly the entirety of the Khazraj as well as the numerous hypocrites allied with him would have stood in Ibn Salūl's defense, preventing the Prophet (ص) from doing so. If he were to press the issue, a battle would have ensued that would have divided the nation and perhaps resulted in the defeat of those loyal to Islām at the hands of the hypocrites. Whipping a hypocrite cannot be mandatory if one is unable to do so, or if it would entail the unnecessary deaths of innocent Muslims, and as such the punishment of Ibn Salūl was relegated to the hereafter by the Prophet (ص) in accordance with this verse which says, "And [as for] him who took upon himself the main part thereof (i.e. Ibn Salūl), he shall have a grievous penalty (i.e. the fire of hell)."

The fact that Ibn Salūl was not whipped is indicative of the immense power the hypocrites had at the time of the Prophet (ص) in Madīnah as well as the large numbers of the Anṣār who would forsake the Prophet (ص) to protect their clansman. According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī and Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim,

> On that day Allāh's Apostle ascended the pulpit and requested that somebod support him in punishing ´Abd Allāh ibn Ubayy ibn Salūl. Allāh's Apostle said "Who will support me to punish that person who has hurt me by slandering the reputation of my family? By Allāh, I know nothing about my family but good, and they have accused a person about whom I know nothing except good, and he never entered my house except in my company." Sa´d ibn Mu´ādh got up and said, "O Allāh's Apostle! By Allāh, I will relieve you from him. If that man is from the tribe of Aws, then we will chop his head off, and if he is from our brothers, the Khazraj, then order us, and we will fulfill your order." On that, Sa´d ibn ´Ubādah, the chief of the Khazraj who before this incident had been a pious man, got up, motivated by his zeal for his tribe, and said, "By Allāh, you have told a lie; you cannot kill him, and you will never be able to kill him." On that Usayd ibn Ḥuḍayr got up and said [to Sa´d ibn ´Ubādah], "By Allāh, you are

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[5840] Qur`ān 24:11.

[5841] Refer to chapter 28.

[5842] Qur`ān 24:4.

[5843] Tafsīr Ṭabarī, verse 24:4.

> a liar! By Allāh, we will kill him; and you are a hypocrite, defending the hypocrites." On this, the two tribes of Aws and Khazraj got excited and were about to fight each other, while Allāh's Apostle was standing on the pulpit.[5844]

According to Qurṭubī,

> What is widely narrated and widely accepted by the scholars is that the ones who were punished were Ḥassān, Misṭaḥ, and Ḥamnah, while it has not been heard that ʿAbd Allāh ibn Ubayy was punished. Abū Dāwūd has related from ʿĀʾishah, "When my innocence was revealed, the Prophet stood up and announced it and recited the Qurʾān. When he descended from the pulpit, he ordered for two men and one woman to be whipped."[5845] [Abū Dāwūd] named those [who were punished] as Ḥassān ibn Thābit, Misṭaḥ ibn Uthāthah, and Ḥamnah bint Jaḥsh."[5846] ...Our scholars say that he ʿAbd Allāh ibn Ubayy was not punished because Allāh, the oft high, spelled out a great torment for him in the hereafter, and if he were punished in this world, this would have resulted in a reduction in his punishment in the hereafter.[5847]

Indeed, the punishment of the hereafter does not eliminate the need to carry out Allāh's punishments on earth, otherwise all Islāmic punishments should be called off in this world so that Allāh can punish people in the hereafter. Furthermore, punishing Ibn Salūl in this world would not prevent him from being punished in the hereafter, as he was a hypocrite who was guaranteed by the Qurʾān to burn alongside the other hypocrites in hell. The reason Ibn Salūl was not whipped is clearly what we stated and what is clearly indicated by the account in Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī and Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim—that the Prophet (ص) was unable to carry out the punishment on the leader of the Khazraj and the chief of the hypocrites without risking civil war in Madīnah.

Verse 9: Uttering the Word of Disbelief and Plotting to Kill the Prophet (ص)

> They swear by Allāh that they said nothing wrong, but indeed they uttered the word of disbelief and disbelieved after accepting Islām and mediated a plot which they unable to carry out. This revenge of theirs was [their] only return for the bounty with which Allāh and His Messenger had enriched them! If they repent, it will be best for them; but if they turn back, Allāh will punish them with a grievous penalty in this life and in the hereafter. They shall have neither guardian nor helper on earth.[5848]

This verse is explicitly clear that there were those who accepted Islām during the lifetime of the Prophet (ص) who then disbelieved even though they denied doing so. Furthermore, they plotted, though their plot failed. Unless they were to repent and cease and desist from all plots against Islām, they will have a guaranteed place in the fire. For anyone to claim that it would be impossible for the companions to plot against Islām is in clear contradiction to this verse of the Qurʾān. Of note, this verse was revealed regarding the plot of the hypocrites to assassinate the Prophet (ص), which was addressed in greater detail previously.[5849] If the companions could plot to kill the Prophet (ص), how could anyone claim that it would be impossible for the companions to martyr Fāṭimah and to conspire to kill ʿAlī (ع)? Furthermore, this verse states that even the worst of the hypocrites would swear that they were loyal Muslims, and therefore one ought not to be fooled by the pretense of the hypocrites, no matter how sincere they may appear.

[5844] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #3.48.829, #5.59.462, #6.60.274; Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #37.6673.

[5845] Sunan Abū Dāwūd #4474.

[5846] Sunan Abū Dāwūd #4475.

[5847] Tsfsīr Qurṭubī, verse 24:11.

[5848] Qurʾān 9:74.

[5849] Refer to chapter 61.

Verse 10: A New Nation will be Brought Forth

> O you who believe! If any from among you turn back on your faith, soon will Allāh produce a people whom He will love as they love Him. [They will be] humble with the believers, mighty against the disbelievers, fighting in the way of Allāh, and never afraid of the reproaches of those who find fault. That is the grace of Allāh, which He will bestow on whom He pleases. And Allāh is all-encompassing, all-knowing.[5850]

This verse, which was discussed previously,[5851] shows that a group of people better than the companions was conceivable, and that Allāh was indeed planning to bring forth such a people as soon as the companions openly turned their backs on Islām. These people would not be like the Prophet's (ص) companions because they would: (1) love Allāh and be loved by Him, (2) be humble towards the believers yet mighty against the disbelievers, (3) fight in the path of Allāh instead of shying away from battle and fleeing the battlefield, and (4) not be concerned about the words of worldly critics. Had the companions enjoyed these four qualities, it would have been senseless for the Qurʾān to threaten them with raising a group of people with these qualities instead of them.

Verse 11: The Prophet (ص) Could Marry True Believers if He were to Divorce His Wives

> [O wives of the Prophet!] Perhaps if he divorces you, his Lord will give him instead of you wives better than you—[wives who are] Muslims, faithful, devout, penitent, worshipful, [and] inclined to fasting, [from among] the previously married and virgins.[5852]

As discussed previously,[5853] this verse shows that each and every wife of the Prophet (ص) was not among the best women on earth, but rather that there was hope that the Prophet (ص) would divorce some of them and instead marry women with the noble qualities listed that some of his wives clearly lacked. Had his wives addressed in thi verse, namely ʿĀʾishah and Ḥafṣah,[5854] possessed these qualities, it would have bee senseless for Allāh to threaten them with replacement by women with such qualities Women lacking in Islām, faith, devotion, penitence, and worship are clearly not worthy of respect and emulation and are definitely not good examples for us to follow.

Verse 12: Do Not to Trust the Wicked Companions

> O you who believe! When a wicked person comes to you with any news, ascertain the truth lest you harm people unwittingly and afterwards become full of remorse for what you have done.[5855]

[5850] Qurʾān 5:54.
[5851] Refer to chapters 20 and 36.
[5852] Qurʾān 66:5.
[5853] Refer to chapter 27.
[5854] Refer to chapter 27.
[5855] Qurʾān 49:6.

This verse, which has been cited several times previously, was revealed regarding Walīd ibn ʿUqbah.[5856] According to Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr and Ibn Athīr, "There is no disagreement among the scholars that this verse was revealed in regards to Walīd."[5857] As such, this verse told the companions not to trust the words of the wicked ones amongst themselves, lest they end up regretting it. This proves that wicked ones existed among the companions. As such, one must ascertain whether or not a companion was wicked or not, and whether or not a wicked companion was telling the truth or not. As such, those who believe that all the companions were just and those who trust in the accuracy of their every word are in open defiance of this verse.

Comments Regarding the Hypocrites

We have only listed a small selection of verses that are critical of the companions for the sake of brevity and because all it takes is one single verse criticizing the companions to prove that the companions were not all examples of perfection and absolutely reliable sources of guidance. In addition to these verses, there are numerous verses condemning specific companions. Moreover, there are innumerable verses about the hypocrites among the companions, proving that many of those who fit the Sunnī definition of companion not only ought not be respected but even belong in the deepest abodes of hell because the Qurʾān states clearly, "The hypocrites will be in the lowest depths of the fire."[5858] At the very least, one must distinguish the hypocrites from the true believers among the companions. To deny that hypocrites (i.e. those who professed Islām externally while hiding disbelief internally) existed upon the Prophet's (ص) death is to deny a good part of the Qurʾān that is devoted to condemning them and revealing their treachery. To get around this obvious problem, some Sunnī scholars have claimed that the hypocrites were well-known to everyone, and since their definition of a companion requires belief, the hypocrites would be excluded. As such, there would be no possibility of being misled by them. Those who claim this should then submit a list of hypocrites who were around when the Prophet (ص) died and who remained in hypocrisy after his death, continuing to profess Islām externally, while hiding disdain for Islām internally. Until they do so, it will mandatory to examine the companions for signs of hypocrisy.

'ndeed, the claim that the hypocrites were well-known is not true, as the Qurʾān told the 'rophet (ص), "You do not know them (i.e. the hypocrites); [rather] we know them."[5859] if the Prophet (ص) did not inherently know their identities, it is the utmost arrogance for anyone to claim that he knows who the hypocrites were. Furthermore, the Sunnī claim that only Ḥudhayfah ibn Yamān knew the identities of the band of hypocrites who attempted to assassinate the Prophet (ص) on a mountain pass is further proof that the identities of the hypocrites were not widely known. Indeed, Ḥudhayfah told ʿUmar that one of his governors was among those hypocrites, but he refused to identify who he was,[5860] as his job was not to reveal what was in the hearts of people. ʿUmar even asked him, "Am I among them?"[5861] which shows that ʿUmar did not know the identities of the hypocrites and that he suspected that Ḥudhayfah believed that he was among the band of hypocrites who had attempted to kill the Prophet (ص) on the mountain pass.[5862]

[5856] Refer to chapter 64.

[5857] Istīʿāb 4:114-5 #2750 (Walīd ibn ʿUqbah); Usd al-Ghābah 4:316 #5476 (Walīd ibn ʿUqbah).

[5858] Qurʾān 4:145.

[5859] Qurʾān 9:101.

[5860] Usd al-Ghābah 1:442 #1113 (Ḥudhayfah ibn Yamān).

[5861] Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #1622.

[5862] Refer to chapter 61 for a discussion of the band of hypocrites who tried to assassinate the Prophet (ص) and whose identities the Prophet (ص) disclosed to Ḥudhayfah.

At the very least, the Sunnīs should help identify who ʹUmar's governor was who was a hypocrite, as it very well may have been Abū Hurayrah, who served as ʹUmar's governor in Baḥrayn,[5863] and who has transmitted over five thousand questionable traditions.[5864]

It should also be noted that the hypocrites lived in Madīnah alongside the other Muslims and did not openly present themselves as disbelievers, but rather swore to being Muslims, as the Qur`ān says, "They swear by Allāh that they are indeed of you, but they are not of you."[5865] As such, the hypocrites must be identified from among those adamantly maintaining that they were devoted Muslims. Of course, there were clues as to who the hypocrites were based on their behavior, yet Allāh chose not to specifically reveal their identities, as the Qur`ān says, "If We wished, We would show them to you so that you would recognize them by their faces, but you will recognize them from the tone of their speech."[5866] As such, even though Allāh did not openly reveal their identities to all the Muslims, there were no doubt clues as to who they were. According to Sunnī traditions, the portion of the verse stating, "you will recognize them by the tone of their speech," was revealed regarding those who despised ʹAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib (ع),[5867] as the tone of speech of the hypocrites would presumably give away their enmity towards him and thereby reveal their hypocrisy. Indeed, the hypocrisy of ʹUmar can be proved by this verse, as his tone of speech when confronting the Prophet (ص) at Ḥudaybīyyah,[5868] his tone of speech when trying to bar the Prophet (ص) from attending the funeral of Ibn Salūl,[5869] his tone of speech when clamoring with Abū Bakr so loudly in front of the Prophet (ص) that the Qur`ān renounced them and nullified their deeds,[5870] and his tone of speech at the Prophet's deathbed when he accused the Prophet (ص) of delirium[5871] prove his hypocrisy.

Some claim that the verse, "And do not offer prayers for any one of them who dies and do not stand by his grave,"[5872] shows that the identities of the hypocrites were known. However, this pertains only to those hypocrites who had revealed their hypocrisy and exposed their disbelief. This is evident because Sunnīs claim that ʹUmar would not attend funerals that were boycotted by Ḥudhayfah,[5873] as the latter knew the hypocrites better than ʹUmar, and as his avoidance of those funerals was a sign of the hypocrisy of the deceased. If the hypocrites were well-known to everyone, ʹUmar would not have hac to wait to see if Ḥudhayfah would show up to a funeral, as he would have known whethe the person in question was a hypocrite or not.

Another argument is that the hypocrites were few and far between and that following the majority of the companions is a fool-proof method for salvation. However, the Qur`ān says, "And most of them do not believe in Allāh except that they attribute partners [to Him]."[5874] Thus, the Qur`ān is explicitly clear that the hypocrites were not just a small band, but rather that the majority of the companions were hypocrites, expressing faith externally but still holding onto their pagan beliefs. Furthermore, when one follows traditions, each tradition is generally related by one or a small handful of companions. Even if the hypocrites were few in number, one cannot be sure that one is not following their traditions in matters of importance.

[5863] Usd al-Ghābah 5:121 #6328 (Abū Hurayrah).
[5864] Refer to chapter 77.
[5865] Qur`ān 9:56.
[5866] Qur`ān 47:30.
[5867] Tafsīr al-Durr al Manthūr, verse 47:30; Tārīkh Damishq 42:360.
[5868] Refer to chapter 19.
[5869] Refer to chapter 19.
[5870] Refer to chapter 52.
[5871] Refer to chapter 38.
[5872] Qur`ān 9:84.
[5873] Usd al-Ghābah 1:442 #1113 (Ḥudhayfah ibn Yamān).
[5874] Qur`ān 12:106.

It should be noted that there are numerous Shī'ah traditions indicating that the Prophet (ص) and the imāms (ع) know the identities of the true believers and the identities of the hypocrites and disbelievers. These traditions do not necessarily contradict the verse telling the Prophet (ص), "You do not know them (i.e. the hypocrites),"[5875] because knowledge of someone's hypocrisy is among the knowledge of the unseen, which man is not naturally privy to. However, as discussed previously with respect to knowledge of the unseen, Allāh has informed the Prophet (ص) of parts of that knowledge, and whatever knowledge He imparted on the Prophet (ص) was passed on to 'Alī (ع) and the imāms after him.[5876] As such, the Prophet (ص) was not inherently aware of the identities of the hypocrites, just as he was not inherently aware of the life stories of the prophets before him. Yet, Allāh granted him such knowledge as He pleased.

The True Status of the Companions According to the Qur`ān

The Qur`ān is very clear that there were some truly devoted and pious companions who submitted themselves entirely to the remembrance of Allāh, who submissively followed the Prophet's (ص) every command, and who were eagerly willing to make any sacrifice necessary to further Islām's cause. They will surely enter paradise. There were also those who believed in Islām but whose faith was not strong. They sinned and erred at times and often picked the wrong path because the perceived benefits of this world distracted them from the hereafter. This group includes those reluctant Muslims who were willing to adopt Islām as long as it did not require significant personal sacrifice such as jihād. These were the ones who fled during Uḥud, Khaybar, Mu`tah, and Ḥunayn, as well as those who were fearful or who abandoned the Prophet (ص) for the safety of their homes during the Battle of Aḥzāb. The Qur`ān expresses concern about the future of such Muslims and their potential for abandoning Islām and its tenets in return for perceived worldly gains. The third group in the Qur`ān is the hypocrites, who externally profess belief in Islām, while secretly working against it. They are the worst of creation and will belong in the deepest fires of hell. One must follow the Qur`ān in revering the first group, praying for forgiveness and mercy for the second group,[5877] and cursing the third group.[5878]

The Claim that Cursing the Companions is Disbelief and Therefore Punishable by Death

More recently, some of those who try to incite tensions against the Shī'ah have spread the concept that the Shī'ah ought to be killed because they curse the companions and cursing the companions is equivalent to disbelief. This is an innovation with no basis in Islām. The Umayyad caliph 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz said, "No one is to be killed for [cursing] anyone except for the Prophet (ص)."[5879] Nawawī said in his commentary on Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, "Know that cursing the companions, may Allāh be pleased with them, is forbidden (ḥarām) and among the disgusting sins... Our madhdhab and the madhhab of the majority (jumhūr) is that one who does this is reprimanded but not killed."[5880] Even Ibn Taymīyyah, who is revered by the Salafīs, said, "Insulting Abū Bakr and ʿUmar is among the great sins... but there is no punishment for it, and it is among the sins for which there is neither punishment (ḥadd) nor recompense (kaffārah)."[5881] Indeed, even Abū Bakr agreed with that. According to Nasāʾī, a man spoke harshly to Abū Bakr. Abū Barzah asked, "May I cut off his neck?" Abū Bakr replied, "This is not allowed for anyone after Muḥammad."[5882] Accordingly, anyone who curses the Prophet (ص) is to be killed, but those who curse other Muslims are to be either left alone or reprimanded.

[5875] Qur`ān 9:101.
[5876] Refer to chapter 16.
[5877] Qur`ān 59:10.
[5878] Qur`ān 9:68.
[5879] Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 5:369.

Of course, the Shīʿah believe only in repudiating publicly committed sins and cursing only the hypocrites. As for repudiating publicly committed sins, the Prophet (ص), according to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, repudiated Khālid ibn Walīd's murder of innocent Muslims by saying, "O Allāh, I am free from what Khālid [ibn Walīd] has done (Allāhumma innī abraʾu ilayka mimmā ṣanaʿa Khālid)!"[5883] Moreover, the Qurʾān allows cursing the murderers of the believers when it says, "Whoever kills a believer intentionally, his recompense is hell, to abide therein. The wrath and curse of Allāh are upon him and a dreadful penalty is prepared for him."[5884] Furthermore, no one can dispute the permissibility of cursing the hypocrites, as the Qurʾān says, "Allāh has promised the hypocrites, both men and women, and the disbelievers the fire of hell to abide therein. It will suffice them. Allāh curses them, and theirs is a lasting torment."[5885] The only matter of dispute then is the method of identification of the hypocrites among the Prophet's (ص) contemporaries, which requires an examination of the conduct of his companions both during and after his lifetime. Furthermore, it is clearly permissible to curse those who harassed the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) because, according to mutawātir traditions, harassing them is equivalent to harassing the Prophet (ص),[5886] and the Qurʾān says, "Allāh curses those who harass Allāh and His Messenger in this world and in the hereafter, and He will prepare a humiliating punishment for them."[5887] The Qurʾān is also clear that using offensive words to properly describe the companions is permissible, as the Qurʾān itself labels Walīd ibn ʿUqbah as "wicked (fāsiq)" in two verses.[5888] As such, it is permissible, if not mandatory, for the believers to call Walīd fāsiq.

Perhaps the clearest proof of the fact that insulting the companions is not a punishab crime in Sunnīsm is the fact that ʿAlī (ع) was cursed for decades during the Umayy era,[5889] yet the Sunnīs do not believe that it was necessary to kill those who cursed hin Furthermore, all of the Sunnī scholars concur that some of those who cursed him, including Mughīrah ibn Shuʿbah, Marwān ibn Ḥakam, and Muʿāwīyah,[5890] were among the noble and just companions who are beyond reproach and guaranteed to enter paradise. They have even included the one who martyred him among the noble companions, claiming that he performed ijtihād but erred, earning a reward in the

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5880. Sharh Ṣaḥīh Muslim of Nawawī 16:93.
5881. Al-Ṣārim al-Maslūl ʿalā Shātim al-Rasūl of Ibn Taymīyyah 3:1085.
5882. Sunan Nasāʾī #4073.
5883. Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.59.628, #9.89.299 (Arabic original #4084, #6766).
5884. Qurʾān 4:93.
5885. Qurʾān 9:68.
5886. Refer to chapter 22.
5887. Qurʾān 33:57.
5888. Qurʾān 32:18, 49:6. Refer to chapter 64 for a discussion of the revelation of these two verses with respect to Walīd.
5889. Refer to chapter 76.
5890. Refer to chapter 76.

process.[5891] The Sunnīs have even transmitted numerous traditions from those who cursed ʿAlī (ع) and from the Khārijītes who considered him a disbeliever.[5892]

Indeed, accounts of companions being insulted are numerous,[5893] and many of them appear in Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī and Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim. Among these are: (1) when Zaynab bint Jaḥsh abused ʿĀʾishah and ʿĀʾishah responded to her in kind;[5894] (2) when a young man from the Banū Abī Muʿayṭ abused Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī;[5895] (3) when Umm Misṭaḥ said, "Let Misṭaḥ be ruined!"[5896] (4) when ʿUrwah ibn Zubayr insulted Ḥassān ibn Thābit in front of ʿĀʾishah;[5897] (5) when Abū Bakr called his son ʿAbd al-Raḥmān "Ghunthar (a bad word)," then called him "bad names" and "abused" him;[5898] (6) when the sons of Saʿīd ibn ʿĀṣ called Abū Hurayrah a guinea pig;[5899] (7) when a companion abused another companion by calling his mother a bad name;[5900] (8) when two companions abused each other in front of the Prophet (ص);[5901] (9) when Saʿīd ibn Zayd cursed a woman and she went blind as a result;[5902] and (10) when Muʿāwīyah asked Saʿd what prevented him from cursing Abū Turāb (i.e. ʿAlī [ع]).[5903] In not one of these cases has anyone been punished, killed, or called a disbeliever by the Sunnīs. Ibn Ḥazm said,

> Some argue that those who insult the companions are disbelievers because of the word of Allāh, the great and glorious, that "Muḥammad is the Messenger of Allāh, and those with him are firm against the disbelievers yet compassionate amongst themselves," up to His saying, "enraging the disbelievers on account of them."[5904] They say that anyone who is enraged by any of the companions of the Messenger of Allāh (ص) is therefore a disbeliever. Whoever interprets this verse in such a way has surely erred because Allāh, the great and glorious, has not said that everyone who is enraged by any one of them is a disbeliever, but rather that the disbelievers are enraged by them. This is indeed a truth that no Muslim denies, as every Muslim enrages the disbelievers. Anyone with a sound mind would know that ʿAlī surely enraged Muʿāwīyah, that Muʿāwīyah and ʿAmr ibn ʿĀṣ enraged ʿAlī, and that ʿAmmār enraged Abū al-ʿĀdīyah, yet all of them were companions of the Messenger of Allāh (ص), some of whom clearly enraging others. This [interpretation], Allāh forbid, would require the labeling of these whom we have mentioned as disbelievers.[5905]

5891. Refer to chapter 54.
5892. Refer to chapter 22.
5893. Refer to the article entitled, "Cursing Sahaba," at www.answering-ansar.org for numerous other examples.
5894. Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #3.47.755.
5895. Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #1.9.488.
5896. Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #3.48.829.
5897. Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #4.56.731.
5898. Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #1.10.576.
5899. Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.59.544 (two traditions).
5900. Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #1.2.29.
5901. Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #32.6316.
5902. Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #31.5915.
5903. Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #32.6316.
5904. Qurʾān 48:29.
5905. Al-Faṣl fī al-Milal wa al-Ahwāʾ wa al-Niḥal of Ibn Ḥazm 3:294-5.

Chapter 83
Mu´āwīyah and the Battle of Ṣiffīn

Upon ´Alī's (ع) victory in the Battle of Jamal, his next target was Mu´āwīyah who refused to vacate the governor's office despite months of polite requests, direct orders, and explicit threats. Mu´āwīyah's strategy was to spread the belief in Syria that ´Uthmān had been killed unjustly and to have the Syrians mourn for him daily for months on end. To gain legitimacy, he also gathered as many of the Prophet's (ص) companions as he could, even though he could not gather very many, and none of them were considered close companions. ´Ubayd Allāh ibn ´Umar joined him because of his fear that ´Alī (ع) would execute him for murder,[5906] and Tamīm al-Dārī joined him because he was no longer allowed to tell fairytales in the Masjid al-Nabī in Madīnah.[5907] ´Amr ibn ´Āṣ told Mu´āwīyah that he would join him only if he would promise to restore to him the governorship of Egypt which ´Uthmān had taken away from him, and Mu´āwīyah agreed.[5908] Indeed, when ´Aqīl ibn Abī Ṭālib travelled to Syria, he remarked that there were none of the Prophet's (ص) companions there.[5909] As Mu´āwīyah grew more powerful, a number of the other enemies of ´Alī (ع) such as Mughīrah ibn Shu´bah joined him as well.[5910]

Mu´āwīyah's History

Mu´āwīyah was the son of Abū Sufyān and Hind. Abū Sufyān was the Prophet's (ص) archenemy in Mecca. He left his caravan to lead the pagans in battle against the Muslims at Badr, used the proceeds of his caravan to fight the Muslims at Uḥud, and was also the leader in the Battle of Aḥzāb. Mu´āwīyah's mother Hind was the one who disfigured Ḥamzah who and chewed on his liver after the Battle of Uḥud.

We previously discussed the fact that when Abū Sufyān opposed Abū Bakr's caliphate, his support was obtained by promising that the governorship of Syria would be granted to his sons once Syria was conquered.[5911] After the conquest of Syria, ´Umar made Mu´āwīyah's elder brother, Yazīd ibn Abī Sufyān, its governor, and upon Yazīd's death, he appointed Mu´āwīyah as the governor of Syria,[5912] saying in regards to Mu´āwīyah, "This is the Kasrā[5913] of the Arabs."[5914] ´Uthmān kept him in charge of Syria and added more territories to his province,[5915] thereby increasing his realm of control. As governor,

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[5906] Refer to chapter 63.
[5907] Refer to chapter 56.
[5908] Imāmah wa Sīyāsah 98.
[5909] Imāmah wa Sīyāsah 85.
[5910] Refer to chapter 78.
[5911] Refer to chapter 48.
[5912] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 8:23.
[5913] Kasrā is a designation for Persian kings.
[5914] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 8:134; Tārīkh Damishq 59:114, 59:115.
[5915] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 8:23.

Mu'āwīyah built the dome-topped Green Palace, in which he resided for some forty years.[5916] During 'Uthmān's reign, Mu'āwīyah became increasingly powerful and independent to the point that 'Alī (ع) criticized 'Uthmān for allowing this:

> 'Uthmān said [to 'Alī], "Do you know that 'Umar kept Mu'āwīyah in office throughout his entire caliphate, and I have only done the same." 'Alī answered, "I adjure you by Allāh, do you know that Mu'āwīyah was more afraid of 'Umar than was 'Umar's own slave Yarfa`?" "Yes," said ['Uthmān]." 'Alī went on, "In fact Mu'āwīyah makes decisions on issues without [consulting] you, and you know it. Thus, he says to the people, 'This is 'Uthmān's command.' You hear of this, but do not censure him."[5917]

Mu'āwīyah fared better than 'Uthmān's other governors because he and his elder brother had ruled uninterruptedly since Islām was introduced to their region, so there was never any opportunity for dissident voices to take hold in Syria. Syrian Islām was Sufyānīd Islām, and when members of 'Alī's (ع) Shī'ah, such as Abū Dharr and Mālik al-Ashtar and his companions, were exiled to Syria, Mu'āwīyah made sure that they were quickly removed from his land before they would have an opportunity to disseminate the truth on a large scale. As such, Mu'āwīyah did not have to deal with any significant insurgency against 'Uthmān in the lands under his control. By 'Uthmān's death, he was not ejected by the local population like the governors of Kūfah and Egypt had been. It is also likely that he was politically shrewder than 'Uthmān's other governors, avoiding some of the mistakes that had made them so widely despised. Upon 'Uthmān's death, Mu'āwīyah had amassed enough wealth and a large and powerful enough army that he felt confident that he could challenge central authority.

Mu'āwīyah's So-Called Virtues

The following are the main virtues claimed for Mu'āwīyah:

1. According to 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī 'Umayrah, the Prophet (ص) said in regards to Mu'āwīyah, "O Allāh! Set him as a guided guide and guide by him."[5918] Ibn Ḥajar said in regards to 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī 'Umayrah, "Tirmidhī relates a single tradition from him mentioning Mu'āwīyah. I say that Ibn 'Abd al-Barr does not consider him as having been a companion, and the chain of transmission of his tradition is not sound."[5919]

2. 'Umayr said, "Do not mention Mu'āwīyah except with kind [words], for I heard the Messenger of Allāh saying, 'O Allāh! Guide by him.'"[5920] In the chain of transmission of this tradition is 'Amr ibn Wāqid, who even Tirmidhī who cited this tradition said is weak.[5921] In fact, Ibn Ḥajar has cited numerous negative opinions of him, to the point that he concluded, "There is no doubt that he would lie."[5922]

[5916] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 8:23.
[5917] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 15:143; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:189; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:7; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 9:265. Similarly, Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:280.
[5918] Sunan Tirmidhī #3842.
[5919] Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb vol 6 #491 ('Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī 'Umayrah).
[5920] Sunan Tirmidhī #3843.
[5921] Sunan Tirmidhī #3843.
[5922] Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb vol 8 #191 ('Amr ibn Wāqid).

3. According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī: Somebody said to Ibn ʻAbbās, "Can you speak to the Commander of the Faithful Muʻāwīyah, as he does not pray except one rakʻah as witr?" Ibn ʻAbbās replied, "He is a faqīh (i.e. a learned man who can give religious verdicts)."[5923] This tradition is rather interesting for a number of reasons. First, Ibn ʻAbbās' purported statement appears to be a joke or to avoid confrontation with the king. Second, the witr prayer is a recommended night-time prayers, so there was no need to tell Muʻāwīyah to pray more rakʻahs, as that would not be required. Third, Ibn ʻAbbās' calling Muʻāwīyah a faqīh in this context is meaningless because there is really no particular matter of law involved in dictating personal non-mandatory practices. Fourth, if Ibn ʻAbbās did mean what some have concluded from this tradition—that Muʻāwīyah should be allowed to pray incorrectly because he was a faqīh—then it shows that the companions changed the Sunnah and that one ought not to follow such "faqīhs". Moreover, if anyone claims that this was a matter of ijtihād, they are wrong, because ijtihād is only for cases in which the Qurʼān and Sunnah do not answer a question, not for cases when one simply decides to change the Sunnah.

4. According to Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, Abū Sufyān told the Prophet (ص), "Accept Muʻāwīyah to serve as your scribe," and he replied, "Yes."[5924] Based on this tradition, some have glorified Muʻāwīyah as a scribe of revelation. The first problem with this is that this tradition does not specify what Muʻāwīyah would be writing as a scribe. Second, even if it were true that he transcribed revelation, this would not be a virtue. It is widely accepted that when the Qurʼān asks, "Who can be more wicked than one who invents a lie against Allāh or who says, 'I have received inspiration,' when he has received none, or who says, 'I can reveal the like of what Allāh has revealed'?"[5925] it is indeed asking the question, "Who can be more wicked than ʻAbd Allāh ibn Saʻd Abī Sarḥ?" in regards to whom this verse was revealed.[5926] As is alluded to in this verse and as is clearly stated in the Qurʼānic commentaries, Ibn Abī Sarḥ had been a scribe of the Qurʼān before he apostatized, claiming that he had authored some of the phrases in the Qurʼān that he had been asked to transcribe. It is therefore clear that being a scribe of the Qurʼān not only does not confer a specific virtue but also that a scribe of the Qurʼān can be the most wicked of men. As such, ever if the claim that Muʻāwīyah transcribed revelation is true, it confers no specifi virtue on him. Furthermore, this tradition is an obvious forgery because it reads "[Abū Sufyān said], 'Allāh's Apostle, confer upon me three things.' He replied in the affirmative. He said, 'I have with me the most handsome and the best [woman], Umm Ḥabībah, the daughter of Abū Sufyān; marry her,' whereupon he said, 'Yes.' And he again said, 'Accept Muʻāwīyah to serve as your scribe.' He said, 'Yes.' He again said, 'Make me the commander [of the Muslim army] so that I should fight against the unbelievers as I fought against the Muslims.' He said, 'Yes.'"[5927] Yet, as is widely accepted, Umm Ḥabībah married the Prophet (ص) per his written request during her emigration to Abyssinia,[5928] which was prior to the conquest of Mecca when Abū Sufyān converted,[5929] which would

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[5923] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.57.109. Similarly, Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.57.108.

[5924] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #31.6095.

[5925] Qurʼān 6:93

[5926] Refer to chapter 66 for a discussion of the revelation of this verse in regards to Ibn Abī Sarḥ.

[5927] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #31.6095.

[5928] Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 8:97-99 (several traditions); Iṣābah 4:2508-9 #11182 (Ramlah bint Abī Sufyān); Istīʻāb 4: 401-3 #3378 (Ramlah bint Abī Sufyān) (numerous traditions); Usd al-Ghābah 5:287-8 #6933 (Ramlah bint Abī Sufyān).

[5929] Refer to chapter 25.

make such a request and therefore the entire tradition absolutely implausible. In addition, the Prophet (ص) did not appoint Abū Sufyān as the commander of the Muslim army as claimed in this tradition. In fact, Ibn Athīr said, "Muslim ibn Ḥajjāj has related in his Ṣaḥīḥ that Abū Sufyān asked the Prophet (ص) to marry her and he replied in the affirmative in this regards. But this is among what has been enumerated as the errors (awhām) of Muslim, as the Messenger of Allāh (ص) indeed married her when she was in Abyssinia before Abū Sufyān converted to Islām, and the experts of prophetic biography have no disagreement in this regards."[5930]

5. Mu'āwīyah claimed that he converted to Islām prior to the conquest of Mecca and that he kept his faith hidden from Abū Sufyān.[5931] However, there is no independent confirmation of this except for Mu'āwīyah's own claim. In fact, He likely invented this claim during his caliphate, as he had been commonly criticized during the Battle of Ṣiffīn for being among the ṭulaqā`,[5932] who comprised the pagans who had little choice but to convert upon the conquest of Mecca. Had it been known that Mu'āwīyah had converted prior to the conquest, he would not have been cited as among the ṭulaqā` by 'Alī (ع) and his companions. Moreover, he had over twenty-five years or so to spread the word regarding when he had converted by the time of the Battle of Ṣiffīn. Had he done so, 'Alī (ع) would not have told him, "You are among the ṭulaqā` for whom the caliphate is not permitted and who cannot hold the imāmate."[5933]

Nasā`ī was Killed Because Mu'āwīyah Had No Virtues

The reality is that Mu'āwīyah had absolutely no specific virtues. He was a pagan born to pagans, all of whom were forced to accept Islām to avoid death. Any rational person would conclude that they did not become pious believers worthy of emulation overnight by pretending to adopt Islām. In fact, Nasā`ī, the great Sunnī scholar of ḥadīth, made the virtuelessness of Mu'āwīyah most clear, and lost his life over it. Ibn Khallikān, in his work Wafayāt al-A'yān (The Obituaries of the Eminent), wrote the following about the death of Nasā`ī:

> Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān [al-Nasā`ī] left Egypt towards the end of his life and went to Damascus. He was asked about Mu'āwīyah and what had been related regarding his virtues (faḍā`il). He said, "Is Mu'āwīyah not content with being head-to-head [with the other companions] to the point that he even seeks to be better [than the rest of them]?" In another account [he said], "I do not know of any distinction except for, 'May Allāh never fill his stomach!'" He was [labeled] a Shī'ah, and they did not stop beating his outstretched chest until they cast him out of the mosque. In another account, they beat his testes and trampled him. He was carried to Ramlah, where he passed away. Ḥāfiẓ Abū al-Ḥasan al-Dārquṭnī said, "After what happened to Nasā`ī in Damascus, he said, 'Carry me to Mecca,' so he was carried there and died there and is buried between Ṣafā and Marwah. His death occurred in [the month of] Sha'bān of the year 303."[5934]

[5930] Usd al-Ghābah 5:287 #6933 (Ramlah bint Abī Sufyān).

[5931] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 8:23.

[5932] For example, Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:26; Imāmah wa Sīyāsah 95.

[5933] Imāmah wa Sīyāsah 95.

[5934] Al-Wafayāt al-A'yān of Ibn Khallikān 1:77 (Nasā`ī).

It is not surprising that he was considered by the Syrians to be among the Shī´ah because he had compiled a work on the specific merits (khaṣā`iṣ) of ´Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib (ع) due to his concern that his virtues would be lost thanks to the concerted efforts of the caliphate. The Syrians took this as well as his confirmation of the fact that Mu´āwīyah lacked any specific virtue as proofs of his being Shī´ah, even though he is among the Sunnī imāms of ḥadīth. This event is the most explicit proof of the fact that Mu´āwīyah had no virtues. If he did, there was no way that Nasā`ī would have been unaware of them and therefore lose his life over it. We have previously discussed the tradition, "May Allāh not fill his belly," in which the Prophet (ص) cursed Mu´āwīyah because he preferred food over the Prophet (ص).[5935] The tradition, as cited by Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, is as follows:

> Ibn ´Abbās reported: I was playing with children when Allāh's Messenger happened to pass by. I hid myself behind the door. He came and he patted my shoulders and said, "Go and call Mu´āwīyah." I returned and said, "He is busy taking in food." He again asked me to go and call Mu´āwīyah to him. I went [and came back] and said that he was busy taking in food, whereupon he said, "May Allāh not fill his belly!"[5936]

As a result of this, Mu´āwīyah was always hungry.[5937] Amazingly, even though the Prophet (ص) cursed Mu´āwīyah in this tradition, some have tried to turn the tradition into a virtue by claiming that the Prophet (ص) was so close to Mu´āwīyah that he needed him badly at that time. Some even claim that this proves that Mu´āwīyah was a transcriber of revelation, even though drawing that conclusion from this tradition would require an astonishing stretch of the imagination. It appears much more likely that the Prophet (ص) was trying to show that Mu´āwīyah was more devoted to food than to him. In fact, if this tradition did establish a virtue for Mu´āwīyah, there would have been no reason for Nasā`ī to have been trampled to death for relating it in Damascus. Similarly, there would have been no reason for Muslim to place this tradition in a chapter claiming that the Prophet's (ص) curse was a blessing.[5938] Even if the Prophet (ص) was calling him to record revelation, Mu´āwīyah's preference for food over Allāh's revelation hardly establishes a virtue. Indeed, the Prophet (ص) cursed Mu´āwīyah a number of other times as well:

1. When the Prophet (ص) saw Abū Sufyān coming on a donkey, with Mu´āwīyah and Yazīd ibn Abī Sufyān driving it, he said, "May Allāh curse the leader, the rider, and the driver!"[5939]

2. The Prophet (ص) said, "Mu´āwīyah is in a casket of fire in the lowest layer of hell, calling out, 'O clement One, O generous One!' He is given the answer, 'Now [you believe], but before you sinned and caused corruption.'[5940]"[5941]

3. The Prophet (ص) said, "From this mountain pass, a man from my community is coming who will be resurrected separate from my religious group," and it was Mu´āwīyah who was coming.[5942]

[5935] Refer to chapter 75 for a discussion of this tradition.
[5936] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #32.6298-9.
[5937] Tārikh Ṭabarī 38:55.
[5938] Refer to chapter 75 for a discussion of this absurd concept.
[5939] Tārikh Ṭabarī 38:53; Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:121; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 6:289, 15:175, 15:289.
[5940] Qur`ān 10:91.
[5941] Tārikh Ṭabarī 38:55; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 15:176. The first sentence also appears in Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:121.
[5942] Tārikh Ṭabarī 38:55; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 15:176.

4. The Prophet (ص) also said, "When you see Mu'āwīyah on my pulpit, kill him."[5943]

The Battle of Ṣiffīn

In this section, a brief overview of the Battle of Ṣiffīn will be presented. The account here is primarily based on Tārīkh Ṭabarī, which has a somewhat detailed account of the battle.

After the Battle of Jamal, 'Alī (ع) went from Baṣrah to Kūfah and began preparations for a battle against Mu'āwīyah, insisting that he take personal control of his overall army himself.[5944] Mālik al-Ashtar's battalion was the first to arrive at the battlefront, and he was able to repel early Syrian attacks.[5945] He called the Syrian commander to single combat, but the latter refused.[5946] 'Alī (ع) and his men joined up with al-Ashtar, but he was told that the enemy had already beaten them to the one site in the area in which there was access to the water of the Euphrates.[5947] Since Mu'āwīyah's forces refused to share their water supply,[5948] 'Alī (ع) ordered his troops to fight them for it.[5949] Mu'āwīyah's forces were quickly and decisively routed from the riverbanks.[5950] Even though 'Alī (ع) was advised not to share water with them, he ordered that Mu'āwīyah's troops be allowed access to water as well.[5951]

'Alī (ع) then sent to Mu'āwīyah, calling him to obedience, but Mu'āwīyah replied, "And are we to make the blood of 'Uthmān count for naught? No, by Allāh, never!"[5952] Fighting broke out and lasted the entirety of Dhū al-Ḥijjah of the year 36 A.H., but there was a month-long cease in hostilities for observance of the forbidden month of Muḥarram.[5953] There was another attempt at calling Mu'āwīyah to unity, but Mu'āwīyah replied,

> As for the unity to which you have called us, we have it among ourselves, but, as for obedience to your lord (i.e. 'Alī), we will not conceive of it, for he has killed our caliph and shattered our unity, and he has given shelter to those from whom we seek vengeance and those who killed 'Uthmān. Your master claims that he did not kill him, and we will not argue with him about that, but have you not seen those who killed our master, and do you not know that they are the companions of your master? Let him then deliver them up to us and let us kill them in revenge for 'Uthmān, and then we will respond to your call for obedience and unity.[5954]

This was, of course, an impossible request, as 'Alī (ع) would never submit the killers of 'Uthmān for unjust punishment. When 'Alī (ع) was asked to admit that 'Uthmān had been killed unjustly, he refused to do so, saying, "I will not say that he was killed unjustly,"[5955] and he added, "He was unjust himself!"[5956] Moreover, even if ʿAlī (ع) were to comply, Muʿāwīyah would have had some other excuse not to submit, and ʿAlī (ع) would have wreaked havoc among his troops who overwhelmingly supported the execution of ʿUthmān. In fact, Muʿāwīyah made it clear that he would never be satisfied that ʿUthmān's blood had been fully avenged. He was asked if he would be pleased with killing ʿAmmār ibn Yāsir, and he replied, "By Allāh! If I were given power over Ibn Sumayyah (ʿAmmār), I would not kill him in revenge for ʿUthmān, but [only in revenge] for Nātil the mawlā (freedman) of ʿUthmān."[5957] As such, he would have slaughtered the entirety of ʿAlī's (ع) troopsmen and would still be claiming that ʿUthmān's blood had not been fully avenged. In fact, handing over the killers of ʿUthmān, which apparently meant the entire population of Iraq, Egypt, and the Arabian Peninsula, was not even considered sufficient. Muʿāwīyah demanded that after the killers of ʿUthmān were killed, the caliphate was to be "a matter for consultation (shūrā)."[5958] ʿAlī (ع) responded properly, saying, "Who are you, you wretch, to tell me to relinquish authority?"[5959] Indeed, the concept of a consultative body (shūrā) to select a caliph was, from the beginning, a simple ploy to keep the caliphate away from ʿAlī (ع).[5960] ʿUmar had used a shūrā successfully to keep the caliphate away from ʿAlī (ع), so those who despised ʿAlī's (ع) rise to power kept calling for a shūrā to select a caliph. Muʿāwīyah had even picked the members of the shūrā: Saʿd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ and ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar from Ḥijāz, Muʿāwīyah, and ʿAmr ibn ʿĀṣ from Syria, and ʿAlī and ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās from Iraq.[5961] Saʿd and Ibn ʿUmar had refused to pledge allegiance to ʿAlī (ع), and Muʿāwīyah and ʿAmr had openly rebelled against his rule, so the best ʿAlī (ع) could hope for was two votes—his own and that of Ibn ʿAbbās.

[5943] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 38:55; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 15:176; Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:121.
[5944] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:2.
[5945] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:9.
[5946] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:9-10.
[5947] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:11, 17:16.
[5948] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:15, 17:16; Imāmah wa Sīyāsah 104.
[5949] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:11.
[5950] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:12-14, 17:16.
[5951] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:16; Imāmah wa Sīyāsah 105.
[5952] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:17.
[5953] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:20-21.
[5954] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:23.

As such, open hostilities broke out again. The Syrians gave Muʿāwīyah a pledge of allegiance that they would fight to the death.[5962] ʿAlī (ع) told his troops, "We have fought against them with the Prophet, and now we do so again."[5963] He also told them, "Do not kill the fugitives, do not finish off the wounded, do not uncover their nakedness, and do not mutilate the slain... Do not tear aside a curtain, enter a dwelling without permission, or seize any of their property aside from what you find in their army camp. Do not do harm against any woman."[5964] During the battle, ʿAlī (ع) walked up to ʿUbayd Allāh ibn ʿUmar and challenged him to single combat, but he refused,[5965] and was subsequently killed by Muḥriz ibn Ṣaḥṣaḥ, who took his sword, Dhū al-Wishāḥ, which h had inherited from his father ʿUmar.[5966]

ʿAlī (ع) was actively involved in personal combat throughout the battle. In one instance, one of Muʿāwīyah's soldiers, Kurayz ibn Ṣabāḥ al-Ḥimyarī, called out a challenge for someone to fight him in single combat. One of ʿAlī's (ع) men came out and was martyred. He called for another man, and the second man was martyred as well, as was the third. Upon his fourth call, the lines of ʿAlī's (ع) army split, and ʿAlī (ع) came out and killed him, then called out, challenging the Syrians to come out and fight him. Three men came out in succession, and he killed all three of them.[5967]

[5955] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:26; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:63.
[5956] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:26.
[5957] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:23.
[5958] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:24; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:287.
[5959] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:24; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:287.
[5960] Refer to chapter 61.
[5961] Imāmah wa Sīyāsah 111.
[5962] Tārīkh Tabarī 17:36-7.
[5963] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:37.
[5964] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:30.
[5965] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:32.
[5966] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:62; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:70. Note that Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:330 has a similar account, but states that his killer may have been Muḥriz ibn Ṣaḥṣaḥ, Hāniʾ ibn Khaṭṭāb, or Ḥurayth ibn Jābir.

ʿAlī's (ع) troops advanced all the way to the tent of Muʿāwīyah,[5968] but the Syrians were able to repel the onslaught, making some flee.[5969] Mālik al-Ashtar was sent to battlefront and he called the troops to himself.[5970] According to Ṭabarī, "Al-Ashtar proceeded toward the right wing, and there joined his men who were falling back, men of steadfastness who would avoid shame and fulfill their undertakings. He defeated every squadron he fought against and overcame and drove back every detachment."[5971] Ṭabarī added that al-Ashtar attacked "the five lines bound together with turbans around Muʿāwīyah... [and] brought down the first four lines... Muʿāwīyah called for a horse and mounted. [Subsequently] he would say, 'I wanted to flee.'"[5972]

The Martyrdom of ʿAmmār ibn Yāsir

On the last day of his life, ʿAmmār said, "Bring me my final sustenance in this world," and he was brought diluted milk in a shallow bowl. He then said, "Today I will meet the loved ones—Muḥammad and his party." He then called out for men who "desire to please Allāh and [who] will not return to property or offspring," so a group of men joined him.[5973] ʿAmmār then went out towards the Syrians. He told ʿAmr ibn ʿĀṣ, "ʿAmr, you have sold your religion for Egypt. Damn you, damn you! For long you have desired a deviation in Islām."[5974] He then told him, "Thrice with the Messenger of Allāh did I fight against the man whose banner this is. This fourth time [he] is no more pious or God-fearing."[5975] He also told ʿUbayd Allāh ibn ʿUmar, "May Allāh cast you down! You have sold your religion to the enemy of Islām and the son of its enemy."[5976] He then pressed forward in battle, telling his consorts, "The gates of heaven have been opened, and the houris have adorned themselves. Today I shall meet Muḥammad and his party."[5977] He was then martyred.

When news of ʿAmmār's martyrdom reached the Syrian camp, ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAmr ibn ʿĀṣ went to his father and said, "Father, have you killed this man in your fighting today... [even though the Prophet said regarding him], 'The usurping party will kill you'?" ʿAmr told the story to Muʿāwīyah, who then said, "You are a stupid old man. You keep on telling stories (ḥadīth) while you slither about in your piss. Was it we who killed ʿAmmār? It was only those who brought him here." The men then came out from their tents, saying, "It was only those who brought ʿAmmār who killed him."[5978]

When news of ʿAmmār's death reached ʿAlī (ع), he attacked the Syrians, and according to Ṭabarī, "There was no line of the Syrians that was not destroyed. ʿAlī and his men killed everybody they came up against until they reached Muʿāwīyah."[5979] He then told

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5967. Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:204.
5968. Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:39.
5969. Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:39-40.
5970. Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:41.
5971. Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:43.
5972. Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:47.
5973. Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:65.
5974. Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:66.
5975. Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:66-7.
5976. Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:66.
5977. Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:68.
5978. Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:69. Similarly, Musnad Ḥanbal #6499; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:299-300; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:71; Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:74, 1:328.
5979. Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:69.

Mu´āwīyah, "Why are the people being killed in our quarrel? Come, I will entrust Allāh with the decision between us. Whichever of us kills the other, authority will remain for him." ´Amr ibn ´Āṣ said, "This man has made you a fair offer," but Mu´āwīyah replied, "I have not been made a fair offer. You know that he has killed everyone whom he has challenged to combat." ´Amr said, "But it is not fitting that you should not accept the challenge and fight him." Mu´āwīyah responded, "You cannot wait to get power after my death!"[5980]

Mu´āwīyah Led the Army of Transgressors According to the Prophet (ص)

According to a mutawātir tradition, the Prophet (ص) said, "´Ammār will be killed by an army of transgressors (al-fiʾah al-bāghīyah)."[5981] There is no doubt that Mu´āwīyah and his followers were the army of transgressors that the Prophet (ص) warned would kill ´Ammār. The Prophet (ص) clarified all this when he said that ´Alī (ع) would fight the nākithīn (breaker of vows), qāsiṭīn (deviants), and māriqīn (heretics).[5982] People asked him, "O Messenger of Allāh, you order us to fight them, but with whom?" He replied, "With ´Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib. And ´Ammār ibn Yāsir will be fighting with him."[5983] Accordingly, ´Alī (ع), declared, "The army of transgressors (fiʾah al-bāghīyah) is the party of Satan (ḥizb al-Shayṭān)."[5984] At the very least, the undisputed tradition stating that "´Ammār will be killed by an army of transgressors," is proof that Mu´āwīyah and his men were the army of transgressors in the Battle of Ṣiffīn. The Qurʾān says,

> And if two groups among the believers fight [in battle], then make peace between them. And if one party of them transgresses (baghat) against the other, fight the one that transgresses (tabghī), until it returns to the ordinance of Allāh. Then, if it returns, make peace between them justly and act equitably. Allāh surely loves the equitable.[5985]

The words baghat and tabghī in this verse are from the same root as the word bāghīyah in the prophetic tradition regarding ´Ammār. Assuming Mu´āwīyah and his men to have been believers as opposed to hypocrites fighting whom is permitted by the Qurʾān,[5986] this verse's implications with respect to Mu´āwīyah's army in the Battle of Ṣiffīn are clear. Since Mu´āwīyah's army was, according to the Prophet's (ص) tradition about ´Ammār, the transgressor, the Qurʾān ordered all the believers to fight them until they woul return to the ordinance of Allāh. Only when they would do so and end their transgressio would peace be made with them. Therefore, whoever fought on the side of Mu´āwīya was a transgressor and those who took no sides (e.g. ´Abd Allāh ibn ´Umar) did not obe Allāh's command in this verse to fight the transgressors. In fact, ´Abd Allāh ibn ´Umar realized how wrong he had been for not fighting against the transgressors. According to a tradition Ḥākim certified as authentic by the criteria of Bukhārī and Muslim, when this verse of the Qurʾān was recited to Ibn ´Umar and he was questioned about it, he said, "I do not find in myself any [knowledge] of this verse except that I find that I, myself, did not fight this army of transgressors the way Allāh ordered me to."[5987] He also said, "I do

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5980. Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:70. Similarly, Imāmah wa Siyāsah 105-6.

5981. Refer to chapter 65 for the sources of this mutawātir tradition.

5982. Refer to chapter 78 for the sources of this mutawātir tradition.

5983. Usd al-Ghābah 3:298 #3789 (´Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib).

5984. Faḍāʾil Ḥanbal #1160; Kanz al-´Ummāl #31728.

5985. Qurʾān 49:9.

5986. Qurʾān 9:73 says, "Fight the disbelievers and the hypocrites."

5987. Mustadrak Ḥākim #3722 (certifies the tradition as authentic by the criteria of Bukhārī and Muslim), #4598 (certifies the tradition as authentic by the criteria of Bukhārī and Muslim), #6360; Sunan al-Kubrā Bayhaqī #16483; Tafsīr Zamakhsharī, Tafsīr Shawkānī, and Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, verse 49:9.

not regret anything except that I did not fight the army of transgressors with ´Alī."[5988] Even at his deathbed, his main regret was that, "I did not fight the army of transgressors."[5989] The Prophet (ص) said, "O ´Alī! An army of transgressors will fight you while you are upon the truth. Whoever does not help you on that day is not of me."[5990] Ibn Kathīr said, "[The death of ´Ammār] made it clear that ´Alī was rightful and that Mu´āwīyah was the transgressor, and [the fact that the Prophet (ص) foretold this] is among the proofs of [his] prophecy."[5991] Ibn Ḥajar said, "The killing of ´Ammār made it clear that ´Alī was right. The Ahl al-Sunnah have consensus in regards to this, although there was disagreement in this regards in the old days."[5992] Apparently, the disagreement in the old days arose only from the fact that the Umayyads and their loyal supporters labeled ´Alī (ع) as the transgressor.

The fact that an army of transgressors could arise from among the companions of the Prophet (ص) and their followers is proof that the view that the companions were all just, pious, scholarly believers worthy of emulation is not true, unless one intends to emulate some of them in their transgressions. As such, it is our job to tell which companions were with the truth and which were the transgressors so that we follow the example of the just and pious ones, while at the same time avoiding the errors of the transgressors.

When Mu´āwīyah was confronted with the Prophet's (ص) tradition about ´Ammār, he said, "The ones who killed him are the ones who brought him here."[5993] Some consider this an act of ijtihād for which Mu´āwīyah will be rewarded. They yet again forget that ijtihād is not intended to replace the Qur`ān, Sunnah, and common sense, but rather to ascertain the truth when there is no obvious answer in the Qur`ān and Sunnah. If the one who brings a martyr to battle is his killer, then the Prophet (ص) would have been the killer of Ḥamzah as well as the killer of all the other martyrs at Uḥud.

Some go even further in this matter, claiming that since the verse of the Qur`ān cited above says, "And if two groups among the believers fight," this verse shows that both Mu´āwīyah and ´Alī (ع) were believers. This, however, is not true, as the verse was not specifically revealed in regards to ´Alī (ع) and Mu´āwīyah. Furthermore, the verse refers to expressed belief in Islām, not what is in the hearts of the two sides. Indeed, it can be argued that the verse is in regards to a situation in which two armies of believers are fighting, not when the believers fight hypocrites, which falls under the purview of the verse that says, "Fight the disbelievers and the hypocrites and be harsh against them. Their abode is hell, an awful destination."[5994]

When a number of Arab tribes remained Muslim in every way imaginable but simply refused to hand their charity and perhaps even just their voluntary charity over to Abū Bakr, Abū Bakr considered them to be apostates, and ordered them to be massacred,

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5988. Mustadrak Ḥākim #6360; Majma´ al-Zawā`id #12054.

5989. Usd al-Ghābah 3:298 #3789 (´Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib). The following sources also cite Ibn ´Umar's regret for not fighting the army of transgressors without mentioning that it was at his deathbed: Istī´āb 3:214 #1875 (´Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib); Usd al-Ghābah 3:299 #3789 (´Alī Ibn Abī Ṭālib); Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:229. Of note, Ibn ´Umar's comments at his deathbed may have been referring specifically to the army of Ḥajjāj (refer to chapter 85 for a discussion on Ḥajjāj), but his other statements clearly show that he regretted not fighting the transgressors alongside ´Alī (ع), as he was obligated to according to the Qur`ān.

5990. Kanz al-´Ummāl #32970; Tārīkh Damishq 42:473.

5991. Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:296.

5992. Iṣābah 2:1295 #5690 (´Alī Ibn Abī Ṭālib).

5993. Musnad Ḥanbal #6499; Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:69; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:299-300; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:71; Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:74, 1:328.

5994. Qur`ān 9:73.

allowing their sons, wives, and daughters to be taken away as slaves.[5995] How is it that the tribes who failed to hand over charity to Abū Bakr were apostates, while Mu´āwīyah and the Syrians were believers even though they refused to pledge allegiance to ´Alī (ع) and most certainly withheld zakāt and other funds from him? If anyone claims that it is because Mu´āwīyah was a companion, this argument gets him nowhere, because the other "apostates" such as Mālik ibn Nuwayrah were companions as well according to the Sunnī definition because he died believing in Islām after having met the Prophet (ص) as a Muslim.[5996] Indeed, what Mu´āwīyah did was far worse than what many of those tribes that Abū Bakr fought had done. Unfortunately, the caliphs had a role in formulating Sunnī beliefs, which were intended to absolve the enemies of ´Alī (ع) and to provide immunities to those who opposed, fought, and killed the Ahl al-Bayt (ع), so these beliefs were not formed with consistency in mind.

Furthermore, the verse makes it clear that even if both sides are believers, it is possible for one side to be the transgressor. Since the consensus of the Muslims states that ´Alī (ع) was not the transgressor and the killing of ´Ammār confirmed that Mu´āwīyah was the transgressor, then the issue is no longer a battle between moral equals, but rather a battle between non-transgressing believers and transgressors. The Qur`ānic verse makes it clear that the transgressors must be fought until they return to the ordinance of Allāh. As such, Mu´āwīyah had violated the ordinance of Allāh, and we are justified for condemning him for this. Anyone who refuses to oppose Mu´āwīyah's rebellion is violating this explicit command of the Qur`ān, and those who excuse him for his rebellion are merely excusing transgression.

Ibn Ḥazm said, "´Ammār was killed by the companions of Mu´āwīyah, may Allāh be pleased with him. They were interpreters (muta`awillīn) who interpreted in this regards. If they erred, they will be rewarded with a single reward because they intended to do good and because they were among the interpreters."[5997] With such words, he opposed the Sunnah of the Prophet (ص), belittled the blood of the martyrs of Islām, and glorified the transgressors. It is truly astonishing that someone who would excuse the shedding of ´Ammār's blood would go by the title "Sunnī" when all he did was belittle the Sunnah of the Prophet (ص). It is very clear that the Prophet (ص) did not see the shedding c ´Ammār's blood as a matter of interpretation when he said that ´Ammār would be kille by an army of transgressors, and he clarified that, "´Ammār will be killed by an army o transgressors who call them to the fire while [his companions] call them towards paradise."[5998] Similarly, ´Alī (ع) did not see the matter as an issue of difference of ijtihād, but rather as the battle between the believers—that is, his Shī´ah—and those who had transgressed against Allāh and His religion—that is, the army of transgressors (fi`ah al-bāghīyah). ´Alī (ع) said,

> This is indeed an important and grave matter—that evil ones, who are not regarded with favor but are fearful of Islām and its people, duped a large part of this community and caused their hearts to drink the love of fitnah (discord), winning over their wandering desires with lies and falsehood. They have raised war against us in putting out the light of Allāh.[5999]

[5995] Refer to chapter 51.

[5996] Mālik ibn Nuwayrah has been listed among the companions in Iṣābah 3:1760-1 #7698, Usd al-Ghābah 4:39-40 #4655, and Istī´āb 3:417 #2331 (Mālik ibn Nuwayrah).

[5997] Al-Muḥallā of Ibn Ḥazm 11:97.

[5998] Musnad Ḥanbal #11879.

[5999] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:74.

The Prophet (ص) said in regards to these people,

> After me there will be a group who will fight ʹAlī. Allāh has made it right [for you] to fight them. If one cannot fight them with his hands, he is to do so with his tongue. If he cannot do so with his tongue, he is to do so with his heart. There is nothing else other than this [that is allowed for the believers].[6000]

He also said, "ʹAlī is the leader of the righteous (imām al-bararah) and the killer of the evil (qātil al-fajarah). Whoever helps him will be helped and whoever forsakes him will be forsaken."[6001] The Prophet (ص) clearly did not call for us to excuse Muʹāwīyah's transgressions but to oppose them. Indeed, by calling Muʹāwīyah and his troops the qāsiṭīn, the Prophet (ص) disproved the entire Sunnī view of the companions. Although typically translated into English as "deviants", the word qāsiṭīn more specifically means those who do not act with qisṭ (justice) and is therefore best translated as "unjust oppressors." Yet, the Sunnīs claim that all companions, including Muʹāwīyah, were just (ʹudūl), even though the qāsiṭīn are the exact opposites of the ʹudūl. As such, the Sunnī view of the companions being all just is clearly contradicted by the words of the Prophet (ص).

The Appointment of Arbitrators

Upon noting Mālik al-Ashtar's stunning advances, ʹAlī (ع) saw the imminent victory of his men, and began to send reinforcements to vanquish the Syrian army.[6002] ʹAmr ibn ʹĀṣ, realizing that their utter defeat was imminent, went to Muʹāwīyah and said,

> What if I put something to you that can only increase our unity and their division? ...We will raise the maṣāḥif (copies of the Qurʹān) and say, "Their contents are to be authoritative in our dispute." Even if some of them refuse to accept it, you will find that some of them will say, "Indeed, yes, we must accept," and there will be a division between them. If, on the other hand, they say, "Yes, indeed, we accept what is in it," then we will have disburdened ourselves of this fighting and this warfare until an appointed time or a later occasion.[6003]

This scheme was implemented and it worked just as planned. Some of ʹAlī's (ع) men came to him and said, "If we are called to the Book of Allāh, we are bound to respond." ʹAlī (ع) replied to them, "The only reason I have fought against them was so that they should adhere to the authority of this Book."[6004] Misʹar ibn Fadakī al-Tamīmī and Zayd ibn Ḥuṣayn al-Ṭāʹī al-Sinbisī who later became Khārijītes said, "ʹAlī, respond to the Book of Allāh when you are called to it. Otherwise we shall indeed deliver you up entirely to the enemy or do what we did with [ʹUthmān] Ibn ʹAffān (i.e. kill you)." ʹAlī (ع) replied, "Do not forget that I forbade you to do this and remember your words to me."[6005] They forced ʹAlī (ع) to recall Mālik al-Ashtar from the battlefield, saying, "Send to al-Ashtar and have him come to you, or we will kill you as we killed [ʹUthmān] ibn ʹAffān."[6006] Al-Ashtar complained, "Now is not the time for you to move me from my post. I am

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6000. Majmaʹ al-Zawāʹid #14764; Muʹjam al-Kabīr Ṭabarānī 1:321; Kanz al-ʹUmmāl #32971, #40266.
6001. Jāmiʹ al-Ṣaghīr Suyūṭī #5591; Kanz al-ʹUmmāl #32909; Tārīkh Damishq 42:383 (two traditions).
6002. Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:77.
6003. Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:78; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:73. Similarly, Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:302.
6004. Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:79.
6005. Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:79; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:74; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:303.
6006. Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:80.

expecting success in the battle; do not rush me."[6007] ʿAlī (ع) told him, "Come to me, for the fitnah (tribulation) has come."[6008] Al-Ashtar arrived and gave an eloquent speech on the subject,[6009] but they told him, "Leave us alone, Ashtar! ...We will not obey you or your master."[6010]

Ashʿath ibn Qays, rather pleased with ʿAlī's (ع) forced acquiescence, went to Muʿāwīyah to see what he was seeking. Muʿāwīyah told him that each side should send a man whom they find acceptable, the two men would be charged with following the Qurʾān, and everyone else would follow whatever the two arbitrators were to agree upon. Ashʿath said, "That is just." The Syrians then informed him of their choice of ʿAmr ibn ʿĀṣ as their arbitrator.[6011]

Ashʿath then returned to ʿAlī (ع) and told him, "We are content with Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī." ʿAlī (ع) said, "You disobeyed me in the start of this business; do not disobey me now. I do not think I should grant power to Abū Mūsā."[6012] They replied, "We insist on someone who is equally distant from you and Muʿāwīyah," so ʿAlī (ع) recommended al-Ashtar. They replied, "Was it anybody but al-Ashtar who caused this conflagration in the land?" ʿAlī (ع) then said, "Do you then refuse to accept anybody but Abū Mūsā?" and the men replied, "Yes." ʿAlī (ع) said, "Then do what you want."[6013] Al-Ashtar asked to be assigned to ʿAmr ibn ʿĀṣ so that he could kill him when he saw him and Aḥnaf ibn Qays complained that he had found Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī to be "dull-witted and shallow," but the people insisted on their choice of Abū Mūsā, so ʿAlī (ع) was left with no choice but to surrender to their coercive demands.[6014]

A ceasefire agreement was then drawn up according to which the two arbitrators were told to "act in accordance with whatever they [found] in the Book of Allāh; for whatever they [did] not find in the Book of Allāh, they [were to] resort to just precedent (al-sunnah al-ʿādilah), which unites and does not divide."[6015] The agreement, signed in the month of Ṣafar, stipulated that they would meet in Ramaḍān, eight months later.[6016] Mālik a Ashtar was summoned to sign the agreement, but he refused. Ashʿath ibn Qa complained, and al-Ashtar replied, "Allāh has shed by my sword the blood of men n worse than you in my view." Ashʿath was so enraged that "it was as if charcoal has bee crushed on his nose."[6017] ʿAlī (ع) said, "Would that there were two like [al-Ashtar] among you; would that there was one like him, who sees my foe as I do."[6018]

Upon completion of the document, Ashʿath read it to the men and ʿUrwah ibn Udayyah said, "Do you appoint men as arbitrators in Allāh's business? 'Authority (al-ḥukm) belongs to Allāh alone.'[6019]"[6020] The Khārijītes thus started separating from ʿAlī's (ع) forces.[6021] ʿAlī (ع) criticized his men, saying, "You have done something that has demolished strength, brought down might, caused weakness, and bequeathed lowliness... I do not think that henceforth you will agree upon right conduct or achieve a gate of discretion."[6022] As Ṭabarī's account put it,

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[6007] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:80; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:304.
[6008] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:80; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:74; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:303.
[6009] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:80-1; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:74; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:303-4.
[6010] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:81.
[6011] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:82; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:75.
[6012] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:82; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:75.
[6013] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:82-3; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:75.
[6014] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:83; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:75.
[6015] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:85-6; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:75; Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:331; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 2:234.
[6016] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:93.
[6017] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:87; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:76.
[6018] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:93; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:76.
[6019] Qurʾān 6:57, 12:40, 12:67.
[6020] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:88.
[6021] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:90; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:309; Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:335; Tārīkh Damishq 27:103.

> They left for Ṣiffīn with ʿAlī full of brotherly love and affection, and they came back with mutual hatred and enmity. Before they had left their camp at Ṣiffīn, the cry, 'Authority belongs to Allāh alone,' had spread among them... When ʿAlī entered Kūfah, [the Khārijītes] did not go in with him but went to Ḥarūrā`[6023], where 12,000 of them encamped.[6024]

In contrast to the Khārijītes who had deserted them, ʿAlī's (ɛ) loyal companions gave him a second pledge of allegiance upon entering Kūfah, declaring, "We are the friends of those whom you befriend and enemies of those to whom you are an enemy."[6025]

The Meeting of the Arbitrators

In Ramaḍān of the year 37 A.H. the two arbitrators met at Dūmah al-Jandal[6026], bringing 400 men each, as stipulated.[6027] At that time, Mughīrah ibn Shuʿbah joined Muʿāwīyah's camp, as he had claimed neutrality beforehand, taking up residence in Ṭā`if.[6028] ʿAmr ibn ʿĀṣ asked Abū Mūsā, "Do you not know that ʿUthmān was killed unjustly?" He replied, "I testify to that." ʿAmr said, "Do you not know that Muʿāwīyah and the family of Muʿāwīyah are his closest kin?" He answered, "Yes, indeed." ʿAmr then said, "Allāh has said, 'Whoever is killed unjustly, we have given authority to his next-of-kin (walī); but do not let him (the walī) go to excess in killing [in revenge].'[6029]"[6030] He then said, "If Muʿāwīyah rules, he will bestow on you honors such as no caliph has ever granted."[6031] Abū Mūsā replied, "By Allāh, even if all of Muʿāwīyah's authority devolved on me, I would not give him power, and I am not to be bribed in [a matter concerning] the authority (ḥukm) of Allāh. But if you wish we will revive the name of ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb (i.e. appoint his son, ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar)."[6032] ʿAmr refused to accept Ibn ʿUmar as caliph,[6033] instead suggesting that they appoint his own son ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAmr ibn ʿĀṣ as caliph, but Abū Mūsā refused.[6034] As such, Abū Mūsā said, "I think we should depose these two men and make the matter consultative between the Muslims, who will choose for themselves whomever they like," and ʿAmr agreed.[6035]

ʿAmr then told Abū Mūsā to go ahead and speak first in proclaiming their decision. Ibn ʿAbbās said, "Woe to you, by Allāh, I suspect that he has tricked you. If you have both agreed on something, let him go first and speak about that thing before you, and then you speak after him. ʿAmr is a treacherous man." Abū Mūsā, not heeding Ibn ʿAbbās' advice, said, "We have agreed."[6036] Abū Mūsā then proclaimed, "ʻAmr [and I] have agreed. That is, that we should depose ʻAlī and Muʻāwīyah and that the community should confront the issue and appoint over themselves from among themselves whomever it is that they want."[6037] ʻAmr then declared, "This fellow has spoken as you have heard and declared the deposition of the one whom he represents. Similarly, I declare that he is deposed and I confirm my support for my candidate Muʻāwīyah. He is the next of kin of ʻUthmān ibn ʻAffān and the one who seeks vengeance for his blood. Of all the people, he has the most right to take his place."[6038] Abū Mūsā said, "What are you doing, may Allāh foil you? You have acted treacherously and unrighteously," and then hurled some insults at him. ʻAmr replied, "And you are 'like the donkey which carries writings'[6039]."[6040] Shurayḥ attacked ʻAmr, lashing him with a whip, and later used to say, "There is nothing I regret more than my striking at ʻAmr with a whip. If only I had struck him with a sword and let fate bring him what it would."[6041] Abū Mūsā then retired to Mecca. Abū Mūsā later said, "Ibn ʻAbbās warned me of the treachery of the evil-doer (fāsiq) (i.e. ʻAmr ibn ʻĀṣ), but I trusted him and did not imagine that he would put anything above sincere advice to this community."[6042]

[6022] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:89.

[6023] A locale near Kūfah (Tārīkh Damishq 27:103).

[6024] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:98. The last statement also appears in Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:309, and the separation of 12,000 or 8,000 Khārijītes at that time is cited in Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:335 and Tārīkh Damishq 27:103, respectively.

[6025] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:100; Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:336; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:78.

[6026] Dūmah al-Jandal is a location on the road from Damascus to Madīnah (Muʿjam al-Buldān 2:487).

[6027] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:104; Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:337; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:312-3; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:79.

[6028] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 18:10.

[6029] Qur`ān 17:33.

[6030] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:105; Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:337.

[6031] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:106.

[6032] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:106-7; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:80.

[6033] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:109.

[6034] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:107, 17:108-109; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:80.

[6035] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:109; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:80.

As such, the arbitration ended up as a demoralizing event for ʻAlī's (ع) troops, as they had turned a victory on the battlefield into a diplomatic draw. They did not recognize ʻAmr's appointment of Muʻāwīyah to the caliphate because it was not based on the Qurʾān and Sunnah, which was what the arbitrators had been charged with basing their decision on in the first place. As such, the outcome of the arbitration was the status quo—Muʻāwīyah remained in control of Syria, while ʻAlī (ع) remained as the caliph in control of the rest of the Muslim lands, with continued mutual hostilities between the two sides.

[6036] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:109; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:80. Similarly, Tārīkh Damishq 46:173.

[6037] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:109; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:314; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:80; Ansāb al-Ashrāf 3:338; Tārīkh Damishq 46:173.

[6038] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:109; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:314; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:80; Ansāb al-Ashrāf 3:338; Tārīkh Damishq 46:173.

[6039] Qurʾān 62:5.

[6040] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:109-10; Tārīkh Damishq 49:293.

[6041] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:110; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:81. Shurayḥ's striking ʻAmr with his whip also appears in Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:338 and Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:314.

[6042] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:110.

Chapter 84
Blind Obedience to Mu´āwīyah

Incidents Demonstrating Blind Obedience to Mu´āwīyah

Account 1: The He-Camel and the She-Camel

According to Mas´ūdī,

> A man from Kūfah went to Damascus after [the Battle of] Ṣiffīn with his he-camel and a man from Damascus said, "This is my she-camel! It was taken from me during [the Battle of] Ṣiffīn." The issue was taken to Mu´āwīyah and fifty Damascan men came forth giving testimony that it was the [Damascan] man's she-camel. Mu´āwīyah judged against the Kūfan and ordered him to surrender the he-camel to [the plaintiff]. The Kūfan said, "May Allāh rectify you (aṣlaḥaka Allāh)! This is a she-camel and not a he-camel!" Mu´āwīyah said, "This is a judgment that has been completed." After everyone scattered, Mu´āwīyah called for the Kūfan and met with him privately. He asked about the price of his camel and gave him twice its worth, and he treated him nicely and kindly. [Mu´āwīyah then] told him, "Inform ´Alī that I will fight him with one hundred thousand [men], not one amongst whom knows the difference between a he-camel and a she-camel."[6043]

Account 2: Offering Friday Prayers on a Wednesday

According to Mas´ūdī, on their way to Ṣiffīn, Mu´āwīyah prayed the Friday prayers with them on a Wednesday.[6044] Apparently, no one protested.

Account 3: Blaming ´Ammār's Martyrdom on ´Alī (ع)

According to Ṭabarī,

> ...[There were] two men [assigned] to [stand by] ´Ammār's horse to guard him and prevent him from being attacked. But, whenever they were distracted for a moment, he would himself make an attack and not come back until he had stained his sword [with blood]. And once he made an attack and did not return until his sword had bent out of shape. He threw it at them, saying, "If it were not that it has bent, I would not have come back." ...´Ammār was saying, "...Paradise is beneath the shadows of the swords and death in the tips of the spears. The gates of heaven have been opened, and the houris have adorned

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[6043] Murūj al-Dhahab 3:41.
[6044] Murūj al-Dhahab 3:41.

> themselves. Today I shall meet the beloved ones, Muḥammad and his party." Neither [ʿAmmār nor Hishām ibn ʿUtbah (the flag-bearer)] returned, and both were killed...
>
> ʿAbd Allāh [ibn ʿAmr ibn ʿĀṣ] said to his father, "Father, have you killed this man in your fighting today, even though the Messenger of Allāh has said what he said about him?" ʿAmr asked what that was, and his son said, "Were you not with us while we were building the mosque and everyone was moving stone by stone and brick by brick while ʿAmmār brought two stones and two bricks at a time? The effort caused him to faint, and the Messenger of Allāh came to him and began wiping the dust from his face, saying, 'Alas for you, Ibn Sumayyah[6045]! The people transport stone by stone and brick by brick while you move two stones and two bricks at a time, desiring [divine] reward. In spite of that, the usurping party will kill you. Alas for you.'" ʿAmr pushed ʿAbd Allāh's horse away and pulled Muʿāwīyah toward him. He said, "Muʿāwīyah, do you not hear what ʿAbd Allāh is saying?" Muʿāwīyah asked what it was, and ʿAmr reported the story. Muʿāwīyah said, "You are a stupid old man. You keep on telling stories,[6046] while you slither about in your piss. Was it we who killed ʿAmmār? It was only those who brought him here." And those men came out from their tents and bivouacs, saying, "It was only those who brought ʿAmmār who killed him."[6047]

<u>Account 4: Spreading the Rumor that ʿAlī (ع) Had Abandoned Prayer</u>

During the Battle of Ṣiffīn, a Syrian soldier told Hāshim ibn ʿUtbah, one of ʿAlī's (ع) loyal commanders, "I am fighting you because your master does not perform the prayer ritual, as I a have been told, and neither do you; I am fighting you because your master killed our caliph and you urged him to do it." Hāshim replied,

> What have you got to do with [ʿUthmān] ibn ʿAffān? It was the companions o Muḥammad and the sons of his companions and the qurrā` (reciters of th Qur`ān) of the people who killed him when he introduced innovations (aḥdāth and opposed the authority (ḥukm) of the Book. They were people of religion (dīn) and more worthy of handling the affairs of the people than are you and your companions... As for what you said about our master not performing the prayer ritual, he was the first one to do so and he is the most knowledgeable (afqah) of Allāh's creatures regarding the religion of Allāh and the closest to the Messenger. As for those whom you see with me, each one of them is a reciter (qāri`) of the Book of Allāh, not sleeping at night in his vigil. Do not allow these deluded miscreants to turn you away from your religion... Turn in repentance to Allāh and He will relent toward you.[6048]

[6045] In this context, referring to someone by their mother's name is an act of endearment.

[6046] Literally, "you will not desist from telling ḥadith (lā tazālu tuḥaddithu bi-al-ḥadīth)" (Ṭabarī 17:69, footnote #285).

[6047] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:69. Similar accounts of Muʿāwīyah's response appear in the following sources: Musnad Ḥanbal #6499-6500, #6926-7, #17813; Mustadrak Ḥākim #2663 (certifies the tradition as authentic by the criteria of Bukhārī and Muslim), #5659 (certifies the tradition as authentic by the criteria of Bukhārī and Muslim), #5660; Sunan al-Kubrā Nasā`ī #8553; Sunan al-Kubrā Bayhaqī #16567; Majmaʿ al-Zawā`id #12048-9, #15618, #15621; Muṣannaf ʿAbd al-Razzāq #20427; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 6:240, 7:299-300; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:71; Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:74, 1:328; Muʿjam al-Kabīr Ṭabarānī 19:330-1; Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 3:253; Tārīkh Damishq 43:413–4 (two accounts), 43:424-5 (two accounts), 43:430-1 (two traditions), 43:480.

[6048] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:71-2.

Upon hearing this, the young man repented and abandoned the Syrian army. According to Ṭabarī,

> The youth, on returning [to his own side], abandoned his fellows. One of the Syrians said to him, "The Iraqi has cheated you, the Iraqi has cheated you." He replied, "No, he has given me sincere advice."[6049]

Account 5: Complete Submission to Mu´āwīyah

After ´Alī's (ع) forces had repelled Mu´āwīyah's forces from the Euphrates, ensuring that ´Alī's (ع) forces had ample access to drinking water, ´Alī (ع) sent his forces to cut off the supply lines for Mu´āwīyah's army. According to Ibn Qutaybah,

> When Mu´āwīyah was informed of this... Mu´āwīyah gathered [his] people and said, "I have received news from somewhere regarding a serious matter." They said, "O Commander of the Faithful! There is no role for us in [deciding] anything that you enjoin upon us, as [our duty] is only to listen and to obey." ´Alī was informed of what Mu´āwīyah had said and what the people of Syria had said [in response], and he wanted to know the thoughts of the people of Iraq. He gathered them and said, "O people! I have received some news from somewhere." Ibn al-Kawwā`[6050] and his companions said, "We have a say in every matter. You must inform us of whatever has come to you so that we can give you our advice." ´Alī sobbed and said, "By Allāh! The son of Hind (i.e. Mu´āwīyah) has become victorious by the consensus of the people of Syria in his favor and your disputes regarding me. By Allāh! His falsehood will defeat your truth."[6051]

Discussion

These traditions show that Mu´āwīyah's followers gave him their complete loyalty. They questioned neither what he said nor what he did, to the point no one even questioned why Friday prayers were being offered on a Wednesday, and to the point that fifty men would testify that a he-camel was a she-camel if that was what they perceived would please Mu´āwīyah. They even believed that ´Alī (ع) and his followers had abandoned prayer, being deluded into thinking that they were fighting apostates on the behalf of the true believers. Moreover, no one among the Syrians questioned Mu´āwīyah's absurd argument that ´Alī (ع) was the killer of ´Ammār, even though, by that logic, the Prophet (ص) would have been the killer of Ḥamzah, since he was the one who had brought his uncle to the battlefield at Uḥud. Indeed, in every critical life-and-death matter, the Syrians trusted Mu´āwīyah completely. Mu´āwīyah actively promoted this mentality of blind submission and utter ignorance, and he even bragged about it and wanted to make sure that ´Alī (ع) knew about it. As such, it was very easy for Mu´āwīyah to trick the Syrians into believing that ´Uthmān had died oppressed and that ´Alī (ع) was responsible for his death, and to thereby manipulate the Syrians into fighting a wrongful battle. This loyalty to Mu´āwīyah shows how easy it was for the Umayyad rulers to introduce innovations. Fifty companions and successors would be instantaneously available to testify that each and every innovation of Mu´āwīyah was part of the Prophet's (ص) Sunnah. One cannot trust such a group of people with faithfully transmitting Islām's teachings. Were it not for the Ahl al-Bayt (ع), it would be impossible to tell the innovations of Mu´āwīyah from the Sunnah of Muḥammad (ص), and one could easily be following the Sufyānīd religion instead of the Muḥammadan one.

[6049] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:72.

[6050] Ibn al-Kawwā` was a Kūfan who opposed ´Uthmān (Tārīkh Ṭabarī 15:125), then joined ´Alī (ع), then became a Khārijite leader (Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:102), then abandoned the Khārijītes prior to the outbreak of fighting in Battle of Nahrawān to rejoin ´Alī (Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:339, 1:346), and then incited ´Alī (ع) to resume hostilities with the Syrians (Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:138).

[6051] Imāmah wa Sīyāsah 106.

The Spreading of Lies About the Shī´ah

The problem is that, to this day, the mentality that Mu´āwīyah cultivated among his men has persisted in parts of the Muslim world. Just as Mu´āwīyah told his followers that ´Alī (ع) had abandoned prayers, the enemies of the Shī´ah today pass on absurd lies about the Shī´ah, and it is not uncommon to encounter people who have heard such lies repeated so often that they take them to be truths. Examples include the claim that the Shī´ah consider their imāms to be prophets, that the Shī´ah believe that Gabriel (ع) mistakenly brought the message to the Prophet (ص) instead of to ´Alī (ع), that the Shī´ah believe in a Qur`ān other than the one currently in circulation among the Muslims, that the Shī´ah offer only three prayers a day instead of five, that the Shī´ah curse the first three caliphs at the end of each prayer when they are in fact saying "Allāhu Akbar (Allāh is greater)" three times, that the Shī´ah worship dirt (turbah), that the Shī´ah pray to the graves of their imāms, and that the Shī´ah have an annual ritual in which they all enter a dark room and have an orgy! Needless to say, these are all lies, and such lies are attributed to the Shī´ah not because they are true, but because they necessitate the repudiation of anyone who would adopt such beliefs or engage in such acts. Indeed, to immunize the minds of the masses to the truth, the enemies of the Shī´ah promote the belief that the Shī´ah are always engaging in taqīyyah, so if anyone were to encounter a Shī´ah denying the truth of such false allegations, it would just be out of taqīyyah.

Modern Parallel: The Location of Najd from Which the Horn of Satan wi Emerge

Unfortunately, some are so gullible that they will believe anything, even that a Wednesday is a Friday or that a he-camel is a she-camel, as long as their leaders say so. A clear example of this today is with respect to the location of Najd in the traditions predicting the rise of the horn of Satan from Najd, as the Wahhābīs claim that Najd is not referring to Najd but to some other land. Geographically, Najd is the central plateau of the Arabian Peninsula that is bound in the west by Ḥijāz, in the east by historical Baḥrayn which comprised the coastal areas of the Persian Gulf, in the north by Syria and Iraq, and in the south by Yemen.[6052] As such, Najd lies directly to the east of Madīnah. The following are two traditions in Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī in regards to the emergence of the horn of Satan from Najd:

1. [The Prophet] said, "O Allāh! Bless our Shām and our Yemen (i.e. our north and south)." People said, "Our Najd as well." The Prophet again said, "O Allāh! Bless our Shām and Yemen." They said again, "Our Najd as well." On that, the Prophet said, "There will appear earthquakes and afflictions, and from there will come out the head (qarn, horn) of Satan."[6053]

2. The Prophet said, "O Allāh! Bestow Your blessings on our Shām (north)! O Allāh! Bestow Your blessings on our Yemen (south)." The people said, "And

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[6052] Mu´jam al-Buldān 5:262.
[6053] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #2.17.147.

> also on our Najd." He said, "O Allāh! Bestow Your blessings on our Shām! O Allāh! Bestow Your blessings on our Yemen." The people said, "O Allāh's Apostle! And also on our Najd." I think the third time the Prophet said, "There (i.e. in Najd) is the place of earthquakes and afflictions and from there comes out the head (qarn, horn) of Satan."[6054]

Clearly, the Prophet (ص) was blessings the lands to the south and north of Ḥijāz—i.e. Yemen and Shām (Syria-Palestine), respectively, while saying that nothing good would come from the lands to the east—i.e. Najd. The problem recently is that Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, the founder of the Wahhābī sect, was from Najd, and the family of Saud who rule the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia are from Najd and their capital city is Rīyāḍ, which is almost directly to the east of Madīnah in Najd. As such, the Wahhābīs feel forced to assert that Najd in the Prophet's (ص) tradition is not referring to Najd, but to Iraq because they assert that Najd can refer to any area to the east, and Iraq is to the east of Madīnah. The problem here is that anyone looking at a map or a globe can readily see that the area to the east of Madīnah is Najd and not Iraq, which is situated in a north-northeasterly direction. Furthermore, if the land from which the head of Satan will rise was Iraq, the Prophet (ص) would have blessed Najd, as there would have been no reason for him not to do so. In addition, the word for Iraq back then was Iraq (ʿIrāq), not Najd, so he could have criticized Iraq instead of Najd. Another claim is that Najd refers to any elevated land, and therefore Iraq is intended. This, however, is clearly not the case, because Iraq would refer to what is currently southern and central Iraq, which is flat and low elevation. The mountainous portion of Iraq is far to the north, and clearly would not have been called Iraq until modern times. Najd, in contrast, is an evelated plateau. As such, it is clear that even definite geographical statements have had to be later re-interpreted in patently false ways in attempts to pervert the Prophet's (ص) words.

Furthermore, it is absolutely clear that the Prophet (ص) distinguished Najd from Iraq. According to Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, when explaining the points for the people coming from various lands to stop and assume the iḥrām for ḥajj and ʿumrah, the Prophet (ص) indicated that the Iraqis must enter the iḥrām at Dhāt ʿIrq, while the people from Najd must do so at Qarn,[6055] thereby clearly showing that he considered Iraq and Najd to be distinct lands. Furthermore, Sunan Abū Dāwūd includes a tradition stating, "We went out to Najd with Allāh's Messenger (ص) until we arrived at Dhāt al-Riqāʿ, where he met a group from the Ghaṭafān."[6056] Clearly, Najd was Najd and not Iraq.

Indeed, even though the Prophet (ص) was generous in praising neighboring lands, not a single tradition praises Najd. This is evident because had he ever praised Najd in any tradition, the Wahhābīs would have ensured the tradition's widespread fame. As such, out of desperation, they have resorted to claiming that traditions praising the Banū Tamīm prove a virtue for Najd, as they are among the inhabitants of Najd. The one tradition commonly cited in this regards is the following in Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī:

> Abū Hurayrah said: I have loved the people of the tribe of Banū Tamīm ever since I heard, three things Allāh's Apostle said about them. I heard him saying, "These people will stand firm against Dajjāl." When the ṣadaqāt (gifts of charity) from that tribe came, Allāh's Apostle said, "These are the ṣadaqāt of our folk."

[6054] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #9.88.214.
[6055] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #7.2666.
[6056] Sunan Abū Dāwūd #1241.

> ʿĀʾishah had a slave-girl from that tribe, and the Prophet said to ʿĀʾishah, "Manumit her, as she is a descendant of Ishmael."[6057]

The problem with this tradition is that two of its statements are not particular virtues. Calling them "our folk" is no particular virtue because all Muslims are the Prophet's (ص) folk, and calling them the descendants of Ishmael is no particular virtue, as all Arabs are the descendants of Ishmael. Furthermore, the chain of this transmission is problematic because Abū Zurʿah related this from Abū Hurayrah, even though Ibn Ḥajar said that his traditions from Abū Hurayrah were unconnected, lacking intermediary sources.[6058]

Furthermore, praise of various Arab tribes for different characteristics was common and in no way proves a particular virtue for the Banū Tamīm. Quite to the contrary, the Prophet (ص) clearly thought of the Banū Tamīm as among the worst of Arab tribes, as is evident from his statements, according to which he cited other tribes as being superior to the Banū Tamīm. According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, the Prophet (ص) explicitly stated that the tribes of Juhaynah, Muzaynah, Aslam, and Ghifār were better than the Banū Tamīm.[6059] Clearly, the Banū Tamīm were among the worst of Arab tribes from the Prophet's (ص) perspective. Indeed, the Prophet (ص) had no tolerance for hearing the virtues of the Banū Tamīm. When a delegation came from the Banū Tamīm full of praise for their own tribe and with poetry praising themselves, the Prophet (ص) had his companions answer them and compose poems in opposition to them.[6060] Moreover, when someone went to the Prophet (ص) and said, "The best of people... are the people of Najd," the Prophet (ص) replied, "You lie!" He then added, "Aslam, Ghifār, and their associates from Juhaynah are better than Asad, Tamīm, Ghaṭafān, and Hawāzin in the [eyes of] Allāh on the Day of Judgment."[6061]

Furthermore, the Qurʾān categorizes the majority of the Banū Tamīm as people devoid of understanding when it says, "Those who shout out to you from outside the quarters, mos of them lack understanding."[6062] It is widely if not universally accepted that this ver was revealed when people from the Banū Tamīm who were visiting Madīnah called th Prophet (ص) from outside his room in a rude manner.[6063] Mujāhid said with respect t this verse, "[It pertains to] the Arabs of the Banū Tamīm,"[6064] and Bishr ibn Ghālib told Ḥajjāj, "[This verse] was revealed in regards to your tribe, the Banū Tamīm."[6065] The fact that the Banū Tamīm lacked understanding is also clear in the following tradition in Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī:

> The people of Banū Tamīm came to Allāh's Apostle, and he said, "Have good tidings, O Banu Tamīm!" They said, "As you have given us good tidings then give us [some material things]." On that, the face of Allāh's Apostle changed [due to anger]. Then some people from Yemen came, and the Prophet said [to

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[6057] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #3.46.719 (Arabic original #2405). Similarly, Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.59.652 (Arabic original #4508).

[6058] Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb vol 12 #451 (Abū Zurʿah ibn ʿAmr).

[6059] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #4.56.718-9, #8.78.630.

[6060] Sīrah Ibn Isḥāq 628-631.

[6061] Musnad Ḥanbal #19463; Majmaʿ al-Zawāʾid #16546.

[6062] Qurʾān49:4.

[6063] Tafsīr Ṭabarī, Tafsīr Zamakhsharī, Tafsīr Qurṭubī, Tafsīr Bayḍāwī, Tafsīr Ibn Kathīr, Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, and Tafsīr Thaʿlabī, verse 49:4.

[6064] Tafsīr Ṭabarī, Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, verse 49:4.

[6065] Tafsīr Ibn Kathīr and Tafsīr Tabarī, verse 49:4.

> them], "Accept good tidings, as the Banū Tamūm have not accepted them." They said, "We accept them, O Allāh's Apostle!"[6066]

Clearly the Banū Tamīm had no insight and the Qur`ān was right in saying that "most of them lack understanding."[6067] Furthermore, the Qur`ān says,

> The Arabs of the desert are the worst in disbelief and hypocrisy, and most fitted to be in ignorance of the commands that Allāh has revealed to His Messenger.[6068]

The Qur`ān also says,

> The desert Arabs say, "We believe." Say, "You have no faith, so [only] say, 'We are Muslim,' for faith has not entered your hearts."[6069]

Moreover, the tribes of Najd were the first to abandon Islām and to follow the false prophet Musaylimah, showing their weakness of faith. As such, they had to be attacked in Yamāmah, which is a land in Najd. Then they were quick to abandon Islām to join the Khārijīte cause. According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī and Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, Dhū al-Khuwayṣirah was from the Banū Tamīm, and the Prophet (ص) said that he and his offspring from the Banū Tamīm would recite the Qur`ān but have no traces of Islām whatsoever.[6070] In later years, the Wahhābī sect arose from Najd and the Saudi monarchy was established from that land and they have never ceased to sew discord among the Muslims.

Clearly Najd is a location devoid of virtue and the location specifically intended by the Prophet (ص) when he said that the horn of Satan will emerge from Najd. Of course, this tradition does not suit the people of Najd, so they have tried in vain to befuddle the matter for unsuspecting Muslims. Instead of praying for Allāh to protect the Muslim nation from the horn of Satan that will arise from Najd, they have instead tried to glorify that land, and by extension the misguided "scholars" who have arisen from that land.

Modern Parallel: The Sighting of the New Lunar Crescent and the Direction of the Qiblah from North America

Another clear example of Muslim gullibility today is with respect to the Islāmic calendar. Every month, most notably during the month of Ramaḍān, there ends up being two or even three opinions as to what the first day of the month is, with the Saudis and their affiliates typically starting each lunar month one day earlier than it actually starts.

Of note, there is no question that the Islāmic month begins not at the moment of the astronomical new moon, but rather at either the visualization of the new lunar crescent or at the completion of thirty days from the commencement of the previous month. This is clearly stated in the following traditions in Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī:

[6066] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #4.54.413, #5.59.651, #5.59.669, #9.93.514. This is a composite of the four nearly identical accounts.

[6067] Qur`ān49:4.

[6068] Qur`ān 9:97.

[6069] Qur`ān 49:14.

[6070] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #8.73.184, #9.84.67, #4.56.807; Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #5.2333. Refer to chapters 26 and 88 for the text of the traditions in this regards.

1. The Prophet (ص) said, "Start fasting upon seeing the crescent [of Ramaḍān], and give up fasting upon seeing the crescent [of Shawwāl], and if the sky is overcast, complete thirty days."[6071]

2. The Prophet (ص) said, "When you see the crescent [of the month of Ramaḍān], start fasting, and when you see the crescent [of the month of Shawwāl], stop fasting; and if [you can't see it because] the sky is overcast, then regard the crescent [month] of Ramaḍān [and complete thirty days]."[6072]

3. Allāh's Apostle mentioned Ramaḍān and said, "Do not fast unless you see the crescent [of Ramaḍān], and do not give up fasting till you see the crescent [of Shawwāl], but if the sky is overcast, then act on estimation (i.e. count the month as thirty days)."[6073]

4. It was noted to Ibn ʹUmar, "The people assume iḥrām [for ḥajj] on seeing the new moon crescent."[6074]

Indeed, even the Saudis believe that visualization of the crescent is necessary, which is why they always come up with two or more witnesses to falsely testify that the crescent has been visualized to support their claim about the start of the lunar month. The problem, however, is that although visualization of a crescent is somewhat dependent on atmospheric conditions and observer experience, there are simple calculations that determine whether it is even possible to sight a new lunar crescent. For example, if the new crescent sets prior to the sun, it would not be visible. As such, a certain angular distance is required between the moon and the sun at the time of sunset to make visualization possible. The Qur`ān confirms that the sun and the moon do not act arbitrarily or haphazardly, but rather based on calculations when it says, "The sun and the moon go by [precise] calculations."[6075] Unfortunately, the Saudi calendar requires routine visualization of crescents that are astronomically impossible to sight. Declaring a new month based on such impossibilities is much like declaring a Wednesday to be a Friday or a he-camel to be a she-camel. Yet, just as no Syrian questioned Muʹāwīyah on thes accounts, many Muslims do not question this Saudi calendar. Moreover, just a Muʹāwīyah could muster fifty witnesses to testify that a he-camel was a she-camel, th Saudis have no trouble finding witnesses to testify that a crescent was visualized at a point in time when the lunar crescent would be impossible to sight.

Moreover, the Saudi rulers have cloaked their scheme in appealing words, claiming that following their calendar is necessary for "Islāmic unity." The problem with Islāmic unity when it comes to lunar months is that the earth is indeed round, and therefore the new lunar crescent cannot be visualized at the same point in time throughout the earth. If the earth were flat like a sheet of paper or a coin and everyone resided on one of its flat surfaces, the new lunar crescent could theoretically be visible at the same exact point in time regardless of one's location on the surface of the earth. However, because the earth is round, visualization of the crescent will routinely occur on three separate calendar days.

This concept may appear abstract, but it is very obvious with astronomical events. For example, the vernal equinox, which defines the start of spring in the Northern Hemisphere and the start of fall in the Southern Hemisphere, occurs at one precise moment in time throughout the world, as does the astronomical new moon. However, that specific point in time will correspond to two different calendar days depending on where on earth one resides. For example, if that astronomical moment in time occurs at 9 P.M. U.S. Eastern Standard Time on a Monday, that exact same point in time will correspond to 2 A.M. Tuesday in London and 5 A.M. Tuesday in Mecca. To argue that the entire world must acknowledge the vernal equinox or the astronomical new moon on either Monday or Tuesday would be absurd, because that moment in time will be on Monday in some parts of the world and on Tuesday in others. To argue that everyone should acknowledge that moment in time on the same calendar day would be like arguing with someone on an international call why they claim the time or the date to be different. Once one takes into account the fact that the earth is round, this issue is easy to understand. For some reason, non-Muslims have no trouble with this concept, yet it has created so much confusion and commotion among Muslims.

[6071] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #3.31.133.
[6072] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #3.31.124.
[6073] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #3.31.130.
[6074] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #1.4.167, #7.72.742.
[6075] Qur`ān 55:5.

Those who do not appear to grasp this concept have proposed that the solution is following astronomical calculations in order to create unity. However, those who propose this forget that if one were to follow astronomical calculations, the new moon would still occur on two different days of the week in different parts of the world, as was just explained.

It appears that some Muslims have acknowledged this problem, so they propose that if the new moon reaches a particular age with respect to the International Date Line or any of the time zones derived thereof, a new month should be declared either worldwide or at least in a particular geographic location, such as North America. Unfortunately, those who propose this are requiring Muslims to accept London as the center of the earth. The International Date Line was created as a line such that the date on the lands to the west of it is one day ahead of date of the lands to the east. This line was not drawn arbitrarily. Rather, the British imperialists figured that London was the center of the earth, so they created a line referred to as the Prime Meridian, the International Meridian, and the Greenwich Meridian. This corresponds to the line of longitude that crosses through the Royal Greenwich Observatory in London. Thus, the time in London is set as Universal Time. The International Date Line appears twelve hours to the east or the west of the Prime Meridian. Therefore, any calculations based on the International Date Line, the Prime Meridian, Universal Time, or any other time zone requires Muslims to acknowledge London as the center of the earth. Muslims should not be fooled by such calls for "unity".

Another simplistic yet erroneous concept that has emerged is that if the new moon crescent is visible at any point of equal longitude or anywhere to the east of a particular location, then the new month is established for that location. This assumes that if the crescent is visible at a particular age at one geographic location, it will only be an older crescent for any points further to the west and would therefore be more readily visible at those points. Yet, this is simply untrue because lines of identical crescent visibility are not straight vertical lines on a map, but rather parabolic lines that run diagonally across the surface of the earth.[6076] Furthermore, this fact is apparent to anyone who ponders the issue. If the sun has set at one location, this by no means implies that the sun has already set in all points further to the east. For example, during the month of December, at the moment of sunset in Detroit, the sun has not yet set in Miami which lies approximately 150 miles to the east. This is due to the difference in latitude between the two locations, with Miami situated significantly closer to the equator than Detroit. This phenomenon becomes even more pronounced as one approaches the North and South Poles. As such, lines of equivalent crescent visibility cannot be substituted with simple lines of longitude drawn vertically on a map, as all points along one line of longitude will never share identical crescent visibility.

[6076] 6076. Refer to www.moonsighting.org for examples of these lines.

It should also be noted that unity when it comes to lunar months is a modern innovation, as it was rejected by the companions. According to Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, Faḍl said,

> I was there in Syria when the month of Ramaḍān commenced. I saw the new moon [of Ramaḍān] on Friday. I then came back to Madīnah at the end of the month. ʹAbd Allāh ibn ʹAbbās asked me [about the new moon of Ramaḍān] and said, "When did you see it?" I said, "We saw it on the night of Friday." He said, "[Did] you see it yourself?" I said, "Yes, and the people also saw it and they observed fast and Muʹāwīyah also observed fast," whereupon he said, "But we saw it on Saturday night. So we would continue to observe fast till we complete thirty [days] or we see [the new crescent of Shawwāl]." I said, "Is the sighting of the moon by Muʹāwīyah not valid for you?" He said, "No; this is how the Messenger of Allāh has commanded us."[6077]

This tradition explicitly states that the people of Madīnah, according to the Sunnah of the Prophet (ص), would not follow the sighting of the lunar crescent in Damascus. By that token, there is no reason why someone in New York City should follow crescent sighting reports from the Arabian Peninsula. Moreover, the belief that the entirety of a vast land such as the United States or the Western Hemisphere should begin and end their months on the same day is absurd, as the crescent will not necessarily be visible at the same time throughout such vast lands. Certainly the distance between Madīnah and Syria pales in comparison to the distance between Miami and Seattle or Patagonia and Anchorage. The only other plausible interpretation for this tradition is that the Muslims should not follow the declaration of the sighting of the moon by Muʹāwīyah and his followers. By this interpretation, they should most definitely not follow Saudi declarations regarding the sighting of impossible-to-sight crescents.

What is most unfortunate is that Muslims, for centuries, led the world in astronomy, yet today, in the twenty-first century, cannot even figure out a simple lunar calendar system that has worked very well for fourteen centuries. This is because the Wahhābīs have complicated and confused the matter to the point that many Muslims have come to believe that the determination of a lunar month is a difficult process and that an alternative to the Sunnah of the Prophet (ص) is required. The Shīʹah, however, maintain that the Sunnah of the Prophet (ص) is the only sunnah to follow until the Day of Judgment and that his Sunnah is by no means too complicated to follow.

Another manifestation of the inability to comprehend the roundness of the earth is with respect to the qiblah. Some people argue that mosques in the continental United States and Canada should be built facing the southeast instead of the northeast because Mecca appears to be situated to the southeast of these lands when one looks at a flat wall map. Yet, on a globe, the shortest line connecting the continental United States to Mecca passes in a northeasterly direction. Nevertheless, Riad Nachef has written a treatise trying to prove that the direction of qiblah from the continental United States and Canada is towards the southeast,[6078] even though anyone with a globe can place a pin on Mecca and a pin on their place of residence in the continental United States or Canada, attach a string to the two pins, and then pull on the string until it is tight. The string will clearly not point in a southeasterly direction.

[6077] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #6.2391.

It is clear that those causing discord with respect to the lunar months are not the Shī´ah who are simply following the Sunnah of the Prophet (ص) with respect to visualization of the lunar crescent, but rather those who advance readily falsifiable claims. One learns from history that the absurdity of a claim provides no immunity to Muslims from believing in or acting based upon it. Surely if Muslims could pray Friday prayers on a Wednesday, accept a he-camel as a she-camel, and accept ´Alī (ع) as the killer of ´Ammār, they can believe that a crescent was visualized a day or two earlier than it would be visible.

The issue of the lunar calendar has become an apparent source of difference between the Shī´ah and the Wahhābīs in North America, while non-Wahhābī Sunnīs have tended to vacillate on this subject, with different societies and mosques adopting different positions and repeatedly changing their positions over time. Unlike this rather novel issue, the differences between the Sunnīs and Shī´ah in terms of a number of rituals have become somewhat entrenched over the centuries. In the next three chapters, jurisprudential differences with respect to wuḍū` (ablution), adhān, and prayer will be addressed.

6078. Riad Nachef. The Substantiation of the People of Truth that the Direction of al-Qiblah in the United States and Canada is to the Southeast. Islāmic Studies and Research Division, The Association of Islāmic Charitable Projects (1994).

Chapter 85
Shī´ah-Sunnī Differences in Regards to the Ablution (Wuḍū`)

One obvious ritualistic difference between the Shī´ah and Sunnīs is that the Sunnīs believe that one should wash the feet during the wuḍū`, whereas the Shī´ah believe that one should wipe the feet.[6079] The Shī´ah position is clearly supported by the Qur`ān and by a large number of Sunnī traditions as well. It is important, however, to acknowledge that the jurisprudential issues addressed in this and the next two chapters cannot be considered fundamental beliefs that prove or disprove an entire sect. In fact, Sunnīs are divided into four schools (madhhabs) of Islāmic jurisprudence—Ḥanafī, Mālikī, Shāfi´ī, and Ḥanbalī—whose differences among one another are often nearly as great as the difference between any one of those schools and Shī´ah Ja´farī jurisprudence.

Although legalistic and ritualistic differences are often the most visible of what distinguishes a Sunnī from a Shī´ah, matters of Islāmic law are secondary to matters of belief. Once matters of belief are settled and it is agreed upon that the imāms of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) are the ones the Prophet (ص) ordered us to follow on numerous occasions including when he said, "I leave among you two weighty items—the Book of Allāh and my family, my Ahl al-Bayt,"[6080] these legalistic differences would fade, if not more or less vanish. In contrast, without resolving the more fundamental differences, these legal disputes would persist. However, since the Shī´ah position in many jurisprudential disputes is well established by the Qur`ān and easy to document in Sunnī traditions, it is important to point these facts out to dispel the notion that Shī´ah practices are some form of heretical innovation.

The Verse of Wuḍū`

The Qur`ān says,

> O you who believe! When you rise to prayer, wash your faces and your hands to the elbows, and wipe your heads and your feet to the ankles.[6081]

This verse explains how wuḍū` (ritual ablution) is performed. One is to wash one's face as well as the area between the elbows and the tips of the fingers, and then wipe the head and feet. Despite the fact that this verse is among the clearest ones in the Qur`ān, Sunnīs believe in washing the face, hands and forearms, and feet, and wiping only the head. This interpretation of the Qur`ānic verse is grammatically impossible to maintain. It is inconceivable for the verb "wash" to apply to the feet in such a sentence in any language. If one were to say, "Wash A and B, and wipe C and D," no one with any common sense would conclude that one is to wash A, B, and D and wipe only C. This is because the objects of each verb are clearly stated after it, and it would be absurd for an object of the first verb to appear after two of the first verb's objects, a new verb, and one of the second verb's objects. Therefore, the act of washing the feet during wuḍū` is incompatible with the Qur`ān.

[6079] For a more detailed discussion, refer to Shī´ism in Sunnīsm, chapter 3.
[6080] Refer to chapter 15.
[6081] Qur`ān 5:6.

The Qur`ān Must be Followed in Regards to the Wuḍū`

The Sunnīs argue that the procedure for wuḍū` is clarified from the Sunnah of the Prophet (ص) and not from the Qur`ān. However, the Prophet (ص) said, "Compare my traditions to the Word of Allāh. If it agrees [with the Qur`ān], then it is from me and I said it."[6082] According to Ḥākim, Ibn ʿAbbās said that, "Sūrah Mā`idah was revealed during the Farewell Pilgrimage,"[6083] and according to Tirmidhī, ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAmr said, "The last sūrah to be revealed was Mā`idah."[6084] ʿĀ`ishah confirmed this when, according to a tradition cited by Ḥākim, Nasā`ī, and Ḥanbal, she said, "[Sūrah Mā`idah] was the last sūrah to be revealed. Whatever you find in it of the permissible (ḥalāl), take it as permissible, and whatever you find in it of the forbidden (ḥarām), take it as forbidden."[6085] This tradition, which Ḥākim certified as authentic by the criteria of Bukhārī and Muslim,[6086] is explicit that whatever laws one finds in Sūrah Mā`idah, which contains the verse of wuḍū`, must be followed. Of note, the Qur`ān can abrogate the Sunnah, but the Sunnah cannot abrogate the Qur`ān. As such, the verse ordering us to wipe the feet would abrogate any traditions that contradict it. Indeed, there are a number of Sunnī traditions that explicitly show that one's duty is to wipe the feet rather than to wash them.

Sunnī Traditions Calling for Wiping the Feet Instead of Washing Them During Wuḍū`

The following are a few of the Sunnī traditions that support the Qur`ānic statement that the feet ought to be wiped and not washed during wuḍū`:

1. According to three of the ṣiḥāḥ sittah, the Prophet (ص) said, "Truly, no one's prayer is acceptable until he completes the wuḍū` as Allāh, the oft high, has ordered, by washing the face and the hands to the elbows and by wiping the head and the feet to the ankles."[6087]

2. According to Ibn Ḥajar, "Bukhārī in his Tārīkh, Aḥmad [Ḥanbal],[6088] Ibn Abī Shaybah, Ibn Abī ʿUmar, Baghawī, Ṭabarānī,[6089] Bāwardī and others have narrated, all through Abū al-Aswad from ʿAbbād ibn Tamīm al-Māzinī that his father said, 'I saw the Messenger of Allāh (ص) performing wuḍū`, and he wiped over [the tops of] his feet with water.' The narrators of [this tradition] are all trustworthy (thiqah)."[6090]

[6082] Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #992; Jāmiʿ Al-Ṣaghīr Suyūṭī #1151.

[6083] Mustadrak Ḥākim #583.

[6084] Sunan Tirmidhī #3063.

[6085] Mustadrak Ḥākim #3210 (certifies the tradition as authentic by the crtieria of Bukhārī and Muslim); Sunan al-Kubrā Nasā`ī #11138; Musnad Ḥanbal #25588.

[6086] Mustadrak Ḥākim #3210.

[6087] Sunan Ibn Mājah #460; Sunan Abū Dāwūd #858; Sunan Nasā`ī #1136; Sunan Dāramī #1329.

[6088] Musnad Ḥanbal #16501.

[6089] Muʿjam al-Kabīr Ṭabarānī 2:60.

[6090] Iṣābah 1:208 #843 (Tamīm ibn Zayd al-Anṣārī).

3. Ḥumrān said, "I saw ʹUthmān call for water. He then washed his hands three times, rinsed his mouth and nose, washed his face three times, his arms three times, and wiped his head and the tops of his feet."[6091]

4. Aws ibn Abī Aws al-Thaqafī said, "The Messenger of Allāh (ص) performed ablution and wiped on his shoes and his feet."[6092]

5. Abū Mālik al-Ashʹarī[6093] "wiped his head and the tops of his feet."[6094]

6. Ibn ʹAbbās said, "People avoid doing anything but washing [the feet], whereas I find in Allāh's Book nothing but the obligation of wiping."[6095]

7. Ibn ʹAbbās said, "Wuḍūʾ contains two washings (the face and the hands) and two wipings (the head and the feet)."[6096]

8. Qatādah said regarding the verse of wuḍūʾ, "Allāh has mandated two washings and two wipings."[6097]

9. ʹĀmir was told, "People say that Gabriel revealed washing the feet." He replied, "Gabriel revealed wiping [the feet]."[6098]

10. ʹIkrimah said, "The feet should not be washed. Only wiping has been revealed for them."[6099]

11. Yūnus related from a companion of ʹIkrimah, "I never saw [ʹIkrimah] wash his feet. He would wipe their tops until he was done [with his wuḍūʾ]."[6100]

12. Abū Jaʹfar al-Bāqir (ع) said, "Wipe the top of your head and your feet."[6101]

Parallels with Tayammum

A number of Sunnī traditions claim that it is apparent that the face and arms are to be washed while the head and feet are to be wiped because the areas that are washed during wuḍūʾ are wiped during tayammum and the areas that are wiped during wuḍūʾ are ignored during tayammum. The following are a few examples of such traditions i Tafsīr Ṭabarī:[6102]

[6091] Kanz al-ʹUmmāl #26886; Musnad Ḥanbal #415.
[6092] Sunan Abū Dāwūd #160.
[6093] According to Ibn Ḥajar, he was one of the companions (Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb vol 12 #1001, Abū Mālik al-Ashʹarī).
[6094] Musnad Ḥanbal #22949.
[6095] Sunan Ibn Mājah #458.
[6096] Tafsīr Ṭabarī, Tafsīr Qurṭubī, Tafsīr Ibn Kathīr, Tafsīr Shawkānī, Tafsīr Baghawī, Tafsīr Ibn ʹAṭiyyah, Tafsīr Khāzin, and Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, verse 5:6.
[6097] Tafsīr Ṭabarī, verse 5:6.
[6098] Tafsīr Ṭabarī, verse 5:6.
[6099] Tafsīr Ṭabarī, verse 5:6.
[6100] Tafsīr Ṭabarī, verse 5:6.
[6101] Tafsīr Ṭabarī, verse 5:6.
[6102] Tafsīr Ṭabarī, verse 5:6.

1. Sha´bī said, "Gabriel revealed wiping [the feet]. Don't you see that in the tayammum what is washed [in the wuḍū`] is wiped and what is wiped [in the wuḍū`] is left alone?"

2. Sha´bī said, "[Wiping in] tayammum is ordered for the [the sites for which] washing is ordained [in wuḍū`]."

3. Sha´bī said, "The feet are only wiped. Don't you see that what is washed [during wuḍū`] requires wiping [during tayammum] and what requires wiping [during wuḍū`] is left alone [during tayammum]?"

4. ´Āmir said, "In the tayammum, that which has been ordered to be washed in the wuḍū` is wiped, while the head and the feet, which have been ordered to be wiped in the wuḍū`, are neglected."

Washing the Feet was Ordained by Ḥajjāj

According to Tafsīr Ṭabarī,

> Ḥumayd al-Ṭawīl said: Mūsā ibn Anas told his father while we were with him: O Abū Ḥamzah! Ḥajjāj delivered a sermon for us in Ahwāz [in which] he reminded us of ritual purity, saying, "Wash your faces and your hands and rub your head and feet. Indeed, nothing is dirtier in the [body] of the offspring of Adam than the feet, so wash your feet—the tops, bottoms, and heels." Anas said, "Allāh has spoken the truth and Ḥajjāj has lied! Allāh says, 'Rub your head and feet.'" [Ḥumayd al-Ṭawīl] said, "Anas, wets his feet when he rubs them."[6103]

It is clear that a number of the Prophet's (ص) companions and their successors (tābi´īn) believed in rubbing the feet, yet Ḥajjāj was the one who insisted on washing them because "there is nothing dirtier in the human body than the feet." This is a clear case of istiḥsān, or substituting the laws of Islām with what one finds more desirable. Although istiḥsān is used by some Sunnī jurists, it has no role whatsoever when the Qur`ān and Sunnah are clear on a subject. It should, however, come as no surprise that people would follow the sunnah of Ḥajjāj over the Prophet's (ص) Sunnah, as the brutality of Ḥajjāj in putting down his opponents is well-known. Indeed, Ḥajjāj was so wicked and repulsive that Sunnī scholars have joined the Shī´ah in renouncing him.[6104] As no rational person would be particularly excited about losing his life over the issue of washing or rubbing one's feet, taqīyyah became commonplace among both the Shī´ah and Sunnīs when they found the likes of Ḥajjāj in power over them.

Comments on Ḥajjāj

Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf al-Thaqafī was a military commander of the Umayyad caliphs ´Abd al-Malik and Walīd. After the massacre of the Prophet's Ahl al-Bayt (ع) in Karbalā`, ´Abd Allāh ibn Zubayr continued to refuse to pledge allegiance to Yazīd. He remained in Mecca, which was placed under siege and bombarded until the covers of the Ka´bah caught on fire.[6105] Yazīd's death in 64 A.H., followed by Mu´āwīyah ibn Yazīd's lukewarm interest in the caliphate and his death after forty days or four months in office, gave Ibn Zubayr some leeway in expanding his realm of control, particularly during the nine-month long[6106] (64-65 A.H.) caliphate of the Umayyad ruler Marwān ibn Ḥakam who, in the absence of having been named an heir to the Umayyad throne, had no obvious mandate to rule. Ibn Zubayr was finally defeated and killed by Ḥajjāj, the military commander of the Umayyad caliph ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Marwān, in 73 A.H.[6107]

[6103] Tafsīr Ṭabarī, verse 5:6.

[6104] For example, Tārīkh al-Khulafā` 195.

[6105] Tārīkh al-Khulafā` 185.

Ḥajjāj was appointed as the governor of Ḥijāz by ʿAbd al-Malik in the year 75 A.H.[6108] There, he tortured the companions of the Prophet (ص), forcing them to wear seals around their necks and hands.[6109] Among those he forced to wear seals were Anas ibn Mālik, Jābir ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Anṣārī, and Sahl ibn Saʿd al-Sāʿidī.[6110] According to Ibn Ḥajar, "A group of the [prominent tābiʿīn] considered him a disbeliever, among them Saʿīd ibn Jubayr, al-Nakhaʿī, Mujāhid, ʿĀṣim ibn Abī al-Najūd, Shaʿbī, and others."[6111] Indeed, Ṭāwūs said, "I am amazed at anyone who would call him a believer."[6112]

Ḥajjāj was eventually transferred to serve as the governor of Iraq so that his cruelty could be directed more directly at the Shīʿah of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع). He was indeed among those most active in cursing ʿAlī (ع).[6113] When he arrived in Kūfah, he said, "What would the governors do with [their] canes?" They said, "They would beat and imprison [us]." He said, "But they will find nothing with me but the sword,"[6114] thereby explicitly telling the people of Kūfah than any opposition would mean death.

Among the tasks he accomplished while governor of Iraq was successfully, though very bloodily, putting down the Khārijīte rebellion led by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad ibn Ashʿath ibn Qays, known as Ibn al-Ashʿath (82 A.H.).[6115] Ibn al-Ashʿath, who had raised an army from the Persian provinces, then travelled to Iraq, whereupon the Baṣrans and Kūfans joined forces with him to rise up against Ḥajjāj with an overall army of some 200,000 men.[6116]

Kumayl ibn Zīyād al-Nakhaʿī who was a companion of the Prophet (ص) and a devoted Shīʿah of ʿAlī (ع), famous for the Duʿāʾ Kumayl he related from ʿAlī (ع) that commonly recited by the Shīʿah to this day, was among the Squadron of the Qurr (reciters of the Qurʾān) fighting Ḥajjāj.[6117] After the battle, Ḥajjāj executed Kuma under the pretext of avenging ʿUthmān's blood.[6118]

Upon the death of ʿAbd al-Malik, Walīd ibn ʿAbd al-Malik ascended to the Umayyad throne. He was so disgraceful that even Suyūṭī said, "Walīd was an oppressing tyrant (jabbāran ẓāliman)."[6119] Walīd put Ḥajjāj up to the task of expanding his empire, which he did with great success. He died in the same year Walīd died (96 A.H.). Suyūṭī has mentioned ʿAbd al Malik's "granting governorship to Ḥajjāj over the Muslims and the companions,"[6120] saying,

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[6106] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 20:161.
[6107] Refer to chapter 97 for a more detailed discussion of ʿAbd Allāh ibn Zubayr.
[6108] Tārīkh al-Khulafāʾ 190.
[6109] Tārīkh al-Khulafāʾ 190; Tārīkh Ṭabarī 22:2; Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:419; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:275.
[6110] Tārīkh al-Khulafāʾ 190.
[6111] Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb vol 2 #388 (Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf).
[6112] Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb vol 2 #388 (Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf).
[6113] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 4:58.
[6114] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 4:181.
[6115] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 23:35-45.
[6116] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 23:22.
[6117] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 23:26.
[6118] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 23:45.
[6119] Tārīkh al-Khulafāʾ 197.

> He belittled and humiliated them by killing them, beating them, insulting them, and imprisoning them. He killed from among the companions and the greatest successors (tābiʿīn) those whose merit was not exceeded by others. He placed seals around the necks of Anas and others from among the companions, seeking to humiliate them by doing so. May Allāh not have mercy on him and [may He] not forgive him.[6121]

As such, it is clear how a man such as Ḥajjāj would instill so much fear that everyone would perform rituals as he directed and even invent traditions to support his innovations.

[6120] Tārīkh al-Khulafā` 195.

[6121] Tārīkh al-Khulafā` 195.

Chapter 86

Shī´ah-Sunnī Differences in Regards to the Call to Prayers (Adhān)

There are two major differences between the Shī´ah and Sunnīs in regards to the adhān (call to prayer). The first is whether or not the phrase, "Hurry to the best deed (ḥayya ´alā khayr al-´amal)," is part of the adhān. The second is whether or not the phrase, "Prayer is better than sleep," (al-ṣalātu khayrun min al-nawm) is part of the adhān.

"Hurry to the Best Deed" is Part of the Adhān

There are numerous Sunnī traditions showing that the phrase, "Hurry to the best deed," is part of the adhān. The following is a selection of traditions and statements in this regards:

1. According to Kanz al-´Ummāl, Bilāl (the Prophet's (ص) mu`adhdhin) used to say, "Hurry to the best deed," in the adhān for the morning prayer.[6122]
2. According to Bayhaqī, ´Alī ibn Ḥusayn used to say in his adhān, "Hurry to success (ḥayya ´alā al-falāḥ)," and then "Hurry to the best deed." He would say, "The primary adhān (i.e. the adhān of the Prophet [ص]) was like this."[6123]
3. Nāfi´ said: Ibn ´Umar would recite the takbīr three times, the shahādah three times, and sometimes after he said, "Hurry to success (ḥayya ´alā al-falāḥ)," he would say, "Hurry to the best deed."[6124]
4. Nāfi´ said: Ibn ´Umar would probably add to his adhān, "Hurry to the be deed."[6125]
5. Nāfi´ said: Ibn ´Umar would not say adhān when he would travel. Rather, he used to say, "Hurry to success," and sometimes, "Hurry to the best deed."[6126]
6. According to Muḥammad ibn Sīrīn, Ibn ´Umar would say, "Hurry to the best deed," in his adhān.[6127]
7. Nusayr Ibn Dhu´lūq said that Ibn ´Umar would recite, "Hurry to the best deed," while on a trip.[6128]

[6122] Kanz al-´Ummāl #23174.
[6123] Sunan al-Kubrā Bayhaqī #1844.
[6124] Sunan al-Kubrā Bayhaqī #1842.
[6125] Sunan al-Kubrā Bayhaqī #1842.
[6126] Sunan al-Kubrā Bayhaqī #1843.
[6127] Sunan al-Kubrā Bayhaqī #1843.

8. Abū Umāmah said that Ibn ʻUmar would recite, "Hurry to the best deed," while he was traveling.[6129]

9. According to ʻAbd al-Razzāq, "When Ibn ʻUmar would say in the adhān, 'Hurry to success,' he would [follow it] by saying, 'Hurry to the best deed.'"[6130]

10. According to Sīrah Ḥalabīyyah, "It has been related that Ibn ʻUmar and ʻAlī ibn Ḥusayn would say in their adhāns, after 'Hurry to success,' 'Hurry to the best deed.'"[6131]

11. Ibn Ḥazm wrote, "It is indeed proven that Ibn ʻUmar and Abū Umāmah ibn Sahl ibn Ḥunayf used to say in their adhān, 'Hurry to the best deed.' ...This has been established by the strongest chains of transmission."[6132]

The Tradition Claiming that "Hurry to the Best Deed" was Abrogated by the Prophet (ص)

It has been related that, "Bilāl used to say, 'Hurry to the best deed,' during the adhān for the fajr (morning) prayer, but the Messenger of Allāh (ص) ordered him to say, 'Prayer is better than sleep,' instead."[6133] However, according to Haythamī, this tradition is weak because of the presence of ʻAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Saʻd ibn ʻAmmār ibn Saʻd among the narrators.[6134] According to Ibn Ḥajar, Ibn Maʻīn called him weak (ḍaʻīf) and Bukhārī said, "There is some question about him (fīhi naẓar)."[6135] Moreover, it is highly doubtful that the Prophet (ص) would have stopped reciting "Hurry to the best deed," and that both ʻAlī ibn Ḥusayn ibn ʻAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib (ع) and Ibn ʻUmar remained ignorant of that fact. Indeed, if it were abrogated, ʻAlī ibn Ḥusayn (ع) would have been informed of it by his father, Ḥusayn ibn ʻAlī (ع). It therefore appears that this abrogation was not the act of the Prophet (ص) but rather of someone else, namely ʻUmar.

ʻUmar Replaced "Hurry to the Best Deed" with "Prayer is Better than Sleep"

According to Muwaṭṭaʼ of Mālik,

> Yaḥyā related to me from Mālik that he had heard that the muʼadhdhin came to ʻUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb to call him to the morning prayer and found him sleeping, so he said, "Prayer is better than sleep," and ʻUmar ordered him to put that in the adhān for morning [prayers].[6136]

This tradition explicitly states that the phrase, "Prayer is better than sleep," was added by ʻUmar and not by the Prophet (ص), and that it was not part of the adhān until the caliphate of ʻUmar. The addition of the phrase, "Prayer is better than sleep," is called tathwīb. Confusion has arisen among the Sunnīs as to whether this phrase should follow,

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[6128] Sunan al-Kubrā Bayhaqī #1843.
[6129] Sunan al-Kubrā Bayhaqī #1843.
[6130] Muṣannaf ʻAbd al-Razzāq #1786.
[6131] Sīrah Ḥalabīyyah 2:305.
[6132] Al-Muḥallā of Ibn Ḥazm 3:160-1.
[6133] Sunan al-Kubrā Bayhaqī #1845; Muʻjam al-Kabīr Ṭabarānī 1:352; Kanz al-ʻUmmāl #23188; Majmaʻ al-Zawāʼid #1857.
[6134] Majmaʻ al-Zawāʼid #1857.
[6135] Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb vol 6 #370 (ʻAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Saʻd ibn ʻAmmār ibn Saʻd).
[6136] Muwaṭṭaʼ Mālik #3.1.8.

"Hurry to success," in the morning adhān, or whether this phrase is not part of the adhān and is best recited after the completion of the adhān. If it is recommended, they are not sure whether it is recommended because it was part of the adhān during the Prophet's (ص) time or because ʹUmar introduced it.

The most authentic Sunnī tradition on the subject is the one in Muwaṭṭaʾ just quoted, and it is explicit that ʹUmar added the phrase to the adhān. When Ṭāwūs was asked when this phrase was first used, he replied,

> They did not say ["prayer is better than sleep"] during the time of the Messenger of Allāh (ص). Rather, Bilāl heard it during the time of Abū Bakr after the death of the Prophet (ص) from a man who was not a muʾadhdhin and he took [the phrase] from him. Abū Bakr did not last but a little while [thereafter] and then ʹUmar said, "It would be better if we prohibit Bilāl from this innovation of his." But it is as though [ʹUmar] forgot about [what he had said], so people have continued to [recite it as such] to this day.[6137]

According to Ibn Jurayj,

> Saʹd was the first to say, "Prayer is better than sleep," during the caliphate of ʹUmar. [ʹUmar called it] an innovation (bidʹah), but he left him [alone to recite it]. Indeed, Bilāl never recited the adhān for ʹUmar.[6138]

Although both traditions are explicit in stating that tathwīb was not performed during the Prophet's (ص) lifetime, the latter tradition makes it clear that attribution of the phrase to Bilāl is incorrect, particularly because he was no longer residing in Madīnah during ʹUmar's caliphate as well as the fact that he was no longer the muʾadhdhin after the Prophet's (ص) death, as claimed by the former tradition.

Of note, ʹUmar's son ʹAbd Allāh was among those most adamantly opposed to tathwīb. Mujāhid said, "I was with Ibn ʹUmar when we heard someone performing tathwīb in the mosque. Ibn ʹUmar said, 'Let us get away from this innovator (mubtadiʹ).'"[6139] According to Abū Dāwūd, Mujāhid said, "I was with Ibn ʹUmar and a man performe tathwīb in the noon or afternoon prayer and he said, 'Let us leave! This is an innovatio (bidʹah)!'"[6140] Shawkānī said,

> According to al-Baḥr [al-Zakhar][6141], [when] ʹUmar invented this phrase, his son said, "This is an innovation (bidʹah)!" It is narrated that when ʹAlī heard this phrase, he said, "Do not add anything that is not part of the adhān to it." After citing the tradition of Abū Maḥdhūrah and Bilāl, [the author of al-Baḥr al-Zakhar] said, "If tathwīb were religiously allowed, why would ʹAlī, Ibn ʹUmar, and Ṭāwūs deny its [permissibility]?" We accept, based on these traditions, that this issue (tathwīb) is not religiously [ordained], but can be said as [additional] slogans.[6142]

Examining the Traditions of Tathwīb

[6137] Muṣannaf ʹAbd al-Razzāq #1827; Kanz al-ʹUmmāl #23251.

[6138] Muṣannaf ʹAbd al-Razzāq #1829; Kanz al-ʹUmmāl #23252.

[6139] Musannaf ʹAbd al-Razzāq #1832.

[6140] Sunan Abū Dāwūd #538.

[6141] Baḥr al-Zakhar is a work on Sunnī jurisprudence by Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyā al-Murtaḍā.

[6142] Nayl al-Awṭār, chapter entitled,"Ṣifati Adhān."

The traditions resorted to in support of the phrase, "Prayer is better than sleep," all suffer from weak chains of transmission. According to Shawkānī,

> Tathwīb belongs to the [adhān] for the morning prayers. As Sa´īd ibn Musayyab said, "This phrase," meaning the words of Bilāl, "Prayer is better than sleep," "entered the adhān for the morning prayers." Ibn Mājah adds that the Messenger of Allāh (ص) established [this custom], but [this tradition's] chain of transmission is truly weak. Similarly, Ibn Mājah, Aḥmad [ibn Ḥanbal], and Tirmidhī [have related] from Bilāl that, "There is no tathwīb except for the [adhān for the] morning prayers," but in this [chain] appears Abū Ismā´īl al-Mulā`ī[6143], who is weak, plus there is disruption [of the chain] between ´Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Laylā and Bilāl. Ibn Sakan said, "Its chain is not authentic." Dārquṭnī related it from another chain of transmission, and in it is Abū Sa´īd al-Baqqāl and he, like Abū Ismā´īl, is among the weak. And the explanation of the disruption between Ibn Abī Laylā and Bilāl is that Ibn Abī Laylā was born in the year 17 while Bilāl died in the year 20 or 21 in Syria, and he had remained in Syria from the beginning of the Islāmic conquest. Therefore, [Bilāl] was a resident of Syria while Ibn Abī Laylā was a resident of Kūfah, so how could he have heard this tradition from [Bilāl] based on his age and difference in location of residence? It is also claimed that tathwīb is established by the tradition of Abū Maḥdhūrah who said, "The Messenger of Allāh (ص) taught me the adhān and said: When you are in the morning adhān and say, 'Hurry to success,' then say, 'Prayer is better than sleep.'" Abū Dāwūd and Ibn Ḥibbān include this part of the tradition, but in its chain is Muḥammad ibn ´Abd al-Malik ibn Abī Maḥdhūrah, whose status is not known. [In the chain] there is [also] Ḥārith ibn ´Ubayd, and there is [some] dispute in regards to him...[6144]

It is clear that the traditions in favor of saying, "Prayer is better than sleep," were all later inventions to support a custom that had been adopted by the masses during the caliphate of ´Umar.

The Traditions of the Ṣiḥāḥ Sittah

Sunan Nasā`ī contains two traditions according to which Abū Maḥdhūrah said, "I would deliver the adhān for the Messenger of Allāh (ص), and I would announce in the morning adhān, 'Prayer is better than sleep.'"[6145] According to Ibn Ḥajar, nothing is known about Abū Salmān, who appears in the chains of these two traditions, except for his name.[6146] He did, however, think that he was different from Abū Salmān the mu`adhdhin of Ḥajjāj.[6147] Of note, Nasā`ī stated that the Abū Ja´far in the chain of these two traditions was not Abū Ja´far al-Farrā`,[6148] thus making it some other, unknown Abū Ja´far. The same tradition appears in Bayhaqī's Sunan al-Kubrā, except that Abū Salmān is replaced with Abū Sulaymān in its chain of transmission. Bayhaqī added that, "Abū Sulaymān's name is Hammām the mu`adhdhin."[6149] Again, nothing is known of this man except his name.

[6143] In Sunan Tirmidhī #198, it is Abū Isrā`īl al-Mulā`ī.

[6144] Nayl al-Awṭār, chapter entitled,"Ṣifati Adhān."

[6145] Sunan Nasā`ī #647-8.

[6146] Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb vol 12 #531 (Abū Salmān al-Mu`adhdhin).

[6147] Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb vol 12 #532 (Abū Salmān al-Mu`adhdhin mu´ādhdhin al-Ḥajjāj).

[6148] Sunan Nasā`ī #648.

[6149] Sunan al-Kubrā Bayhaqī #1832.

According to Abū Dāwūd, the Prophet (ص) said, "In the [adhān for the] morning prayer, I say, 'Prayer is better than sleep.'"[6150] As cited previously by Shawkānī and as stated explicitly by Ibn Ḥajar, Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Malik, who appears in the chain of transmission, is unknown to the experts of narrator-authentication (rijāl),[6151] and it is therefore impermissible to reason based on his transmissions. Of note, Ḥārith Ibn ʿUbayd, who also appears in the chain of transmission, has also been considered weak and/or unreliable by Ḥanbal, Ibn Maʿīn, Abū Ḥātim, and Nasāʾī.[6152]

Abū Dāwūd and Nasāʾī have also related traditions according to which the Prophet (ص) said that, "Prayer is better than sleep," is said twice in the morning adhān.[6153] In their chains of transmission, ʿUthmān ibn Sāʾib and his father appear, both of whom are not known except for this one tradition.[6154] Similarly, nothing at all seems to be known about the mother of ʿAbd al-Malik, who is also in the chain.[6155]

In yet another tradition in Sunan Abū Dāwūd, the morning adhān at the time of the Prophet (ص) is said to have included the phrase, "Prayer is better than sleep."[6156] However, the chain of transmission includes Ibrāhīm ibn Ismāʿīl ibn ʿAbd al-Malik, who has been classified as weak.[6157] Similarly, Ibn Mājah has cited a tradition according to which tathwīb was introduced by the Prophet (ص).[6158] This tradition's chain is deficient because Saʿīd ibn Musayyab could not have possibly related the tradition directly from Bilāl.[6159] Furthermore, Tirmidhī has cited a tradition allowing tathwīb in the morning prayer, but added that Abū Isrāʾīl surely did not hear this tradition from Ḥakam ibn ʿUtaybah, from whom he related this tradition. He also added that Isḥāq said, "Tathwīb is undesirable (makrūh). It is something that the people innovated after the Prophet (ص)."[6160]

It is rather clear that tathwīb was an innovation that appeared after the Prophet's (ص) death and that the traditions citing tathwīb during the Prophet's (ص) lifetime are weak and highly doubtful and were invented for a clear purpose—to validate what had become common practice since the time of ʿUmar's caliphate.

Comments on Innovations in the Adhān

It is clear that the adhān was changed during the caliphate of ʿUmar, even though Sunn traditions state that the adhān was the one ritual that remained recognizable in the early period of Islām, as other rituals underwent significant alterations. According to Muwaṭṭaʾ of Mālik,

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[6150] Sunan Abū Dāwūd #500.
[6151] Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb vol 9 #525 (Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Malik Ibn Abī Maḥdhūrah).
[6152] Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb vol 2 #254 (Ḥārith ibn ʿUbayd).
[6153] Sunan Abū Dāwūd #501; Sunan Nasāʾī #633.
[6154] Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb vol 7 #252 (ʿUthmān ibn al-Sāʾib) and vol 3 #840 (Sāʾib wālidi ʿUthmān al-Jumaḥī).
[6155] Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb vol 12 #3006 (Umm ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Abī Maḥdhūrah).
[6156] Sunan Abū Dāwūd #504.
[6157] Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb vol 1 #182 (Ibrāhīm ibn Ismāʿīl ibn ʿAbd al-Malik).
[6158] Sunan Ibn Mājah #716.
[6159] Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb vol 4 #145 (Saʿīd Ibn al-Musayyab).
[6160] Sunan Tirmidhī #198.

> Mālik [related] from his paternal uncle Abū Suhayl ibn Mālik that his uncle's father said, "I recognize nothing nowadays of what I saw the people (i.e. the companions) doing except the call to prayer."[6161]

Yet, the adhān was changed not long after the Prophet's (ص) death as well. This tradition makes it clear that other rituals were even more drastically altered after the Prophet's (ص) death and during the lifetime of his companions. Had it not been for the Ahl al-Bayt (ع), the original forms of all of the Prophet's (ص) rituals would have been lost forever.

Testimony to ʿAlī's (ع) Wilāyah in the Adhān

The Shīʿah have been criticized for stating, "Ashhadu anna ʿAlīyyan walī Allāh (I testify that ʿAlī is the walī of Allāh)," in the adhān. It must be stated that the Shīʿah do not consider this phrase to be part of the adhān but rather consider it permissible to include this phrase. Moreover, the criticism is ill-founded, because Sunnī scholars allow the addition of phrases to the adhān. According to Ibn Ḥajar,

> Chapter on words in the adhān, meaning [stating words] during it that are not part of its phrases: ...What [Bukhārī] has said in this regards shows that he chose [the opinion] of its permissibility. Ibn Mundhir has related its absolute permissibility from ʿUrwah, ʿAṭāʾ, Ḥasan, Qatādah, and Aḥmad [ibn Ḥanbal]. Its undesirability [has been related] from Nakhaʿī, Ibn Sīrīn, and Awzāʿī. Thawrī [was the only one who said that] it is forbidden. Abū Ḥanīfah and his two companions [allow its permissibility but believe that] avoiding it is best.[6162]

In the absence of proof that Sunnī scholars consider is impermissible to add such a phrase, such criticism is baseless. Moreover, the Prophet (ص) was clear that, "Mentioning ʿAlī is worship."[6163] As such, the addition of his name to the adhān is a form of worship that is not only not impermissible, but potentially worthy of reward.

[6161] Muwaṭṭaʾ Mālik #3.1.9.

[6162] Fatḥ al-Bārī #590.

[6163] Jāmiʿ al-Ṣaghīr Suyūṭī #4332; Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #32894; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:394.

Chapter 87

Shīʹah-Sunnī Differences in Regards to Prayer (Ṣalāt)

Combining Ẓuhr and ʹAṣr as well as Maghrib and ʹIshāʾ Prayers[6164]

Although the books of Shīʹah jurisprudence state certain times in which it is best to perform each of the five daily prayers, it is common for the Shīʹah to perform the noon (ẓuhr) and afternoon (ʹaṣr) prayers together and the sunset (maghrib) and nighttime (ʹishāʾ) prayers together. As such, a total of five prayers are performed, although the five may be offered at a total of three different times. Sunnīs, for the most part, pray the five prayers separately, at five distinct times. This visible difference in custom has led some Sunnīs to falsely believe that the Shīʹah perform only three payers a day. Justification for the Shīʹah custom can be found in a number of Sunnī traditions. The following are a few from Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim:

1. Ibn ʹAbbās said, "The Messenger of Allāh observed the noon (ẓuhr) and afternoon (ʹaṣr) prayers together, and the sunset (maghrib) and nighttime (ʹishāʾ) prayers together without being in a state of fear or in a state of journey."[6165] [He added], "[The Prophet] said that he wanted his nation not to be put to unnecessary hardship."[6166]

2. Ibn ʹAbbās said, "The Messenger of Allāh observed in Madīnah seven [rakʹahs] and eight [rakʹahs], that is, [he combined] the noon and afternoon prayers (for a total of eight rakʹahs) and the sunset and nighttime prayers (for a total of seven rakʹahs)."[6167]

3. ʹAbd Allāh ibn Shaqīq reported: Ibn ʹAbbās one day addressed us in the [lat afternoon till the sun disappeared and the stars appeared, and the people bega to say, "Prayer! Prayer!" A person from the Banū Tamīm came there. He neither slackened nor turned away, but [continued crying], "Prayer! Prayer!" Ibn ʹAbbās said, "May you be deprived of your mother! Do you teach me the Sunnah?" He then said, "I saw the Messenger of Allāh combining the noon and afternoon prayers and the sunset and nighttime prayers." ʹAbd Allāh ibn Shaqīq said, "Some doubt was created in my mind about it. So I went to Abū Hurayrah and asked him [about it] and he testified [to the veracity of] his assertion."[6168]

4. A person said to Ibn ʹAbbās [as he delayed the prayer], "Prayer!" He kept silent. He "again said, "Prayer!" He again kept silent. He again cried, "Prayer!"

[6164] Refer to Shīʹism in Sunnism by Ayatollah Sayyid Muhammad Reza Mudarrisi Yazdi, chapter 5.

[6165] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #4.1515.

[6166] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #4.1516, #4.1520.

[6167] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #4.1522. Similarly, Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #4.1521.

[6168] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #4.1523.

> He again kept silent and said, "May you be deprived of your mother! Do you teach us about prayer? We used to combine two prayers during the life of the Messenger of Allāh."[6169]

Of note, the last two traditions may also be referring to the fact that Ibn ʿAbbās was waiting for the redness in the eastern sky to fade before performing the sunset (maghrib) prayers, thus delaying the prayers from the time of sunset.

The Recitation of Bismillāh as Part of Each Sūrah

Sunnīs delete the verse, "Bismillāh al-Raḥmān al-Raḥīm (In the name of Allāh, most gracious, most merciful)," from the beginning of each sūrah they recite in their prayers. By doing so they are claiming that this phrase has been incorrectly added to the Qur`ān one hundred and thirteen times and that it should not be recited. However, by this act, they are in fact dropping an essential part of what was revealed at the beginning of each sūrah except the ninth one. The Qur`ān says, "We have granted you the seven oft-repeated [verses]."[6170] This is a reference to Sūrah Fātiḥah, the first sūrah of the Qur`ān. According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, the Prophet (ص) referred to the sūrah that contains the verse, "Praise be to Allāh, Lord of the world,"[6171] (i.e. Sūrah Fātiḥah) as "the seven oft-repeated [verses],"[6172] and he also said, "The substance (umm) of the Qur`ān is the seven oft-repeated verses,"[6173] which is another reference to Sūrah Fātiḥah. Ibn Kathīr said, "[That the seven oft-repeated verses refers to Sūrah Fātiḥah] has been related from ʿAlī, ʿUmar, Ibn Masʿūd, and Ibn ʿAbbās... and Bukhārī has included two traditions in this regards."[6174] Of course, Sūrah Fātiḥah is oft-repeated because it is recited in the first two rakʿahs of every single prayer, and there are clearly no other verses that are repeated as often. Anyone who looks at Sūrah Fātiḥah will see that without the verse, "Bismillāh al-Raḥmān al-Raḥīm," the sūrah would only have six verses, not the seven stated by the Qur`ān. As such, the introductory phrase is an essential part of this and every other sūrah that includes it, and all Muslims must recite it at the beginning of each sūrah during their prayers. Yet, the Sunnīs, based on the account of Anas, believe that the introductory verse is not part of the sūrah and do not recite it as such.[6175] This is despite the fact that the Prophet (ص) clearly recited the introductory verse as part of others sūrahs according to other traditions from Anas.[6176]

The only other opinion regarding the "seven oft-repeated" referred to in the Qur`ān is that it refers to the long sūrahs. This is rather problematic, however, as there are only six long sūrahs, the second through sixth sūrahs, which include 286, 200, 176, 120, 165, and 206 verses, respectively. The eighth sūrah includes only 75 verses and it is therefore difficult to include it among the long sūrahs, unless one adopts the problematic view that the Qur`ān has been altered and that the eighth and ninth sūrahs are indeed one long sūrah. Furthermore, it is clear that these are not the oft-repeated parts of the Qur`ān because the reality is that many of these sūrahs are really not repeated that often, particularly when compared to Sūrah Fātiḥah.

[6169] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #4.1524.
[6170] Qur`ān 15:87.
[6171] Qur`ān 1:2.
[6172] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #6.60.1.
[6173] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #6.60.227.
[6174] Tafsīr Ibn Kathīr, verse 15:87.
[6175] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #4.786-9.
[6176] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #4.790-1.

Prostration on Earth[6177]

The Shī´ah allow prostrations during prayer to be performed only on earth (e.g. soil, sand, stone) or plants not suitable for clothing or human consumption. Nowadays with most habitable surfaces covered by carpeting, plastic tiles, and the like, most Shī´ah will use either molded soil (turbah) or another item on which prostration is permissible. Unfortunately, this has caused some confusion for Sunnīs unaware of the Sunnah, as some of them see this as an act of worshipping dirt, whereas in reality it is prostration to Allāh onto an object onto which prostration is permissible. There are numerous of Sunnī traditions that support the position that prostration is only permissible when the forehead is placed on specific objects. A few of these traditions are as follows:

1. According to a widely narrated tradition appearing in four of the ṣiḥāḥ sittah, including Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, the Prophet (ص) said, "The earth is set for me as a place for prostration (masjid) and as a cleanser."[6178] This tradition refers to the fact that the earth is not only to be used for prostration, but also as a purifier of certain forms of impurities, as well as a substitute for water when the performance of tayammum become obligatory. Some may take the word masjid to mean a mosque as opposed to a place for prostration. However, the word masjid literally means "place for prostration," so it is clearly permissible to interpret it as such. Moreover, the tradition refers to the properties of earth and soil, one of which is serving as a place for prostration. The fact that earth is mentioned as a place of prostration shows that prostration is not allowed on everything, otherwise mentioning this quality of earth would be unnecessary, as every object would share that quality. This interpretation has been adopted by Ibn Ḥajar, who said in Fatḥ al-Bārī, his commentary on Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, "The earth is set for me as a masjid—meaning as a place for prostration."[6179]

2. According to Abū Dāwūd and Bayhaqī, Jābir Ibn ´Abd Allāh al-Anṣārī said, "I would perform the noon prayer with the Messenger of Allāh (ص). Due to the intensity of the heat, I would take a handful of sand in my palms to cool it so that I could prostrate on it."[6180] The use of the past continuous form of the verb suggests that this would occur as a matter of habit. Bayhaqī has narrate another similar tradition from Jābir, after which he said, "If it were permissible t prostrate on the cloth one is wearing, it would certainly be easier [to do so] tha to cool hot sand in one's hands and to use that for prostration."[6181]

3. According to Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim and others, Khabbāb said, "We complained to the Messenger of Allāh [about the difficulty of] saying prayer on the intensely heated [earth], but he paid no heed to our complaint."[6182] Ibn Mājah has narrated a similar statement from Ibn Mas´ūd.[6183] This is pretty direct evidence that prostration is not allowing on anything but earth, otherwise the companions could prostrate on something other than the scorching hot sand.

6177. Refer to Shī´ism in Sunnīsm by Ayatollah Sayyid Muhammad Reza Mudarrisi Yazdi, chapter 6.

6178. Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #1.7.331, #1.8.429 (Arabic original #328, #427; translated directly from the Arabic original); Sunan Ibn Mājah #567; Sunan Nasā`ī #432 #736; Sunan Tirmidhī #317, #1553 (certifies #1553 as good-authentic [ḥasan ṣaḥīḥ]); Musnad Ḥanbal #2742, #7264, #7397, #9326, #9703, #10524, #21337; Sunan al-Dāramī #2467.

6179. Fatḥ al-Bārī #328.

6180. Sunan Abū Dāwūd #399; Sunan al-Kubrā Bayhaqī #1906.

6181. Sunan al-Kubrā Bayhaqī #2490.

6182. Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #4.1294-5; Sunan Nasā`ī #497; Sunan Ibn Mājah #675; Sunan al-Kubrā Bayhaqī #2489.

6183. Sunan Ibn Mājah #676.

4. According to Ḥanbal, the Prophet (ص) said, "When you prostrate, place your forehead on the earth in such a way that you can feel the substance of the earth."[6184]

5. According to Tirmidhī, "When the Prophet (ص) would prostrate, he would place his nose and forehead on the earth."[6185]

6. According to Ḥanbal, Wā`il ibn Ḥujr said, "I saw the Messenger of Allāh (ص) place his nose on the earth along with his forehead when he prostrated."[6186]

7. According to Abū Dāwūd, Nasā`ī, and Dāramī, the Prophet (ص) said, "None of your prayers will be complete unless one completes the ablution (wuḍū`) as ordered by Allāh, the great and glorious, then washes one's face and two hands up to the elbows and wipes his head and feet to the ankles... [and then] places... his forehead on the earth... No prayer is complete until it is done as such."[6187]

8. According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, Abū Salamah said, "I saw Allāh's Apostle prostrating in mud and water and I saw the traces of mud on his forehead."[6188] According to Abū Dāwūd, Abū Sa´īd al-Khudrī said, "Mud could be seen on the Messenger of Allāh's forehead and nose because of the prayer he had performed with the people."[6189] Clearly, it was so important to prostrate on earth that the Prophet (ص) would even prostrate on mud.

9. According to Abū Dāwūd, ´Ā`ishah said, "I never saw the Prophet place any part of his clothing between himself and the earth."[6190]

10. Bayhaqī has included a number of traditions stating that a turban must be pushed aside from the forehead before prostrating.[6191] For example, "The Prophet (ص) saw a man who was prostrating on a layer of his turban, so he pointed with his finger to the man to take off his turban and pointed to his forehead."[6192] ´Alī (ع) said, "When any of you prays, [he must] remove his turban from his forehead."[6193] Similarly, "When ´Umar would prostrate while wearing a turban, he would raise it so that he could place his forehead on the earth."[6194] It is also reported that "When ´Ubādah ibn Ṣāmit would rise for prayer, he would pull away his turban from his face."[6195] Bayhaqī said, "None of the reports stating that the holy Prophet (ص) prostrated on his turban are established [as being true]."[6196]

[6184] Musnad Ḥanbal #2604.

[6185] Sunan Tirmidhī #270 (certifies the tradition as good-authentic [ḥasan-ṣaḥīḥ]).

[6186] Musnad Ḥanbal #18876.

[6187] Sunan Abū Dāwūd #858; Sunan Nasā`ī #1136; Sunan Dāramī #1329.

[6188] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #3.32.233.

[6189] Sunan Abū Dāwūd #894.

[6190] Sunan Abū Dāwūd #1303.

[6191] Sunan al-Kubrā Bayhaqī #2489-2494.

[6192] Sunan al-Kubrā Bayhaqī #2491.

[6193] Sunan al-Kubrā Bayhaqī #2492.

[6194] Sunan al-Kubrā Bayhaqī #2493.

[6195] Sunan al-Kubrā Bayhaqī #2494.

[6196] Sunan al-Kubrā Bayhaqī #2497.

11. According to Ibn Sa´d, whenever Masrūq left home, he would carry a brick with him to prostrate on.[6197] According to Ibn Ḥajar, "Masrūq was among the companions of Ibn Mas´ūd who would teach people the Sunnah."[6198]

12. According to Ibn Ḥajar, whenever Masrūq embarked a ship, he would carry a brick with him to prostrate on when praying.[6199] Ibn Ḥajar has also related the same fact in regards to Ibn Sīrīn.[6200]

13. ´Umar Ibn ´Abd al-´Azīz would place soil on his mat to prostrate on.[6201]

14. ´Urwah Ibn Zubayr was reluctant to prostrate on anything except earth.[6202]

15. According to Ṭabarī, "When Ḥujr [ibn ´Adī] was afraid [that] the [proper time for] worship would be past, he took a fist-full of pebbles and stood up to worship."[6203] If he was running out of time, there would be no reason to pick up pebbles unless they were required for proper prostration. One never sees a Sunnī rushing to gather pebbles for prayer, yet this would not be uncommon for a Shī´ah.

Based on these traditions, it is very clear that the Sunnah of the Prophet (ص) is to prostrate only on earth. It is not clear how anyone could criticize the Shī´ah for following the Prophet's (ص) established Sunnah. In fact, those who criticize the Shī´ah for prostrating on earth do what Abū Jahl did. According to Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim,

> Abū Jahl asked [people] whether Muḥammad placed his face [on the ground in prostration] in their presence. It was said to him, "Yes." He said, "By Lāt and ´Uzzā! If I were to see him do that, I would trample his neck, or I would besmear his face with dust!"[6204]

It is clear that the Arabs of the Days of Ignorance were opposed to prostration on earth. Indeed, there are some whose attitude towards the Shī´ah prostrating on earth is awfully similar to Abū Lahab's reaction to the Prophet (ص) act of prostrating on earth.

Qunūt During Prayers

One of the notable differences in the way prayers are typically offered by the Sunnīs and Shī´ah is that the Shī´ah commonly perform the qunūt during prayer as a recommended, though not obligatory, act. In the qunūt, a supplication is recited while one's hands are raised in front of one's face. The qunūt is performed after the recitation and before the bending (rukū´) in the second rak´ah of each prayer. There are many Sunnī traditions on this topic, and some of the traditions from Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī and Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim will be reviewed in this regards.

[6197] Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 6:79.
[6198] Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb vol 10 #206 (Masrūq ibn Ajda´).
[6199] Fatḥ al-Bārī #370.
[6200] Fatḥ al-Bārī #370.
[6201] Fatḥ al-Bārī #372.
[6202] Fatḥ al-Bārī #372.
[6203] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 18:126.
[6204] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #39.6718.

There are several traditions stating that the qunūt was first performed after the campaign of Bi`r Ma´ūnah, in which a number of Muslims were slaughtered by an allied tribe without apparent cause. The Prophet (ص) subsequently cursed the offending tribes for one month during his qunūt in the morning (fajr) prayer:

1. Anas said: The Prophet sent seventy men, called al-qurrā` (i.e. men well versed in knowledge of the Qur`ān), for some purpose. The two groups of Banū Sulaym called Ri´l and Dhakwān appeared to them near a well called Bi`r Ma´ūnah. The people (al-qurrā`) said, "By Allāh, we have not come to harm you, but we are passing by you on our way to doing something for the Prophet." But [the infidels] killed them. The Prophet therefore invoked evil upon them for a month during the morning prayer. That was the beginning of the qunūt, as we used to not say the qunūt before that."[6205]

2. Anas said, "The Prophet invoked evil on the tribe of Banū Sulaym for one month after bowing." He further added, "The Prophet had sent forty or seventy qurrā` to some pagans, but the latter struggled (i.e. fought) with them and martyred them, although there was a peace pact between them and the Prophet. I had never seen the Prophet so sorry and worried about anybody as he was about them."[6206]

3. Anas said: The Prophet sent an army detachment consisting of men called al-qurrā`, all of whom were martyred. I had never seen the Prophet as sad over anything as he was over them. So he said the qunūt for one month in the morning (fajr) prayer, invoking Allāh's wrath upon the tribe of ´Uṣayyah. He used to say, "The people of ´Uṣayyah have disobeyed Allāh and His Apostle."[6207]

4. Anas said: [The tribes of] Ri´l, Dhakwān, ´Uṣayyah, and Banū Liḥyān asked Allāh's Apostle to provide them with some men to support them against their enemy. He therefore provided them with seventy men from the Anṣār whom we used to call al-qurrā` in their lifetime. They used to collect wood by daytime and pray at night. When they were at the well of Ma´ūnah, the infidels killed them by betraying them. When this news reached the Prophet, he said the qunūt for one month in the morning (fajr) prayer, invoking evil upon some of the Arab tribes—upon Ri´l, Dhakwān, ´Uṣayyah, and Banū Liḥyān.[6208]

5. Anas said, "When the reciters of the Qur`ān were martyred, Allāh's Apostle recited the qunūt for one month and I never saw him as sad as he was on that day."[6209]

6. Anas said, "Allāh's Apostle said the qunūt for one month after the posture of bowing, invoking evil upon some Arab tribes."[6210]

7. Anas said, "The Prophet recited the qunūt for one month asking Allāh to punish the tribes of Ri´l and Dhakwān."[6211]

[6205] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.59.414.
[6206] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #4.53.395.
[6207] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #8.75.403.
[6208] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.59.416.
[6209] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #2.23.387.
[6210] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.59.415.
[6211] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #2.16.117.

Twenty similar traditions can also be found in Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim.[6212] The following tradition in Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī gives some indication of the content of the Prophet's qunūt:

> Whenever the Prophet lifted his head from the bowing in the last rak´ah, he used to say, "O Allāh! Save ´Ayyāsh ibn Abī Rabī´ah. O Allāh! Save Salamah ibn Hishām. O Allāh! Save Walīd ibn Walīd. O Allāh! Save the weak faithful believers. O Allāh! Be hard on the tribes of Muḍar and send years [of famine] onto them like the years of famine [of the prophet] Joseph." The Prophet further said, "Allāh forgive the tribes of Ghifār and save the tribes of Aslam."[6213]

Some of these traditions are clear that the qunūt started during Bi`r Ma´ūnah and that it continued thereafter. Anas said, "That was the beginning of the qunūt, as we used not to say the qunūt before that."[6214] This suggests that while the qunūt was not performed before that, it was performed afterwards.

Prayers in which Performing the Qunūt is Recommended

Some traditions suggest that the qunūt was generally recited in the maghrib and fajr prayers:

1. Anas said, "The qunūt used to be recited in the maghrib and the fajr prayers."[6215]

2. Anas was asked, "Did the Prophet recite the qunūt in the fajr prayer?" Anas replied in the affirmative.[6216]

3. Barā` ibn ´Āzib said, "The Messenger of Allāh observed the qunūt in the morning and evening (maghrib) [prayers]."[6217]

Other traditions suggest that it is best performed in the morning (fajr), noon (ẓuhr), and nighttime (´ishā`) prayers. According to Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim,

> Abū Hurayrah said, "I would perform a prayer along with you that is similar t
> the prayer of the Messenger of Allāh." Abū Hurayrah recited the qunūt in t
> noon (ẓuhr) and in the nighttime (´ishā`) and in the morning (fajr) prayer, a
> invoked the blessing [of Allāh] upon Muslims, and [invoked a] curse upon th
> disbelievers.[6218]

Overall, it appears that the qunūt is recommended, though not mandatory, in every prayer.

The Proper Placement of the Qunūt During Prayers

[6212] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #4.1428-47.
[6213] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #2.17.120. Similarly, Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #4.52.183; Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #4.1428-31.
[6214] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.59.414.
[6215] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #1.12.763, #2.16.118.
[6216] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #2.16.115.
[6217] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #4.1443-4.
[6218] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #4.1432.

While some Sunnī traditions suggest that the qunūt is to be performed after the rukū′ (bowing), Anas made it clear that the qunūt is to be performed prior to the rukū′:

1. Narrated ′Āṣim: I asked Anas ibn Mālik about the qunūt. Anas replied, "Definitely it was [recited]". I asked, "Before bowing or after it?" Anas replied, "Before bowing." I added, "So and so has told me that you had informed him that it had been after bowing." Anas said, "He told an untruth."[6219]

2. Narrated ′Āṣim: I asked Anas about the qunūt. Anas said, "It should be recited before bowing." I said, "So-and-so claims that you say that it should be recited after bowing." He replied, "He is mistaken."[6220]

3. A man asked Anas about the qunūt, "Is it to be said after bowing or after finishing the recitation (i.e. before bowing)?" Anas replied, "No, [it is to be said] after finishing the recitation [and before bowing]."[6221]

Conclusions Regarding the Qunūt

Overall, the traditions suggest that during the month after Bi`r Ma′ūnah the Prophet (ص) performed his particular supplication cursing the offending tribes during the qunūt only during the fajr prayer. As such, his performance of the qunūt during the other prayers either involved a different supplication, or he did not perform the qunūt in other prayers until after that particular month was over.

One can see the justification of performing the qunūt during prayers based on the traditions in Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī and Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim recommending it during the morning (fajr), noon (ẓuhr), evening (maghrib), and nighttime (′ishā`) prayers. The Shī′ah scholars recommend the qunūt during all prayers, although it is not considered obligatory. It is therefore common to see the Shī′ah perform the qunūt during prayers, while Sunnīs typically do not perform the qunūt.

Muslim's view of these traditions is best summarized by the title of his chapter: "Chapter 94: The excellence of qunūt in all the prayers when any calamity befalls the Muslims."[6222] Thus, some Sunnī scholars have considered the qunūt to be recommended only at times of calamity. Even according to that view, the qunūt should be performed today. If the Prophet (ص) performed the qunūt because seventy Muslims were attacked by treacherous Arab tribes, one can only imagine how important performing the qunūt would be today when Muslim lands are occupied by foreign infidels and are ruled by unjust and impious rulers. Indeed, according to Ṭabarī, whenever ′Alī (ع) would perform the morning prayers, he would say in his qunūt, "O Allāh! Put a curse on Mu′āwīyah, ′Amr [ibn ′Āṣ], Abū A′war al-Sulamī, Ḥabīb [ibn Maslamah], ′Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Khālid, Ḍaḥḥāk ibn Qays, and Walīd [ibn ′Uqbah]." Mu′āwīyah, in return, would curse ′Alī (ع), ′Abd Allāh ibn ′Abbās, Mālik al-Ashtar, Ḥasan (ع), and Ḥusayn (ع) in his qunūt.[6223] However, it should be said that the Shī′ah typically do not perform curses during the qunūt but rather prayers for forgiveness or blessings.

The Time of Maghrib (Evening)

6219. Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #2.16.116.
6220. Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #4.53.395.
6221. Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.59.414.
6222. Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, book 4, chapter 94.
6223. Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:110.

Another notable difference between the Sunnīs and Shī'ah is that the Shī'ah wait until the redness of the eastern sky has faded before performing maghrib (evening) prayers and prior to breaking their fasts, while Sunnīs perform these at the point at which the sun is no longer visible. Although this is a rather minute issue of jurisprudence, a few comments can be made.

First, in Islām, astronomical events are not calculated moments in time for which one would refer to an astronomer. Rather, they are visually-confirmed events that an average person could easily determine. For example, Islāmic months do not begin at the moment of the astronomical new moon, but rather at the point at which the new lunar crescent is visualized.[6224] Similarly, the Qur`ān defines fajr, which is the moment at which one must start the fast and the beginning of the time for the morning (fajr) prayers, as the point in time at which there is just enough light so that a "white thread can be distinguished from a black thread."[6225] Furthermore, the time for noon prayers begins not at the calculated midpoint between sunrise and sunset, but at the point in time at which the sun crosses the meridian and its descent first becomes apparent either visually or by an apparent lengthening of shadows.[6226] As such, the setting of the sun should not be expected to be a calculated moment in time, but rather a moment that is visually confirmed.

Although it may appear that visual confirmation of sunset is readily achieved by seeing the sun disappear into the horizon, this is often not the case. Changes in altitude, particularly in relative altitude between one's standing point and the visible horizon, can make the sun appear to set earlier or later than a calculated sunset time. This is most obvious if one is standing in a position to the west of which a mountain range is situated. Disappearance of the sun behind the mountain range may occur long before the astronomically calculated time of sunset. As such, confirmation of sunset requires other visual clues, such as the disappearance of the redness in the eastern sky. According to the Qur`ān, the beginning of the night for Abraham (ع) was the moment at which stars appeared: "When the night covered him over, he saw a star."[6227] In fact, in Jewish law which follows this Abrahamic tradition, shkiah refers to the moment of sunset when th time for afternoon prayers is over, and Tzeit Hakochovim refers to the moment at whi three stars are visible, marking the completion of nightfall and the beginning of the tin for the sunset prayers. Indeed, the Qur`ān says that one must continue the fast unt nighttime (al-layl),[6228] which lends further credence to the Shī'ah practice of deferring ifṭār and maghrib prayers until sunset has been truly confirmed by disappearance of the redness of the eastern sky.

The disappearance of the redness of the eastern sky provides absolute certainty that the sun has indeed set and that the evening has begun. Of note, the Sunnī scholar Suyūṭī has claimed that the redness in the sky at the time of sunset did not exist until the martyrdom of Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī (ع).[6229] He said, "The horizons of the sky were red for six months after his death, and the redness that you see in it [at sunrise and sunset] since then has never ceased to exist, even though it was never seen before then."[6230] By this view, the redness of the eastern sky only became a confirmatory sign for nightfall after the martyrdom of Imām Ḥusayn (ع). According to this theory, there would be no redness at the time of sunset during the lifetime of the Prophet (ص), so some of the companions thought that the disappearance of the sun was sufficient for performing sunset (maghrib) prayers, whereas the absence of redness in the eastern sky was also a necessary condition. Indeed, the traditions of Ibn ʿAbbās in Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim that were cited at the beginning of this chapter are clear that he preferred to delay maghrib from the time of sunset, presumably waiting for the redness of the eastern sky to disappear.

[6224] Refer to chapter 84 for several traditions from Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī in this regards.

[6225] Qur`ān 2:187.

[6226] For example, Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #1.10.516, #1.10.573, #1.12.738, #2.20.212-3; Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #4.1275-6, #4.1279-81.

[6227] Qur`ān 6:76.

[6228] Qur`ān 2:187.

[6229] Tārīkh al-Khulafā` 146.

[6230] Tārīkh al-Khulafā` 184.

Some may argue that sunrise is confirmed by the visualization of the sun at the eastern horizon, so sunset should be confirmed by the disappearance of the sun in the western horizon. This is erroneous for two reasons. First, this argument uses qīyās (reasoning by analogy), and qīyās is a rejected and erroneous form of reasoning that cannot be used because it typically leads to error. Second, a fundamental principle of every school of Islāmic jurisprudence is istiṣḥāb, which means that every property remains until it is proven to have changed. An innocent remains innocent until proven guilty, an impure item remains impure until its purification is established, etc. As such, daytime is established only when there is firm proof—that is, when the sun has risen, and nighttime is established only when there is clear proof—that is, when the redness has disappeared from the eastern sky. In other words, the appearance of redness in the horizon does not prove that sunrise has occurred and the disappearance of the sun in the western horizon does not prove that sunset has occurred, but the appearance of the sun in the eastern horizon proves that the sun has risen and the disappearance of the redness in the eastern horizon proves for certain that the sun has set.

Crossing the Arms During Prayers

With the exception of those following the Mālikī school of Sunnī jurisprudence, Sunnīs consider it recommended though not mandatory to cross the arms in front of the body while standing in prayer. The Shīʿah believe that this custom was assimilated into Islām after the conquest of other lands, as crossing the arms was considered a sign of respect in those cultures. Of note, Mālik, who was the only of the four imāms of Sunnī jurisprudence who grew up in Madīnah, did not believe in that custom because the people of Madīnah did not practice it. He said in regards to crossing the arms in prayer, "I have no knowledge of it in the obligatory prayers. But there is no harm [in it] in the recommended prayers if the [period] of standing is prolonged, as it is left to the individual to decide [in that situation]."[6231] Mālik's statement not only reflected the conduct the residents of Madīnah who learned this most directly from the Prophet (ص), but also showed that this act of crossing the arms was completely foreign to Madīnah and therefore to Mālik. Although he was aware of the traditions in this regards and even related one of them,[6232] it is obvious that he considered them to have either been inaccurate or abrogated, or referring specifically to extremely lengthy non-obligatory prayers where fatigue might be a concern.

Saying Āmīn (Amen) During Prayers

Sunnīs typically say "Āmīn" after completion of the recitation of Sūrah Fātiḥah during the first two rakʿahs of prayer. According to the Shīʿah, this is an innovation that was introduced as Judeo-Christian rites were assimilated into Islām with the conquest of

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[6231] Al-Mudawannah al-Kubrā 1:74.

[6232] Muwaṭṭa' Mālik #9.15.49.

Byzantine and other lands. Instead, the proper recommended phrase is, "al-ḥamdu lillāhi rabb il-´ālamīn," which means, "Praise be Allāh, the Lord of the worlds."

Pointing with the Finger During Tashahhud

Sunnīs generally consider it recommended though not obligatory to point with the index finger during the recitation of the tashahhud, and some consider it recommended to move the index finger as well. The traditions cited by the Sunnīs in regards to pointing the finger during the tashahhud tend to be contradictory to one another, which has led to the development of varying customs in this regards. Each school of Sunnī jurisprudence has adopted different acts in regards to when the finger is raised and lowered, and whether or not the finger is held still. The custom of pointing with the finger during recitation may be due to the assimilation of the Jewish custom of pointing with either the index finger or the pinkie during the recitation of the Torah.

Shortening of Prayers and Delaying Fasts While on a Trip

One of the other differences between the Sunnīs and Shī´ah is that the Sunnīs consider shortening the prayer and delaying the fast while one is travelling as optional, whereas the Shī´ah consider it mandatory. Proof of the Shī´ah position is that when ´Uthmān offered four rak´ahs in Minā instead of the two he ought to have offered as a traveler, ´Alī (ع) and ´Abd al-Raḥmān ibn ´Awf confronted him, and Ibn Mas´ūd and Ibn ´Umar rejected his act.[6233] Had it been optional for ´Uthmān to offer his prayer as either complete or shortened, the companions would have had no grounds for confronting him, as he had merely picked one of two acceptable options.

With respect to fasting, the Qur`ān explicitly states, "Whoever among you is sick or on a trip, the prescribed number [are to be made up] on later days,"[6234] and "Whoever is sick or on a trip, the prescribed number [are to be made up] on later days."[6235] Just as it is impermissible to fast if one suffers an illness that makes fasting a threat to one's health, it is impermissible to fast if one is on a journey. With respect to prayers, the Qur`ān says, "And when you travel through the earth, there is no blame on you if you shorten your prayers."[6236] Some may take the phrase, "there is no blame on you (falaysa ´alaykum junāḥ)," as evidence that one has a choice of either shortening the prayers or offerin them fully when on a trip. Yet, the Qur`ān uses a similar phrase, "there is no blame o him (falā junāḥa ´alayh)," in the following verse: "Surely Ṣafā and the Marwah are amon the signs of Allāh; so whoever makes a [pilgrimage] of ḥajj or ´umrah to the House [o Allāh], there is no blame on him if he walks round them both."[6237] According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, ´Urwah ibn Zubayr made the mistake of thinking that the verse meant, "There is no harm if one does not perform ṭawāf (walking back and forth) between Ṣafā and Marwah." Yet, ´Ā`ishah corrected him by saying,

> O my nephew! Your interpretation is not true. Had this interpretation of yours been correct, the statement of Allāh should have been, "It is not harmful for him if he does not perform ṭawāf between them." But in fact, this divine inspiration was revealed concerning the Anṣār who used to assume iḥrām for worshipping an idol called Manāt which they used to worship at a place called Mushallal

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[6233] Refer to chapter 63.
[6234] Qur`ān 2:184.
[6235] Qur`ān 2:185.
[6236] Qur`ān 4:101.
[6237] Qur`ān 2:158.

> before they embraced Islām, and whoever assumed iḥrām [for the idol] would consider it not right to perform ṭawāf between Ṣafā and Marwah. When they embraced Islām, they asked Allāh's Apostle regarding it, saying, "O Allāh's Apostle! We used to refrain from ṭawāf between Ṣafā and Marwah." So Allāh revealed [this verse]..."[6238]

According to the following account in Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, the verse was revealed to stress that walking between Ṣafā and Marwah was a mandatory part of the ḥajj and ʻumrah rituals:

> When Allāh referred to the ṭawāf of the Kaʻbah and did not mention Ṣafā and Marwah in the Qur`ān, the people asked, "O Allāh's Apostle! We used to perform ṭawāf between Ṣafā and Marwah, and Allāh has revealed [the verses concerning] ṭawāf of the Kaʻbah but has not mentioned Ṣafā and Marwah. Is there any harm if we perform ṭawāf between Ṣafā and Marwah?" So Allāh revealed [this verse]...[6239]

Furthermore, according to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, Anas ibn Mālik, who was among the Anṣār, was asked, "Did you use to dislike to perform ṭawāf between Ṣafā and Marwah?" He replied, "Yes, as it was of the ceremonies of the days of the Days of Ignorance, till Allāh revealed [this verse]."[6240] As such, it is clear that the verse was not giving people a choice of whether or not to walk between Ṣafā and Marwah, but rather telling them to dispel any reservations they may have had in that regards. Similarly, the verse saying, "There is no blame on you if you shorten your prayers," is not telling the Muslims that they may or may not shorten their prayers, but rather informing them that they must dispel any tendencies they may have to avoid following the command of shortening prayers when on a trip. In accordance with this fact, the companions of the Prophet (ص) criticized ʻUthmān when he offered full prayers when on a trip, and ʻUthmān did not claim that the matter was a choice of his, as he ought to have if shortening prayers on a trip was optional, but he instead asserted that he had resorted to his personal opinion by declaring Mecca to be his place of residence.

Islāmic Rituals were Changed During the Lifetime of the Companions

According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī,

1. Anas said, "I do not find things [practiced nowadays] as they were [practiced] at the time of the Prophet." Somebody said, "The prayer [is as it was]." Anas said, "Have you not done to the prayer what you have done?"[6241]

2. Narrated Zuhrī that he visited Anas ibn Mālik in Damascus and found him weeping and asked him why he was weeping. He replied, "I do not know (i.e. recognize) anything which I used to know during the lifetime of Allāh's Apostle except this prayer which is being lost (i.e. not offered as it should be)."[6242]

These traditions show several facts: (1) Islāmic practices and rituals were changed. (2) Even the form of simple rituals such as prayer was changed. (3) These changes were introduced during the lifetime of the Prophet's (ص) companions. (4) These changes were rather noticeable even in the capital city of Damascus. (5) Anas was either unable or unwilling to correct these distortions. If he was unable to do so, it was due either to taqīyyah for fear of the awful consequences that would befall one who would oppose the innovations, or due to the futility of the act because he knew that the other companions and the successors would not listen to someone trying to restore Islām to its original form. In the latter scenario or if he was unwilling to do so, it shows the carelessness of the companions in preserving the Sunnah of the Prophet (ص). In any case, it is obvious that an imām pure from sin and imbued with knowledge would be necessary to keep the Sunnah of the Prophet (ص) alive. Since Islāmic rituals were altered during the lifetime of the companions, if one wishes to perform rituals as they were performed by the Prophet (ص), they ought to refer to the Ahl al-Bayt of the Prophet (ص), as they were entrusted with ensuring the survival of the Prophet's (ص) Sunnah and its immunity from change until the Day of Judgment.

[6238] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #2.26.706; Similarly, Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #6.60.22, #6.60.384; Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #7.2923.
[6239] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #2.26.706.
[6240] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #2.26.710. Similarly, Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #6.60.23.
[6241] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #1.10.507.
[6242] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #1.10.507. The last parenthetic comment is as per the English translation of Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī.

Chapter 88
The Martyrdom of ʹAlī (ع)

The Historical Context for the Rise of the Khārijītes

The martyrdom of ʹAlī (ع) was due to the rise of the Khārijītes, which is best understood in its historical context. The Battle of Jamal ended militarily in ʹAlī's (ع) favor. However, this mutiny emboldened Muʹāwīyah to claim that it was legitimate to rise against ʹAlī (ع) to avenge ʹUthmān's blood. Thus, the Battle of Ṣiffīn broke out, with thousands more Muslim casualties. In this battle, ʹAlī (ع) was militarily victorious, but when he was about to annihilate Muʹāwīyah's forces, they held copies of the Qurʾāns up on spears, asking for the Qurʾān to judge between the two sides. ʹAlī (ع) urged continued military action against the Syrians whom he deemed devoid of faith and virtue and the farthest removed from the Qurʾān, but some among his troops forced him to accept arbitration and also demanded that he select Abū Mūsā al-Ashʹarī as his arbitrator, instead of Ibn ʹAbbās, whom he strongly preferred. The two arbitrators argued about whom to select as caliph, but finally agreed to depose both ʹAlī (ع) and Muʹāwīyah and to allow the Muslims to choose a caliph for themselves through a consultative council (shūrā). Abū Mūsā al-Ashʹarī was duped by ʹAmr ibn ʹĀṣ to declare ʹAlī's (ع) caliphate void first, and ʹAmr then declared Muʹāwīyah as the new caliph in a blatant act of treachery. ʹAlī (ع) and his forces refused to accept their decision, which was based on their own whims as opposed to the Qurʾān and Sunnah which they were charged with basing their decisions upon. Nevertheless, ʹAlī's (ع) troops were demoralized. A faction emerged at the end of the Battle of Ṣiffīn claiming that it had been illegitimate for them to allow two arbitrators to make a decision. They even claimed that ʹAlī (ع) became a disbeliever by allowing men to judge instead of the Qurʾān.

Khārijīte Mentality

The Khārijītes included many of the same individuals who had forced ʹAlī (ع) to accept arbitration instead of war and who had forced him to accept Abū Mūsā al-Ashʹarī as his arbitrator instead of ʹAbd Allāh ibn ʹAbbās in the first place. When they realized their error upon their ensuing humiliation, they claimed that they had repented, and demanded that ʹAlī (ع) repent as well. They further claimed that by accepting arbitration, ʹAlī (ع) had become a disbeliever. If he repented, they would accept him with open arms, but if he did not do so, they would fight him as a disbeliever. They told ʹAlī (ع), "We accepted the setting up of the arbitration and when we did so we sinned and became disbelievers. But we have repented and, if you do the same, then we will be with you fully."[6243]

[6243] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:128; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:85.

Khārijītes made several simplistic errors: (1) They assumed that arbitration is not legitimate, even though the Qur`ān allows the use of arbitrators to resolve disputes.[6244] (2) From the fact that all rule (ḥukm) belong to Allāh,[6245] they concluded that the Book of Allāh must directly judge every matter, even though any rational person knows that the Qur`ān cannot judge, but rather requires a person with knowledge of it to judge based on it. (3) They sinned by not obeying their imām and by forcing all their wrong decisions upon him. ʿAlī (ع) committed neither their sin of opposition to the imām nor their self-admitted sin of choosing arbitration over war. He was coerced into accepting arbitration because of the explicit threat of being killed and the imminent discord that would ensue.[6246] His adamant refusal to repent was intended to clarify the fact that the Khārijītes were erroneous and not him, to uphold the legitimacy of the imāmate, and to avoid casting doubts regarding his purity from sin.

The Khārijītes had a dual religious mentality, mixing absolute adherence to simple rituals with complete ignorance of the most basic tenets of Islām. On the one hand, they would not allow a single date to be eaten that had fallen from a tree, and even paid compensation for a pig belonging to a Christian that they had killed.[6247] On the other hand, when a man refused to join them in criticizing ʿAlī (ع), they killed him and split open his pregnant wife's belly, killing her and her unborn child.[6248] ʿAlī (ع) said, "By Allāh, if you killed even a chicken like that, its killing would be a weighty matter with Allāh. How will it be, then, regarding a soul, the killing of which Allāh has prohibited?"[6249] Thus, as predicted by the Prophet (ص) (see below), they showed certain elements of extreme external piety while missing the entirety of the basic precepts of Islām.

The Battle of Nahrawān

As the Khārijītes started gathering in Nahrawān in Iraq,[6250] ʿAlī's (ع) companions gave him a renewed oath of allegiance, saying, "We are the friends of those whom you befriend and the enemies of those to whom you show enmity."[6251] A total of 65,000 Kūfans joined the battle on ʿAlī's (ع) behalf.[6252] In the meanwhile, ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās called for troops to gather from Baṣrah, but only 1,500 gathered out of 60,000 free adult men.[6253] After criticizing them for their lack of resolve, an additional 1,700[6254] or 3,200[6255] Baṣrans joined the war.

Upon meeting the Khārijītes, ʿAlī (ع) reasoned with them numerous times. He sent Ibn ʿAbbās, who told them, "What is it that you hold against the two arbitrators? Allāh said, 'If the two of them desire reconciliation, Allāh will being about agreement between them,'[6256]" and he added, "Allāh says, 'Two just men from among you shall judge it.'[6257]"[6258] Based on his arguments, one third of the Khārijītes reverted to ʿAlī's (ع)

[6244] Qur`ān 4:35, 5:95.
[6245] Qur`ān 6:57, 12:40, 12:67.
[6246] Refer to chapter 83.
[6247] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:125; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:84; Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:343.
[6248] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:124, 17:125; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:84; Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:343.
[6249] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:130; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:85.
[6250] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:115; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:82; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:310; Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:340-1.
[6251] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:117; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:82; Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:336.
[6252] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:122; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:84.
[6253] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:120-1; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:83.
[6254] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:121.
[6255] Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:84.
[6256] Qur`ān 4:35.
[6257] Qur`ān 5:95.

camp and another third abandoned the Khārijīte army, leaving only one third who remained steadfast in opposition to ʿAlī (ع).[6259]

According to Ṭabarī, "He sent imploring them by Allāh and asking them to return. A succession of messengers went ceaselessly from him to them until they killed a messenger of his. When he saw that, he attacked them and fought them until he had finished with them."[6260] According to Ṭabarī and Ibn Athīr, when ʿAlī's (ع) messenger called the remaining Khārijītes to abandon the battle, 1,200 of the 4,000 remaining Khārijītes abandoned their cause.[6261] The Khārijītes who remained put up a very weak resistance as if they had been ordered to die,[6262] and were slaughtered, killing only seven of ʿAlī's (ع) companions in the process.[6263] ʿAlī (ع) divided the weapons and other war supplies among his troops, but returned other goods as well as the captured slaves when he returned to Kūfah.[6264] He also returned property he had separated as khums to their original owners.[6265]

The Prophet (ص) Predicted the Rise of the Khārijītes

According to traditions in Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī and Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, the rise of the Khārijītes was predicted by the Prophet (ص). According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī,

> While the Prophet was distributing [war booty] one day, Dhū al-Khuwayṣirah, a man from the tribe of Banū Tamīm, said, "O Allāh's Apostle! Act justly." The Prophet said, "Woe to you! Who else would act justly if I did not act justly?" ʿUmar said [to the Prophet], "Allow me to chop his neck off." The Prophet said, "No, for he has companions [who appear so pious that] if any of [you compares his prayer with] their prayer, he will consider his prayer inferior to theirs, and similarly his fasting inferior to theirs, but they will desert Islām as an arrow goes through the victim's body, in which case if its... [head, tail, and shaft are] examined, nothing will be seen thereon, for the arrow has gone out too fast even for the excretions and blood to smear over it. Such people will come out at the time of difference among the [Muslim] people and the sign by which they will be recognized will be a man, one of whose two hands will look like the breast of a woman or a lump of flesh moving loosely." Abū Saʿīd added, "I testify that I heard that from the Prophet and also testify that I was with ʿAlī when ʿAlī fought against those people. The man described by the Prophet was searched for among the killed, and was found, and he was exactly as the Prophet had described him."[6266]

This tradition leaves out the part related in Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim in which ʿAlī (ع) insisted that the man with the deformed hand would be among the dead Khārijītes:

> Only two persons were killed among the people [fighting for ʿAlī] on that day. ʿAlī said, "Find [this man] from among them (the Khārijīte corpses)." They

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[6258] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:101; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:78. Similarly, Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:341. Refer to Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:226-7 for a more detailed account of the arguments of Ibn ʿAbbās.

[6259] Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:228.

[6260] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:139.

[6261] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:130-1; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:86.

[6262] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:132; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:86.

[6263] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:135; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:87; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:320.

[6264] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:134; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:87.

[6265] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:320.

[6266] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #8.73.184. Similarly, Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #4.56.807, #9.84.67; Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #5.2333.

searched but did not find him. ʿAlī then himself stood up and [walked] till he came to the people who had been killed one after another. He said, "Search them to the last, and then [ʿAlī's companions] found him on the ground. [ʿAlī] then pronounced, "Allāh is greater!" and then said, "Allāh told the truth and His Messenger conveyed it."[6267]

Most of ʿAlī's (ε) Troops Abandoned Him and Returned to Kūfah After the Battle of Nahrawān

After his victory at Nahrawān, ʿAlī (ε) set out to defeat Muʿāwīyah once and for all. He told his men, "Allāh has favored you and reinforced your victory, so direct yourselves immediately against your enemy."[6268] Ashʿath ibn Qays and others complained of exhaustion, saying, "[Let us] go back to our garrison town (i.e. Kūfah), and let us make the best possible preparation."[6269] ʿAlī (ε) returned to the outskirts of Kūfah, setting up camp at Nukhaylah.[6270] According to Ṭabarī and Ibn Athīr, his troops, however, "slipped away from their camp," returning to their homes, while "those who showed enthusiasm were in the minority"; thus, ʿAlī's (ε) "idea of departing to fight Muʿāwīyah was shattered."[6271] He gave many speeches trying to rally the Iraqis to rise to battle, but these speeches fell mostly on deaf ears, with only a small group of his most loyal Shīʿah offering him strict obedience. He said, "You are the lions of Sharā (i.e. very brave) in times of peace and sly foxes when you are called to be brave. You will never be men on whom I can rely."[6272] The only ones who were eager to fight Muʿāwīyah were his few devoted Shīʿah as well as the Khārijītes who had abandoned Nahrawān to rejoin him, and who said, "All we want is to resume open hostilities with [the Syrians]."[6273]

The Loss of Egypt

In the meanwhile, concern arose regarding the ability of ʿAlī's (ε) governor in Egypt, Qays ibn Saʿd ibn ʿUbādah, to subdue the small community there that was in favor of ʿUthmān and opposed to ʿAlī (ε). As such, he replaced Qays with Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr and Qays returned to Madīnah, where he was threatened by Marwān ibn Ḥakam and others, so he was forced to leave for Kūfah.[6274] Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr attacked the Kharbitā (the rebel tribes in Egypt) but was defeated.[6275] Given Muḥammad's (رض) lack of military experience, ʿAlī (ε) sent Mālik al-Ashtar to take control of Egypt,[6276] saying, "[He] is harder on the disbelievers than the burning of the fire."[6277] Unfortunately, on his way to Egypt, Mālik al-Ashtar was martyred by locals who gave him a poisoned honey drink,[6278] as Muʿāwīyah had promised them a lifetime free of the kharāj tax if they were to kill al-Ashtar.[6279] Muʿāwīyah was most pleased by this, saying, "ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib had two right hands; one of them (i.e. ʿAmmār ibn Yāsir) was cut off on the day of Ṣiffīn and the other (i.e. Mālik al-Ashtar) today."[6280]

[6267] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #5.2333.
[6268] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:135; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:87; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 2:340.
[6269] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:135-6; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:87; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 2:340.
[6270] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:136; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:87; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 2:340.
[6271] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:136; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:87. Similarly, Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:340.
[6272] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:137. Similarly, Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:347.
[6273] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:138.
[6274] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:142-3. Similarly, Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:346 and Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:88; Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:348-50.
[6275] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:143.
[6276] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:144; Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:352; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:88.
[6277] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:146.
[6278] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:145; Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:352; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:88; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:346.
[6279] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:145; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:88.

Muʿāwīyah then made Egypt his first priority, since it was, as ʿAmr ibn ʿĀṣ put it, a "land great in kharāj, rich in equipment, and numerous in population."[6281] Muʿāwīyah sent ʿAmr ibn ʿĀṣ with 6,000 men to aid the Egyptian rebels,[6282] and together they comprised an army of 16,000 men.[6283] In the meanwhile, as requested by Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr,[6284] ʿAlī (ع) called his men to gather forces, but not one showed up to join him in battle the next day.[6285] He called the nobles of the tribes and chastised them. Mālik ibn Kaʿb al-Hamdānī al-Arḥabī answered his call and ʿAlī (ع) called for the Kūfans to join Mālik. About 2,000 men joined him, but ʿAlī (ع) told them, "By the time you reach the men in Egypt, everything will be over."[6286] Indeed, they were too late. Battle broke out, and upon the slaying of Kinānah ibn Bishr, one of Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr's commanders, Muḥammad's 4,000 men abandoned him on the battlefield.[6287] He was captured alone while dying of thirst, and was refused a drink, as Muʿāwīyah ibn Ḥudayj, the enemy commander, told him, "You prevented ʿUthmān from drinking water until you had killed him."[6288] Muḥammad replied,

> What have you got to do with ʿUthmān? He acted unjustly and rejected the authority (ḥukm) of the Qurʾān, and Allāh has said, "They who do not judge with what Allāh has revealed, they are the iniquitous."[6289] We held that against him and killed him, but you give him merit for it, you and those who are like you. Allāh has absolved us—Allāh willing—from his sin, but you share in his offense and the enormity of his sin, and the one who uses you (i.e. Muʿāwīyah) is just the same.[6290]

Muʿāwīyah ibn Ḥudayj became angry, had him brought forward, and killed him. Then he cast him into the corpse of a donkey and set fire to it.[6291] According to Ṭabarī, "ʿAlī grieved for Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr so much that it was visible in his face and it was obvious."[6292] ʿAlī (ع) then chastised the Kūfans, saying,

> I have called you to the aid of your brethren for some fifty days, but you have gurgled as do slack-jawed camels slurping their water, and you were sluggardly like people with no intention of waging jihād against the enemy or acquiring eternal reward. Then a tiny force came out to me from among you, one by one "as if they were being driven toward death while looking around."[6293] Shame on you![6294]

[6280] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:146.
[6281] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:148.
[6282] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:152-3; Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:353; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:89.
[6283] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:348.
[6284] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:154.
[6285] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:161-2.
[6286] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:162-3; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:90.
[6287] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:156-7.
[6288] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:157; Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:354; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:90; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 1:349.
[6289] Qurʾān 5:47.
[6290] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:158. Similarly, Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:354.
[6291] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:158; Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:354; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:90; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 1:349.
[6292] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:163.
[6293] See Qurʾān 8:6.
[6294] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:164; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:91.

´Amr ibn ´Āṣ then went after Muḥammad ibn Abī Ḥudhayfah, who was the one who began the Egyptian revolt against ´Uthmān,[6295] had him arrested, and sent him to Mu´āwīyah. He fled Mu´āwīyah's prison, left Damascus, and hid in a cave. Unfortunately, he was caught by locals and martyred.[6296] The loss of Egypt was a serious setback to ´Alī (ع), only overshadowed by the loss of Mālik al-Ashtar and Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr in the process of holding on to Egypt. ´Amr ibn ´Āṣ, as promised by Mu´āwīyah, was appointed as the governor of Egypt, and he remained in power there until the year 47 A.H. when he was replaced by Mu´āwīyah ibn Ḥudayj.[6297]

Mu´āwīyah Dispatched Saboteurs to Baṣrah

When Ibn ´Abbās left Baṣrah to consult with ´Alī (ع), Mu´āwīyah dispatched ´Abd Allāh ibn ´Amr al-Ḥaḍramī to the Banū Tamīm in Baṣrah to incite them against ´Alī (ع),[6298] as many of those among the Banū Tamīm had strong Khārijīte tendencies. Ziyād ibn ´Ubayd, who was in charge of Baṣrah in the absence of Ibn ´Abbās, became aware of the plot. He sought protection with a group of the Banū Azd who were loyal to ´Alī (ع), and wrote to ´Alī (ع), informing him that the people of Baṣrah were pledging allegiance to Ibn al-Ḥaḍramī, and that he needed reinforcements.[6299] ´Alī (ع) sent A´yan ibn Ḍubay´ah who, according to Ṭabarī, "summoned them to desist and cease their discord, and most of them agreed. That frightened the supporters of Ibn al-Ḥaḍramī, and many of those with them split away."[6300] Ibn al-Ḥaḍramī and his remaining supporters attacked A´yan unawares and killed him. The Azdīs, however, refused to go to war against the Tamīmīs over this because they had not extended protection to A´yan, as they had done to Ziyād.[6301] ´Alī (ع) then sent fifty men of the Banū Tamīm who were loyal to him to Baṣrah. They besieged Ibn al-Ḥaḍramī and seventy of his supporters in one house. They then set the house on fire, burning those inside, and dispersing their supporters, allowing Ziyād to return to the governor's office.[6302] ´Abd Allāh ibn ´Abbās returned to Baṣrah, but according to some accounts, questions later arose regarding his handling of publi finances, so he abandoned his post and returned to Mecca.[6303]

The loss of Egypt, the formation of rifts in Baṣrah, and the reluctance of ´Alī's (ع) force to mobilize for battle emboldened Mu´āwīyah to engage in a number of forays into various lands including Anbār, Ḥijāz, and Yemen. His dispatch of Busr ibn Abī Arṭāt to Madīnah, Mecca, and Yemen was discussed previously when we addressed Abū Hurayrah's involvement on behalf of Mu´āwīyah.[6304] ´Alī's (ع) rule was also plagued by uprisings in Fārs, Khurāsān, and other lands, as well as continued Khārijīte instigations that threatened him in Iraq.

The Assassination of ´Alī (ع)

According to widely narrated traditions, three Khārijītes—´Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Muljam, Burak ibn ´Abd Allāh, and ´Amr ibn Bakr al-Tamīmī—banded together, plotting to simultaneously assassinate ´Alī (ع) in Kūfah, Mu´āwīyah in Damascus, and ´Amr ibn ´Āṣ in Egypt. Each of the three went to his respective destination. In the meanwhile, Ibn Muljam fell in love with a woman named Qaṭām, and developed second thoughts about his mission. However, since she had lost her Khārijīte father and brother in the Battle of Nahrawān, she demanded that Ibn Muljam kill ʻAlī (ع) as part of her dower, thus rekindling his original plan. During the morning prayers in Ramaḍān, he struck ʻAlī (ع) on the head with his poisoned sword, while yelling out, "Authority (al-ḥukm) belongs to Allāh, ʻAlī, not to you or your accomplices!"[6305]

[6295] Refer to chapter 69.
[6296] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:159-61; Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:354.
[6297] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 18:91.
[6298] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:165-6; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:91; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:350; Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:358.
[6299] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:166-8; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:92; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:350; Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:359.
[6300] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:169.
[6301] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:169; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:92; Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:360.
[6302] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:170; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:92; Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:361.
[6303] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:209-212; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:101; Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:293.
[6304] Refer to chapter 77.

ʻAlī (ع) died two days later, and his son Ḥasan (ع) led the funeral prayers over him, performing nine takbīrs.[6306] According to most Sunnī historians, ʻAlī (ع) was stabbed on the seventeenth of Ramaḍān and died on the nineteenth, although other dates have also been cited.[6307] According to the Shīʻah, these events occurred on the nineteenth and twenty-first of Ramaḍān, respectively. Ḥanbal has cited an account confirming that, "ʻAlī died on the morning of the twenty-first of Ramaḍān."[6308] ʻAlī's (ع) caliphate lasted four years and nine months,[6309] and he died at the age of 63.[6310]

It has been reported that when Muʻāwīyah heard of ʻAlī's (ع) death, he started sobbing. His wife Fākhitah bint Qurṭah said, "Yesterday you were insulting him and today you are crying for him?!" He replied, "Woe unto you! I only cry because people are devoid of his patience, knowledge, virtues, record, and kindness."[6311]

ʻAlī (ع) commanded that Ibn Muljam not be killed unless he were to die first; if he were to survive, there would be only just retribution for the wound he had inflicted.[6312] He also ordered that no one other than his murder be killed, saying, "Let me not find you plunging into the blood of the Muslims, saying, 'The Commander of the Faithful has been killed! The Commander of the Faithful has been killed!' No one shall be killed except my killer."[6313]

After ʻAlī (ع) died, Ibn Muljam was brought to Ḥasan (ع). Ibn Muljam said that if he were released, he would kill Muʻāwīyah, but Ḥasan (ع) replied, "By Allāh, not until you see hell!"[6314] According to some accounts, ʻAlī (ع) ordered that he be punished the same way in which someone intending to kill the Prophet (ص) was to be punished—by killing him and having his body burnt thereafter.[6315] According to some accounts, ʻAbd Allāh ibn Jaʻfar chopped off Ibn Muljam's hands and feet and enucleated his eyes while he was reciting the Qurʼān.[6316] It is also said that his tongue was cut off, then he was killed and his body was set ablaze.[6317] According to Ibn Ḥajar, "[Ibn Muljam] killed ʻAlī seeking closeness to Allāh through his blood based on his opinion. His four limbs and his tongue

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6305. Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:213-218; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 6:245, 7:361-3; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:102; Usd al-Ghābah 3:301-2 #3789 (ʻAlī ibn Abi Ṭālib); Istīʻāb 3:218-9 #1875 (ʻAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib); Tārīkh al-Khulafāʼ 156; Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:234-6.
6306. Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:222; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:363.
6307. Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 8:15-16.
6308. Faḍāʼil Ḥanbal #939.
6309. Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:226-7.
6310. Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:226 says in regards to the report that ʻAlī (ع) died at the age of 63, "This last report is the best option." Similar comments also appear in Usd al-Ghābah 3:303 #3789 (ʻAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib).
6311. Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 8:15. Similarly, Tārīkh Damishq 42:582-3.
6312. Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:218, 17:222; Faḍāʼil Ḥanbal #944; Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:234; Tārīkh Damishq 42:555.
6313. Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:222.
6314. Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:222-3; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:366; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:103.
6315. Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:363; Tārīkh Damishq 42:560-1.
6316. Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:366; Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:378; Usd al-Ghābah 3:302 #3789 (ʻAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib).
6317. Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:366; Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:378; Usd al-Ghābah 3:302-3 #3789 (ʻAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib).

were amputated, his eyes were enucleated, and his body was burned. We ask Allāh for forgiveness and mercy."[6318]

ʿĀʾishah was most pleased when she heard of ʿAlī's (ع) death, recounting the following proverb indicating her pleasure: "And she threw down her staff and settled upon her place of abode, like the traveler happy to return home."[6319] She also said, "The Arabs do what they want, and there is no one to forbid them."[6320]

Of note, Muʿāwīyah was struck by Burak ibn ʿAbd Allāh on his buttocks on the same day, surviving but being left infertile from the potion used to treat his stab wound.[6321] ʿAmr ibn ʿĀṣ was sick on the day of his planned assassination, and Khārijah ibn Ḥudhāfah, who had been sent to lead prayers, was mistakenly killed by ʿAmr ibn Bakr instead.[6322]

Ibn Muljam was the Worst of People

As is unanimously accepted, ʿAlī (ع) was killed by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn Muljam who, by Sunnī definition, was a companion of the Messenger of Allāh (ص).[6323] According to a widely narrated tradition,

> The Prophet (ص) said, "Shall I inform you of the two men who are the worst (ashqā) of people?" They said, "Yes, tell us, O Messenger of Allāh!" He said, "Uḥaymir of Thamūd who killed the camel, and the one who will strike you, O ʿAlī, here," and he placed his hand on [ʿAlī's] head, "until it is soaked from [the blood of] here," and he placed his hand on [ʿAlī's] beard.[6324]

Of note, this and similar traditions in which the Prophet (ص) said that the killer of ʿAlī (ع) will be the worst (ashqā) of people has been related through a large number of chains of transmission with minor differences in wording and context in Mustadrak Ḥākim,[632] Musnad Ḥanbal,[6326] Sunan al-Kubrā Nasāʾī,[6327] Khaṣāʾiṣ Nasāʾī,[6328] Faḍāʾil Ḥanbal,[632] Sunan al-Kubrā Bayhaqī,[6330] Khaṣāʾiṣ al-Kubrā Suyūṭī,[6331] Jāmiʿ al-Ṣaghīr Suyūṭī,[633] Kanz al-ʿUmmāl,[6333] Majmaʿ al-Zawāʾid,[6334] Muʿjam al-Kabīr Ṭabarānī,[6335] Tārīkh Ṭabarī,[6336] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr,[6337] Sīrah Ibn Hishām,[6338] Tārīkh al-Khulafāʾ,[6339] Ansāb al-

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6318. Lisān al-Mīzān vol 3 #1714 (ʿAbd al-Rahmān ibn Muljam).
6319. Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:224; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:103.
6320. Istīʿāb 3:218 #1875 (ʿAlī ibn Abī Tālib); Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:237.
6321. Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:223; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:103.
6322. Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:223-4; Ansāb al-Ashrāf 3:454.
6323. Iṣābah 2:1456 #6382 (ʿAbd al-Rahmān ibn Muljam).
6324. Musnad Ḥanbal #18347; Mustadrak Ḥākim #4679 (certifies the tradition as authentic by the criteria of Muslim); Sunan al-Kubrā Nasāʾī #8538; Khaṣāʾiṣ Nasāʾī 129-30; Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #36442-3; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 3:303, 6:244; Tārīkh al-Khulafāʾ 155; Jāmiʿ al-Ṣaghīr Suyūṭī #2850; Tārīkh Ṭabarī 7:17; Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:106.
6325. Mustadrak Ḥākim #4590 (certifies the tradition as authentic by the criteria of Bukhārī), #4679 (certifies the tradition as authentic by the criteria of Muslim).
6326. Musnad Ḥanbal #18347.
6327. Sunan al-Kubrā Nasāʾī #8538.
6328. Khaṣāʾiṣ Nasāʾī 129-30.
6329. Faḍāʾil Ḥanbal #953, #1172.
6330. Sunan al-Kubrā Bayhaqī #15848.
6331. Khaṣāʾiṣ al-Kubrā Suyūṭī 2:190.
6332. Jāmiʿ al-Ṣaghīr Suyūṭī #2850.
6333. Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #36429, #36442-3, #36561, #36563, #36571, #36577-8, #36587.
6334. Majmaʿ al-Zawāʾid #10970, #12319, #14775-7, #14780 (certifies the tradition as good [ḥasan]), #14781.
6335. Muʿjam al-Kabīr Ṭabarānī 1:106, 2:247, 8:38.
6336. Tārīkh Ṭabarī 7:17.
6337. Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 3:303, 6:244, 7:358, 7:360.
6338. Sīrah Ibn Hishām 434.

Ashrāf,[6340] Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā,[6341] Tārīkh Bukhārī,[6342] Tārīkh Baghdād,[6343] Tārīkh Damishq,[6344] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd,[6345] Iṣābah,[6346] Usd al-Ghābah,[6347] Istī´āb,[6348] Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah,[6349] and Dhakhā`ir al-´Uqbā.[6350] Mustadrak Ḥākim includes two traditions in this regards, one of which is certified as authentic by the criteria of Bukhārī,[6351] while the other is certified as authentic by the criteria of Muslim.[6352] Ibn Ḥajar said, "[Ibn Muljam] is the worst of this nation based on definite designation (bi-al-naṣṣ al-thābit) by the Prophet because of his killing ´Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib."[6353]

It is noteworthy that Sunnī scholars have included Ibn Muljam among the companions, and have widely narrated that he is among the worst of mankind, worse than billions of pagans, disbelievers, hypocrites, and other enemies of Islām. Yet, some have maintained that all companions, including this man, will be in paradise. Some go as far as claiming that his killing ´Alī (ع) was an act of ijtihād for which he will be rewarded. Ibn Ḥazm said, "There is no disagreement among anyone in the nation (i.e. the Sunnīs) that ´Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Muljam did not kill ´Alī except by his interpretation, as a mujtahid, so for him will be one reward."[6354] Clearly, such an idea is in sharp contrast to the statement of the Prophet (ص) which labeled the killer of ´Alī (ع) as the worst of mankind, not a noble mujtahid. How one can be rewarded for an act that would distinguish him as being the worst of mankind is unclear to any rational person. Ibn Muljam had a permanent mark on his forehead from the frequency of prostration,[6355] yet his acts of worship were all for naught.

Miracle at ´Alī's (ع) Martyrdom

According to Suyūṭī, "Ḥākim, Bayhaqī, and Abū Nu´aym relate that Zuhrī said that on the morning in which ´Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib was killed, no stone was lifted in the Bayt al-Maqdis without finding blood under it."[6356] Similarly, Sa´īd ibn Musayyab said, "The morning of the day in which ´Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib was killed, no pebble was picked up from the earth without there being fresh blood under it."[6357] Similar accounts also appear in Mustadrak Ḥākim,[6358] Tārīkh Damishq,[6359] Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah,[6360] and Dhakhā`ir al-´Uqbā.[6361] According to Ṭabarānī and Suyūṭī, this miracle occurred again upon the martyrdom of Ḥusayn ibn ´Alī (ع) at Karbalā`.[6362]

[6339] Tārīkh al-Khulafā` 155.
[6340] Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:376.
[6341] Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 3:35.
[6342] Tārīkh Bukhārī vol 8 #3167 (Yazīd ibn Umayyah).
[6343] Tārīkh Baghdād #1 (´Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib).
[6344] Tārīkh Damishq 42:538, 42:543, 42:544, 42:546, 42:547, 42:549-51 (numerous chains of transmission).
[6345] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 9:117, 10:264.
[6346] Iṣābah 2:1456 #6382 (´Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Muljam).
[6347] Usd al-Ghābah 3:299-300 #3789 (´Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib) (several traditions).
[6348] Istī´āb 3:219, 220 #1875 (´Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib).
[6349] Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:106, 3:237-8 (four traditions).
[6350] Dhakhā`ir al-´Uqbā 115-6.
[6351] Mustadrak Ḥākim #4590.
[6352] Mustadrak Ḥākim #4679.
[6353] Iṣābah 2:1456 #6382 (´Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Muljam).
[6354] Al-Muḥallā of Ibn Ḥazm 10:484.
[6355] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 8:14; Tārīkh Damishq 42:560.
[6356] Khaṣā`iṣ al-Kubrā Suyūṭī 2:190.
[6357] Khaṣā`iṣ al-Kubrā Suyūṭī 2:190.
[6358] Mustadrak Ḥākim #4591.
[6359] Tārīkh Damishq 42:567-8.
[6360] Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:237.
[6361] Dhakhā`ir al-´Uqbā 115.
[6362] Mu´jam al-Kabīr Ṭabarānī 3:113, 3:119; Khaṣā`iṣ al-Kubrā Suyūṭī 2:193; Tārīkh al-Khulafā` 184.

The Speech of Ḥasan ibn ´Alī (ع)

Upon ´Alī's (ع) martyrdom, his son Ḥasan (ع) gave the following speech:

> Tonight you have killed a man on the night in which the Qur`ān was revealed (i.e. Laylah al-Qadr), in which Jesus the son of Mary was raised, and in which Yūsha´ (Joshua) ibn Nūn the hero [among followers] of Moses was killed. By Allāh, none of those before him have surpassed him and none of those after him will reach him [in merit]. By Allāh, whenever the Messenger of Allāh (ص) would send him on a mission, Gabriel would be on his right side and Michael would be on his left side. By Allāh, he did not leave any gold or silver but eight hundred or nine hundred [dirhams] which he has earmarked for some incident.[6363]

Indeed, this speech touches upon the immense virtue of ´Alī (ع) and the unassailable legacy that ´Alī (ع) left behind upon his martyrdom.[6364] According to some accounts, the money he was saving was being earmarked to hire a servant to help with his large family.[6365]

´Alī's (ع) Burial

There is much confusion in Sunnī sources regarding the site of ´Alī's (ع) burial. Some claim that he was taken back to Madīnah by Ḥasan (ع) and buried in the Baqī´ cemetery, although that would be an unusually long duration to keep a body before burial. Others claim that he was buried in Kūfah. Yet others claim that he was buried in Najaf.[6366] Some Sunnī accounts say that he was buried in some land whose location no one knows.[6367] Of course, his own family knew where he was buried because they were the ones who buried him. Due to the threat that the Khārijītes or the Umayyad supporters might unearth and mutilate his body, he was buried in a secret location. Indeed, this threat has persisted for a long time. Even decades later when Khālid ibn ´Abd Allāh, an Umayyad agent during the caliphate of Hishām ibn ´Abd al-Malik, found a grave that he suspected might be that of ´Alī (ع), he intended to set fire to it.[6368] Centuries later, after sacking Karbalā´ in 1801 and attacking the gravesite of Imām Ḥusayn (ع), the Wahhābīs laid siege to Najaf in their quest to attack the gravesite of the Commander of the Faithful (ع), but were successfully repelled.

It is clear that burial of the Ahl al-Kisā`—those who were in the Prophet's cloak when the verse of purification was revealed[6369]—occurred under the most dire of circumstances. The Prophet (ص) was buried at night with just a small handful present at his burial;[6370] Fāṭimah (ع) was buried at night with just a few of her family members present;[6371] ´Alī (ع) was buried in secret; the burial of Ḥasan (ع) nearly resulted in civil war in

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[6363] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:368. Similarly, Tārīkh Damishq 42:578-82 (several traditions); Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:232; Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:155; Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 3:38; Mustadrak Ḥākim #4802; Musnad Ḥanbal #1719; Kanz al-´Ummāl #36574; Majma´ al-Zawā`id #14798, #14799 (certifies some of the chains as good); Faḍā`il Ḥanbal #922, #1013-4, #1026. Minor differences in wording exist among the various traditions.

[6364] Refer to chapter 99 for further a more detailed account of ´Alī's (ع) legacy.

[6365] Istī´āb 3:211 #1875 (´Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib); Usd al-Ghābah 3:289 #3789 (´Alī Ibn Abī Ṭālib); Faḍā`il Ḥanbal #1013.

[6366] Istī´āb 3:217 #1875 (´Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib).

[6367] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 8:14; Istī´āb 3:217 #1875 (´Alī Ibn Abī Ṭālib).

[6368] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 8:14.

[6369] Refer to chapter 14.

[6370] Refer to chapter 47.

[6371] Refer to chapter 50.

Madīnah;[6372] and the body of Ḥusayn (ع) was abandoned in Karbalā` while his head was taken to Kūfah and Damascus as a gift for ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Zīyād and Yazīd.[6373]

[6372] Refer to chapter 94.
[6373] Refer to chapter 95.

Chapter 89

Shahrastānī's List of the Ten Causes of Discord in the Muslim Nation

As one can see, the caliphate of ʹAlī (ع) was plagued by discord in the Muslim nation. Shahrastānī, in his introduction to Muslim sects in his work al-Milal wa al-Niḥal cited ten causes of dispute that arose among the nation that led to Muslim sectarianism. The following is a summarized list of these ten causes:

1. "The first dispute that took place... [was] when the last sickness of the Prophet became acute, he said, 'Bring me an inkpot and writing material; I shall write something for you so that you will not be led astray after my departure.' ʹUmar said, 'The Prophet has been overcome by pain, Allāh's Book is sufficient for us.' A noisy argument arose among those gathered, whereupon the Prophet said, 'Go away; there should be no quarrelling in my presence!'"

2. "The second dispute during his sickness occurred in the following way: The Prophet said, 'Prepare the army of Usāmah; cursed be the one who fails to joi it!' Some said that they must carry out his command, especially as Usāmah ha already left the city. Others, however, said, 'The Prophet's sickness has become very serious; we cannot bear parting with him while he is in this condition. So we shall wait and see what happens.'"

3. "The third dispute was at the Prophet's death, when ʹUmar said, 'If anyone says that Muḥammad has died, I shall kill him with this sword of mine.'"

4. "The fourth dispute concerned the place of the Prophet's burial. The Emigres from Mecca wanted to take him back to Mecca, for this was where he grew up... The Anṣār of Madīnah wanted to bury him in Madīnah... Finally, all agreed to bury him in Madīnah..."

5. "The fifth dispute arose over the imāmate. The greatest dispute, indeed, in the community has been that over the imāmate; for no sword has ever been drawn in Islām on a religious question as it has been drawn at all times on the question of the imāmate. It was easily resolved by the help of Allāh in the early days when a difference arose about it between the Emigres and the Anṣār. The Anṣār said, 'There should be one amīr chosen from amongst us and one from amongst you,' and unanimously nominated their chief Saʹd ibn ʹUbādah al-Anṣārī. Abū Bakr and ʹUmar, however, corrected this immediately by going together to the meeting place of the Banū Sāʹidah... The Anṣār surrendered their demands only because Abū Bakr reported the Prophet as saying that the imāms are to be from the Quraysh... When Abū Bakr returned to the mosque, people crowded on him and readily swore allegiance to him, with the exception of some of the Banū

Hāshim and of Abū Sufyān of the Umayyads. ʹAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib, however, was occupied in carrying out what the Prophet had ordered him to do, that is, to prepare him for burial, perform the burial itself, and remain by his grave..."

6. "The sixth dispute was on the question of Fadak and its inheritance from the Prophet, when Fāṭimah was claiming it as heiress or even as owner..."

7. "The seventh dispute was over the question of fighting those who refused to pay the zakāt. Some said, 'We shall not fight them in the same way as we fight disbelievers'; but others said, 'On the contrary, we shall fight them.' Abū Bakr at last said, 'If they do not give me the hobbling-cord they used to give the Prophet, I shall fight them.' All the companions, too, agreed with him. ʹUmar, during his caliphate, exercising his personal judgment, returned the captured property, and released the prisoners and captives."

8. "The eighth dispute was over Abū Bakr's appointment of ʹUmar as caliph at his death. Some said to him, 'You have placed over us a man of very harsh and unbending disposition.' ...During ʹUmar's reign a number of differences arose, as, for example, on the question of the right of inheritance of a grandfather, of brothers, and of distant relatives. There was also the question of compensation for the loss of fingers and teeth, and the punishment of crimes about which no clear instruction had been handed down..."

9. "The ninth dispute was over the question of consultation, shūrā, [instituted by ʹUmar for the election of a caliph], different views being expressed about it. All agreed to swear allegiance to ʹUthmān, and everything was in order. Islām continued to be preached in his time, many conquests were made, and the treasury was full. ʹUthmān treated people well and showed himself generous. However, his relatives among the Umayyads stirred up the fires of hell, and he was consumed in the conflagration; they acted unjustly and cruelly, and he reaped the fruits of their cruelty. In his reign many disputes arose, and he was blamed for many incidents which should be laid to the account of the Umayyads. Among those disputes was ʹUthmān's giving permission to Ḥakam ibn [Abī al-ʹĀṣ ibn] Umayyah to return to Madīnah after the Prophet had driven him away from it. Ḥakam used to be referred to as the one expelled by the Prophet. He had previously appealed to Abū Bakr, and ʹUmar even expelled him a further forty leagues from his abode in Yemen. ʹUthmān also exiled Abū Dharr to Rabadhah, gave his daughter in marriage to Marwān ibn Ḥakam, and allowed him to keep a fifth of the booty from Africa, which was equivalent in value to two hundred thousand dīnārs. He gave refuge to ʹAbd Allāh ibn Saʹd ibn Abī Sarḥ who was his nursing foster-brother, though the Prophet had declared his blood forfeit. ʹUthmān also appointed him as governor of Egypt and all its provinces. Again he appointed ʹAbd Allāh ibn ʹĀmir as governor of Baṣrah, where he did what he did. The governors of ʹUthmān's provinces were as follows: Muʹāwīyah ibn Abī Sufyān, the governor of Syria; Saʹd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ, the governor of Kūfah, who was followed by Walīd ibn ʹUqbah and Saʹīd ibn ʹĀṣ; ʹAbd Allāh ibn ʹĀmir, the governor of Baṣrah; and ʹAbd Allāh ibn Saʹd ibn Abī Sarḥ, the governor of Egypt. They all utterly abandoned him, till at last he met his fate, and he was unjustly murdered in his house. As a result of the cruelty to which he was subjected, civil strife broke out which is not yet fully settled."

10. "The tenth dispute took place during the reign of ʻAlī, the Commander of the Faithful, after he had been unanimously accepted and allegiance had been sworn to him. To begin with, Ṭalḥah and Zubayr went to Mecca and induced ʻĀʼishah to go to Baṣrah with them. They subsequently fought a battle against ʻAlī, known as the Battle of the Camel (Jamal). However, both later had a change of heart and repented, for ʻAlī reminded them of something which they remembered. While fleeing from battle, Zubayr was killed by a bow-shot of Ibn Jurmūz, who is now in hell... Ṭalḥah was struck dead by an arrow of Marwān ibn Ḥakam while fleeing from battle. As for ʻĀʼishah, she had been induced to act as she did, but afterwards regretted it and repented. As for the dispute between ʻAlī and Muʻāwīyah, the Battle of Ṣiffīn, the opposition of the Khārijītes who forced ʻAlī to accept arbitration, the treachery of ʻAmr ibn ʻĀṣ to Abū Mūsā al-Ashʻarī, and the continuation of the dispute till his death—all these are well known. Similarly, the dispute between ʻAlī and the Khārijītes, the assembly of the latter at Nahrawān, their turning against him, their vilifying of him and their entering into an armed conflict against him—all this also is well known. On the whole, ʻAlī was on the side of the truth, and the truth [was] on his side..."[6374]

Comments

It is clear that in each and every one of these ten primary causes of discord in the Muslim nation, the Shīʻah have clearly stood on the side of the truth:

1. ʻUmar was wrong for not allowing the Prophet (ص) to have his last will written, for barring people from obeying the Prophet's (ص) command, for insulting the Prophet (ص), for clamoring in his presence, for upsetting him, and for drawing his rebuke.[6375] In this regards, it is absolutely clear that the Shīʻah are the followers of the Prophet (ص) and those who believe in strictly following his orders, while others have excused Umar's inexcusable act of disobedience an discord, and indeed hypocrisy and disbelief.

2. Abū Bakr, ʻUmar, and the other companions who abandoned the army Usāmah to take control of the caliphate clearly disobeyed the Prophet (ص).[637] The Shīʻah believe in complete submission to the commands of the Prophet (ص), and rightfully criticize those who abandoned Usāmah's army in clear defiance of the Prophet's (ص) orders, becoming accursed in the process.

3. The Shīʻah have renounced ʻUmar for his obvious lie that the Prophet (ص) had not died, while others have tried to excuse this and other lies appended to the Prophet (ص) by his companions. Clearly, ʻUmar was the cause of this dispute, and his threatening to kill those who were insisting on speaking the truth was utterly wrong,[6377] and the Shīʻah who condemn him for this lie are absolutely right in doing so.

4. This entire dispute that Shahrastānī has cited is purely hypothetical, because Abū Bakr and the bulk of the companions save four or five of them led by ʻAlī (ع) were not in any way involved in the burial of the Prophet (ص), as it took place at night without their participation or even awareness of what was happening.

[6374] Milal wa Niḥal 18-21.
[6375] Refer to chapter 38.
[6376] Refer to chapter 35.
[6377] Refer to chapter 39.

Even the Prophet's (ص) wife ʿĀʾishah only became aware that something was happening when she heard the sound of pick-axes.[6378] As such, there never was a meaningful dispute in regards to the Prophet's (ص) burial site. The only dispute is with regards to the illegitimacy of the burial of Abū Bakr and Umar by the side of the Prophet (ص).

5. The events at the Saqīfah truly became the leading cause of all discord within the nation since the death of the Prophet (ص).[6379] The Shīʿah denounce both the attempt of the Anṣār to usurp the caliphate as well as their attempt to divide the nation into two kingdoms. They also condemn the self-proclaimed evil innovation of ʿUmar in appointing Abū Bakr as caliph without consultation, causing a rift in the Muslim nation that has persisted to this day.[6380] Indeed, the Prophet (ص) said, "Every innovation is an act of misguidance and every act of misguidance is in the fire."[6381] In fact, no rational person would allow one person who is not infallible to single-handedly select the Prophet's (ص) successor without any specific mandate, never mind without any consultation with the Muslims at large, and in lieu of any consensus even at the Saqīfah itself. Even if the Prophet (ص), as the Sunnīs claim, left the matter to be decided by the Muslim nation, ʿUmar had no right to usurp this decision-making right from every other Muslim and to take the prerogative to personally appoint a ruler for them. It is clear that the division caused at the Saqīfah was the fault of Abū Bakr, Umar, Abū ʿUbaydah, and those who have supported what they did there. Had they followed the Qurʾān and Sunnah and pledged allegiance to ʿAlī (ع), there would have been no discord with respect to this matter.

6. The dispute over Fadak revealed the sharp contrast between the oppressed yet rightful Ahl al-Bayt (ع) and those who oppressed them and withheld their rights. The invention of prophetic traditions to deny inheritance to the Prophet's (ص) heirs, the rejection of the verses of Book of Allāh, the dismissal of the testimony of two of the purified members of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع), and the denial of the property and inheritance rights of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) were all shameless and blatant errors that demonstrate that Abū Bakr and ʿUmar and their supporters would go to any extreme to solidify their grip on power and to ensure their access to wealth.[6382] Even the more scholarly Sunnī caliphs such as ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, Mahdī, and Maʾmūn returned the lands of Fadak to the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) during their caliphates to rectify the injustices of Abū Bakr and ʿUmar.[6383]

7. The wars against those who refused to pay zakāt to Abū Bakr were clearly politically motivated against those who refused to acknowledge Abū Bakr's legitimacy, and these wars had no roots in the Qurʾān or the Sunnah of the Prophet (ص).[6384] As such, not a single person from among the Prophet's (ص) companions supported Abū Bakr at first. When his resolve became apparent,

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[6378] Refer to chapter 47.

[6379] Refer to chapter 40.

[6380] Refer to chapter 40 for a discussion of how ʿUmar admitted that his decision at the Saqīfah was an innovation with no roots in the Qurʾān and Sunnah and how he called his decision an evil (sharr) hasty mistake (faltah).

[6381] Sunan Nasāʾī #1578; Sunan al-Kubrā Nasāʾī #1786, #5892; Jāmiʿ al-Ṣaghīr Suyūṭī #1604; Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #30405; Muʿjam al-Kabīr Ṭabarānī 9:97.

[6382] Refer to chapters 23 and 49.

[6383] Refer to chapter 49.

[6384] Refer to chapter 51.

they all agreed to participate in order to get a share of the booty and to avoid persecution by Abū Bakr, who by that time had shown himself to be a vindictive tyrant who would go to any end to crush his opposition, as was exemplified by his treatment of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع). Clearly, Abū Bakr was responsible for these wars and all the discord and illegitimate acts that emanated from them, including the innocent Muslim blood that was shed and the illegitimate enslavements and sexual acts that ensued.

8. Abū Bakr's appointment of a caliph after himself was clearly troubling because if the Prophet (ص) had not given himself the right to select a successor, as the Sunnīs claim, Abū Bakr would have had to consider himself superior to the Prophet (ص) to grant himself such a right.[6385] Yet, if the Prophet (ص) did select a successor, then it most certainly was not Abū Bakr, and therefore Abū Bakr lacked the legitimacy to select a successor for himself. Indeed, leading companions complained to him about his appointment of ʿUmar, whose personality was deemed too unbearable, but Abū Bakr dismissed their complaints, instead inventing a lie about ʿUmar's status and attributing it to the Prophet (ص). Those who have granted legitimacy to Abū Bakr's illegitimate appointment of ʿUmar to the caliphate are therefore the cause of this dispute, not those who believe in strictly following the Qurʾān and Sunnah and who dismiss all innovations.

9. As for the Shūrā, which was one of ʿUmar's many innovations, it was a political charade designed to ensure that the caliphate would not be restored to the Ahl al-Bayt (ع). ʿUmar made numerous blatant errors in this regards, which were discussed previously.[6386] Clearly, the cause of this discord was ʿUmar and those who have supported his decision, not the Shīʿah who believe in following the Qurʾān and Sunnah and who renounce innovations such as the Shūrā. As fo ʿUthmān's sins and errors, suffice it to say that there was near consensu among the Muhājirīn and Anṣār that he ought to be deposed and/or execute and they even barred him from being buried in a Muslim cemetery.[6387]

10. The wars of the companions against ʿAlī (ع)[6388] were clearly illegitimate acts that have been condemned by the Shīʿah and acknowledged as having been erroneous by the Sunnīs, even though their scholars have granted rewards to the companions who led these wars, saying that they did so based on ijtihād.[6389] The uprisings of ʿĀʾishah, Ṭalḥah, Zubayr, Muʿāwīyah, and the Khārijītes were clear acts of transgression and were truly the cause of discord. The Prophet (ص) labeled them not as venerable companions, but as breakers of vows, deviants, and heretics, and he ordered ʿAlī (ع) and his companions to fight them.[6390] He also made it clear that Muʿāwīyah led the army of transgressors who fought and eventually martyred ʿAmmār.[6391] The Prophet (ص) also made it clear that the enemy of ʿAlī (ع) was his enemy and that leading a war against ʿAlī (ع) was the same as leading a war against him.[6392] He also said that ʿAlī

[6385] Refer to chapter 53.

[6386] Refer to chapter 61.

[6387] Refer to chapter 72.

[6388] Refer to chapters 79, 83, and 88.

[6389] Refer to chapter 54 for a discussion of ijtihād.

[6390] Refer to chapter 78.

[6391] Refer to chapters 65 and 83.

[6392] Refer to chapters 21 and 22.

> (ع) would fight those who oppose the inner meaning (ta`wīl) of the Qur`ān,[6393] showing that these companions were the enemies of the Qur`ān and its essence. Furthermore, the sin of these companions is shared by those who allow them the right to exercise personal judgment in opposition to the Book of Allāh and the Sunnah of His Messenger (ص), who idolize them, who choose to follow them in this world, and who strive to be with them in the Hereafter.

It is clear that in every single one of these ten fundamental causes of dispute, the enemies of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) were the cause of dispute and the source of the discord. Anyone who claims that right and wrong in these matters is not obvious is in open defiance of the Qur`ān, which says, "Truth clearly stands out from error."[6394] In any dispute between truth and falsehood, falsehood is the cause of the dispute, not the truth. As such, it is clear that the Shī´ah are not the cause of the discord that has plagued the nation since the death of the Prophet (ص). Not surprisingly, Shahrastānī attributed all these disputes to differences in ijtihād. He said,

> As for the differences that arose among the companions at the time of the Prophet's sickness and after his death, these are said to have been differences of personal judgment, ikhtilāfāt ijtihādīyyah, and their aim was simply to maintain the rites of the sharī´ah (Islāmic law) and to establish religious practices.[6395]

It is clear that in each and every dispute that arose, the opponents of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) have been responsible because they have either adopted or have made absurd excuses for the wrong decisions, glorifying blatant errors and innovations as being attributable to the noble act of ijtihād, which they have claimed to be a commendable act regardless of whether one is correct or errs. However, what they call ijtihād is not a striving for what Islām calls for, but rather personal opinion and preference,[6396] which in their case typically contradicts the Qur`ān and Sunnah, as it invariably did in these instances. In many cases, the so-called ijtihād of the companions was so blatantly wrong that anyone with a carat's weight of intelligence would not consider their decisions morally, legally, rationally, or Islāmically permissible. Examples include ´Umar's claims that the Prophet (ص) was not dead, his claim that the Prophet (ص) was delirious, and the decision of the companions to lead wars against ´Alī (ع). In fact, ijtihād is not a substitution of religious law by one's preferences and opinions, as some feel forced to claim in order to excuse the inexcusable acts of some of the companions, but rather the implementation of serious effort when one does not find a clear answer in the Qur`ān and Sunnah. As such, there is no place for ijtihād when the Qur`ān and Sunnah are clear as to what the truth of the matter is. Indeed, in the disputes Shahrastānī mentioned, anyone with the least bit of knowledge and impartiality would conclude that the companions blatantly erred in matters made so obvious by the Qur`ān and Sunnah that there was no room for ijtihād.

In summary, Shahrastānī has cited ten prime causes of dispute in the Muslim nation. In every single one of these, the Shī´ah have stood on the side of the truth, while their opponents have mustered up excuses for falsehood. Quite simply, the sect that is always with the truth is the one saved sect, while the other sects, according to the Prophet (ص), are in the fire.[6397] In the next chapter it will become even more clear that the existence of all sects except for the Shī'ah of Muḥammad (ص) and his Ahl al-Bayt (ع) is outlawed by the Qur`ān.

[6393] Refer to chapters 15.

[6394] Qur`ān 2:256.

[6395] Milal wa Niḥal 17-18.

[6396] Refer to chapter 54.

[6397] Refer to chapter 45.

Chapter 90
The Qur`ān's View on Sectarianism

The Qur`ān is very clear that the Muslim nation must not break up into sects:

1. "You should remain steadfast in religion and make no divisions (tatafarraqū) therein."[6398]
2. "And hold fast, all together, to the rope of Allāh, and do not become divided (tafarraqū)."[6399]
3. "And do not be like those who became divided (tafarraqū) and disputed (ikhtalafū) [amongst themselves] after receiving clear signs."[6400]
4. "As for those who divide (farraqū) their religion and break up into sects (shīa´an), you have no part in them [in the least]. Their affair is with Allāh; He will eventually tell them the truth of all that they did."[6401]
5. "Turn back in repentance to Him and fear Him. Establish prayers and do not be among those who ascribe partners [unto Him], those who split up (farraqū) their religion into sects (shīa´an), each party rejoicing in what they have."[6402]

The key words used here refer to the act of splitting up and the formation of distinct groups. Of course, the two are rather related concepts, and the following two verses make it clear that the process begins with disputes (ikhtilāf), which arise from transgression, and result in the formation of distinct sects:

1. "And they did not fall into dispute (ikhtalafū) except after the knowledge came unto them, [as a result of] transgressions (baghyan) among themselves."[6403]
2. "And they were not divided (tafarraqū) except after the knowledge came unto them, [as a result of] transgressions (baghyan) among themselves."[6404]

Based on these two verses, it is clear that disputes are the cause of division and transgressions are the cause of disputes. Therefore, if the Qur`ān demands that Muslims not break up into sects, it requires there not to be disputes. This, of course, is impossible, unless there is complete submission to a divinely-appointed, completely sinless, and perfectly knowledgeable imām. Otherwise, there must be a fool-proof mechanism for resolving disputes. Indeed, this fool-proof mechanism is offered in the Qur`ān in the following three verses:

[6398] Qur`ān 42:13.
[6399] Qur`ān 3:103.
[6400] Qur`ān 3:105.
[6401] Qur`ān 6:159.
[6402] Qur`ān 30:31-2.
[6403] Qur`ān 45:17.
[6404] Qur`ān 42:14.

1. "O you who believe, obey Allāh and obey the Messenger and the foremost in authority among you. If you dispute over anything, refer it to Allāh and His Messenger if you believe in Allāh and the Last Day."[6405] This verse makes it clear that the ones to be obeyed are Allāh, the Prophet (ص), and the foremost in authority among us. As we have previously proved, the foremost in authority must be sinless and knowledgeable imāms,[6406] otherwise Allāh would be ordering us to obey those who may be wrong or who may even be hypocrites, thus leading to further disputes and the formation of even more sects as the errors of those in authority become apparent, leading to divisions between those who support those in power and those who support the truth. Moreover, this verse makes it clear that all disputes are to be resolved by reference to Allāh and the Prophet (ص). Therefore, the foremost in authority must be those who have the ability to refer all matters to the Qur`ān and Prophet (ص) due to their knowledge. This is clearly the role of the imāms of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع). This is in contrast to the companions who reverted to personal opinion, later justified by the smokescreen of ijtihād, to address issues of dispute, without referring the matters back to Allāh and the Prophet (ص). Unlike those who refer matters to personal opinion, which is in fact the source of all division, Shī'ism refers all matters to the Qur`ān and the Prophet (ص), through those who are truly the foremost in authority.

2. "So ask the Ahl al-Dhikr (People of Remembrance) if you do not know."[6407] Clearly, this verse shows that there are people who do know and who speak onl based on knowledge at all times, a clear reference to the Ahl al-Bayt (ع).[64 Indeed, none among the companions claimed to know the answer to questions except for the Ahl al-Bayt of the Prophet (ص). It is no surprise tha 'Alī (ع) would proclaim, "Ask me before you lose me!"[6409]

3. "O you who believe, fear Allāh and be with the truthful (ṣādiqīn)."[6410] This verse proves that believers are to be with those who speak the truth, as opposed to those who speak based on conjecture, which is what the companions did time and again. Those who always speak the truth must be those who do not follow conjecture or any form of so-called "ijtihād" that routinely leads to falsehood, and those are clearly the Ahl al-Bayt of the Prophet (ص).[6411]

These three verses explaining how disputes are to be resolved clearly require the presence of a sinless and knowledgeable imām. Indeed, the arguments proving this from these three verses are more detailed, but since a summary of these proofs have been presented elsewhere,[6412] they are not repeated here except in a very condensed form.

[6405] Qur`ān 4:59.

[6406] Refer to chapter 42.

[6407] Qur`ān 16:43, 21:7.

[6408] Refer to chapter 18.

[6409] Mustadrak Ḥākim #3342, #3736 (certifies both traditions as authentic and states that the first one is excellent ['āl] as well); Majma' al-Zawā`id #7418 (certifies the tradition as authentic); Kanz al-'Ummāl #36502, #39709; Tārīkh Damishq 17:335, 42:397, 42:400.

[6410] Qur`ān 9:119.

[6411] Refer to chapter 18.

[6412] Refer to chapters 18 and 42.

Despite the Qur`ān's clear orders that we must not fall into disputes, allow schisms, and break up into sects, the Muslims have broken up into numerous sects. As the Prophet (ص) said, all of these sects will be in the fire save one.[6413] In fact, the Qur`ān clearly confirms this statement of the Prophet (ص) when it says,

> And certainly Satan's conjecture regarding them proved true—that they would [all] follow him except for a [single] sect (farīqan) among the believers.[6414]

Therefore, all of mankind follows Satan except for one single sect from among the believers. And those sects that follow Satan will follow him into the fire, exactly as the Prophet (ص) foretold when he said that every sect will be in the fire save one.[6415] In fact, many of these Muslims sects will build spectacular mosques claiming noble objectives, even though the Qur`ān guarantees us that they serve no purpose but to further mischief and disunity:

> And there are those who adopt a mosque to cause harm and disbelief, to disunite (tafrīqan) the believers, and as an outpost for those who have warred against Allāh and His Messenger before. They will indeed swear that their intention is nothing but good; But Allāh does declare that they are certainly liars.[6416]

Twelver Shī´ism is the Saved Sect

The entirety of this book has been devoted to establish the fact that Twelver Shī´ism is the one and only saved sect. The Prophet's (ص) designation of ´Alī (ع) as his khalīf and as the walī and mawlā of the believers from the inception of his prophetic mission, his repeated endorsement of ´Alī (ع) as the one who would fulfill every aspect of the imāmate, the Qur`ān's numerous verses establishing ´Alī's (ع) imāmate, the fact that the Prophet (ص) promised exactly twelve imāms, the absurdity of the beliefs of their opponents and the incongruity of their beliefs with the Qur`ān, Sunnah, reason, and reality, as well as the many other proofs that have been provided all establish beyond any doubt that the Twelver Shī´ah are the one and only saved sect. They are the ones who have embarked on the Ark of Noah in this nation.[6417] They have been provided security and guidance by the Ahl al-Bayt the way the stars provide security to those in the skies and directional guidance to those on earth when they are lost.[6418] The Twelver Shī´ah are the ones who have held onto both weighty items the Prophet (ص) has left us—the Qur`ān and his Ahl al-Bayt (ع).[6419] They will be the ones who will receive intercession on the Day of Judgment and they will be the ones with a permission slip to enter paradise from ´Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib (ع).[6420]

The Use of the Word Shī´ah in Verses Ordering Muslims Not to Break into Sects

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[6413] Refer to chapter 45.
[6414] Qur`ān 34:20.
[6415] Refer to chapter 45.
[6416] Qur`ān 9:107.
[6417] Refer to chapter 45.
[6418] Refer to chapter 44.
[6419] Refer to chapter 15.
[6420] Refer to chapter 21.

One of the common claims of the opponents of the Shī´ah is that the Qur`ān orders us not to be Shī´ah in the following two verses:

1. "As for those who divide their religion and break up into sects (shīa´an), you have no part in them [in the least]."[6421]

2. "Do not be among those who ascribe partners [unto Him], those who split up their religion into sects (shīa´an)."[6422]

Some claim that the fact that the word shīa´an used in these two verses is derived from the same root as the word Shī´ah proves that there is something wrong with being a Shī´ah according to the Qur`ān. This is, however, a foolish idea, because the Qur`ān says,

1. "And [Moses] entered the city at a time when its people were not watching, and he found two men fighting there, one from among his Shī´ah, and the other from among his foes. The one from among his Shī´ah appealed to him against his enemy, and Moses struck him with his fist and made an end of him."[6423]

2. "And verily from among [Noah's] Shī´ah is Abraham."[6424]

3. "And we did send messengers before you from amongst the Shī´ah of the me of old."[6425]

The first verse holds the word Shī´ah to be the opposite of enemy. Therefore, the partisan and follower of Moses (ع) is referred to as his Shī´ah. As such, the opposite of the Shī´ah of ´Alī (ع) are the enemies of ´Alī (ع), and those are, by the Prophet's (ص) own claim, the enemies of the Prophet (ص) and the enemies of Allāh who will spend an eternity burning in the fire.[6426] Therefore, it is mandatory to be a Shī´ah of ´Alī (ع). In the second verse, it is made clear that Abraham (ع) was a Shī´ah of Noah (ع). Therefore, anyone who renounces the title Shī´ah has renounced Abraham (ع). In the third verse, it is clear that prophecy is only allowed for the Shī´ah, or the partisans of Allāh's previous prophets. The fact that the prophets are chosen from among the Shī´ah is also proof that all prophets were believers before being chosen as prophets. As such, anyone who claims that the Prophet (ص) was a pagan prior to his prophecy is a liar with no knowledge of the Qur`ān.

Conclusions

Based on these verses, it becomes clear that, according to the Qur`ān, breaking Allāh's religion into sects based on disputes is an act to be firmly condemned, as the disputes that lead to sectarianism arise from transgression and persist due to the refusal of the misguided sect to solve the disputes by obedience to the one foremost in authority, by having the foremost in authority refer the matter to the Qur`ān and the Sunnah, by asking the Ahl al-Dhikr, and by being with the truthful, all of which are clear references to the Ahl al-Bayt of the Prophet (ص). In contrast, being among the steadfast Shī´ah of the righteous, divinely-appointed imāms is not only praiseworthy but absolutely mandatory. As such, the Shī´ah have retained the proper Qur`ānic word for their faith, as they are the true partisans of Allāh's prophets and imāms. In the next chapter, the mechanism of formation of various sects and the illegitimacy of every major sect other than Twelver Shī´ism will be examined in further detail.

[6421] Qur`ān 6:159.

[6422] Qur`ān 30:31-2.

[6423] Qur`ān 28:15.

[6424] Qur`ān 37:83.

[6425] Qur`ān 15:10.

[6426] Refer to chapters 21 and 22.

Chapter 91

Islāmic Sectarianism Arose from the Improper Selection of Imāms

After discussing the ten issues that caused discord in early Islām,[6427] Shahrastānī said, "Subsequently the disputes became grouped under two headings. One was the dispute over the question of the imāmate, and the other was the dispute on matters of doctrine."[6428] However, as disputes over doctrine follow disputes over one's leader or imām, all the subsequent disputes have really boiled down to disputes over the imāmate. If the false imāms did not exist, their sects would not come into being. For example, were it not for Wāṣil ibn ʿAṭāʾ and Abū al-Ḥasan al-Ashʿarī, the Muʿtazilī and Ashʿarī sects, respectively, would not have come into existence. Similarly, had Abū Ḥanīfah not been born, the Ḥanafī madhhab could not exist. Therefore, the doctrinal and jurisprudential disputes are not primary but rather secondary to the leaders or imāms who created and defined them. Indeed, other than the imāms of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع), no other imām had any specific claim to their personal right to lead based on the Qurʾān and Sunnah. Furthermore, the fact that Sunnīs today must follow Ashʿarī theology and must choose from among the Ḥanafī, Mālikī, Shāfiʿī or Ḥanbalī madhhabs are clear innovations, as the Prophet (ص) and his companions did not follow any of these leaders or ideologies or schools of laws later imposed on the Muslim nation.

The Prophet (ص) promised that his nation would break up into seventy-two or sevent three sects.[6429] The number seventy-three may be literal or allegorical, as it is difficult t establish what exactly defines a sect. In the most basic form, a new sect is a group of people who deviate from the true religion and form a cohesive ideology that makes them distinct, even though sects generally allow some minor doctrinal disputes within themselves without compromising their distinctness from other sects. It is not surprising that each sect is formed around one imām or a group of imāms. As such, the Prophet (ص), according to a tradition certified as authentic by Tirmidhī, said, "The imāms of misguidance are my only fear for my nation."[6430] A sect may be a small group of people who form at the fringes, or it may involve the vast majority of the nation. For example, a number of illegitimate sects have been rather small and short-lived, whereas nearly the entirety of the Jewish and Christian nations deviated from their true and original creeds.

The Earliest Sectarian Divisions Created Sunnīsm as well as the Khārijītes and the Ghālīyah

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[6427] Refer to chapter 89.

[6428] Milal wa Niḥal 22.

[6429] Refer to chapter 45.

[6430] Ṣaḥīḥ Tirmidhī #2229 (certifies the tradition as good-authentic [ḥasan-ṣaḥīḥ]); Sunan Abū Dāwūd #4252; Musnad Ḥanbal #22447-8, #22505; Majmaʿ al-Zawāʾid #9215 (certifies those in the chain of Ḥanbal as trustworthy).

The process of sectarianism in Islām began at the death of the Prophet (ص), when a large portion of the nation, willingly or by force, split away, forming a sect that legitimized the rules of Abū Bakr, ´Umar, ´Uthmān, and every leader who was subsequently able to take power through any means. The legal and theological views that defined Sunnīsm became more solidly defined during the early ´Abbāsīd period when their distinctive beliefs and practices were codified. The Sunnīs split off ideologically into the Mu´tazilī and Ash´arī sects, both with numerous subsects among themselves. From a legal perspective, they follow one of four imāms of jurisprudence (fiqh), each of whom had a personalized style of developing a legal code. These four were rather arbitrarily selected from among a much larger number of jurists. From Sunnīsm, numerous other sects have arisen. Those more spiritually inclined have formed a variety of Ṣufī orders, each with its own distinct customs. More recently, various Salafī and Wahhābī groups have emerged, the most extreme of which vilify all Muslims as pagans, claiming that the Sunnah of the companions and early caliphs must be restored, while they themselves follow nothing but the innovations of their leaders. Indeed, the crystallization of the Sunnī sect was demographically the most significant but least surprising. As the sect that grants legitimacy to the rulers, it remained the official state religion of the Umayyad, ´Abbāsīd, and Ottoman caliphates.

In contrast, the Khārijītes, which was the second noteworthy sect to develop, have remained a relatively small minority except for specific periods of time in which weaknesses in the central government allowed them to flourish. Their fundamental belief is that a great sin makes one leave Islām altogether and that ´Uthmān and ´Alī (ع) committed major sins and died unrepentant, making it mandatory to rise against them and kill them.[6431] The Khārijītes have divided into numerous subsects,[6432] a handful of which have survived to this day. In contrast to the Khārijītes, the Ghālīyah went to the other extreme by deifying ´Alī (ع), perhaps even during his own lifetime. These have also become divided into numerous sects over time,[6433] and have persisted in small pockets to this day. Due to their belief in the deity of ´Alī (ع), they are considered polytheists outside the realm of Islām by the Twelver Shī´ah.

Shī´ah Sects

While the bulk of the Shī´ah remained loyal to the line of twelve imāms from the Prophet's Ahl al-Bayt (ع), a number of sects arose from among the Shī´ah due to one of several factors: (1) the selection of the wrong person from the Prophet's (ص) offspring as imām; (2) the failure to recognize a legitimate imām from the Ahl al-Bayt (ع); and (3) extremism in regards to one or more of the imāms of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع). There are numerous examples for each of these categories, so only a few key examples in each category will be examined.

Sects Selecting the Wrong Imām

The Kaysānīyyah

The Kaysānīyyah believed in the imāmate of Muḥammad ibn ´Alī al-Ḥanafīyyah after the martyrdom of Imām Ḥusayn (ع).[6434] This sect, which is now extinct, initially played a key

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6431. Milal wa Niḥal 99.
6432. Milal wa Niḥal 98-118.
6433. Milal wa Niḥal 149-163.
6434. Milal wa Niḥal 126.

role in the uprising of Mukhtār.[6435] Upon the death of Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafīyyah, this sect broke down into numerous sects,[6436] a couple of which are noteworthy: (1) Some of the Kaysānīyyah believed that Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafīyyah had not died but that he had entered ghaybah (occultation).[6437] This was the second claim of someone having entered occultation in Islām, the first being the one made by ´Umar upon the Prophet's (ص) death.[6438] (2) Others believed that the imāmate passed on to his son Abū Hāshim. After Abū Hāshim's death, a number of sects arose, the most notable of which claimed that the imāmate was transferred to Muḥammad ibn ´Alī ibn ´Abd Allāh ibn ´Abbās, who was the father of Saffāḥ, the founder of the ´Abbāsīd caliphate. Therefore, they granted legitimacy to the ´Abbāsīd caliphs, hailing them as the rightful imāms. Some of the Kaysānīyyah even believed that the imāmate was transferred to Abū Muslim al-Khurāsānī, who led the uprising in Khurāsān and who thereby established the ´Abbāsīd caliphate.[6439]

The Zaydīyyah (Zaydīs)

Those who believed in the imāmate of Zayd ibn ´Alī ibn Ḥusayn (ع) after the death of ´Alī ibn Ḥusayn ibn ´Alī (ع) are known as the Zaydīyyah. In contrast to the true Shī´ah, they have abandoned the requirement of specific designation of an imām, and according to Shahrastānī, "They recognize as imām any Fāṭimīd who is learned, pious, brave and generous, and who declares his imāmate."[6440] Of note, they believe that "an imām must rise up in revolt in order to be an imām."[6441] Imām Muḥammad al-Bāqir (ع) challenged this view, telling Zayd, "It would follow from your views that your father was not an imām, for he did not at any time rise in revolt, nor did he show any sign of doing so."[6442] The Zaydīyyah became further subdivided into several groups over time, each following various chains of imāms.[6443] Zayd maintained that even though ´Alī (ع) was the best qualified of all the companions for the caliphate, Abū Bakr and ´Umar were rightful caliphs, as the caliphate does not require one to be the best qualified. Thus, he allowed preference of the preferred (tafḍīl al-mafḍūl).[6444] This concept was so unpalatable to the Shī´ah of his time that they rejected him en masse.[6445] Shahrastānī said, "In time, most of the Zaydīyyah abandoned the belief in the imāmate of the one of lesser excellence They also criticized the companions of the Prophet, as did the Imāmīyyah."[6446] As suc it appears that the Zaydīyyah had to abandon their untenable belief in tafḍīl al-mafḍūl.64 Of note, Zayd himself studied theology with Wāṣil ibn ´Aṭā`, the founder of the Mu´taz school, and all his followers became Mu´tazilīs.[6448]

Zayd himself led an unsuccessful uprising against the Umayyads and was slain in Kūfah by Hishām ibn ´Abd al-Malik, and his body was crucified. Upon his death, his son Yaḥyā ibn Zayd assumed the imāmate and led an uprising in Khurāsān. Imām Ja´far al-Ṣādiq (ع) correctly prophesized that he would be put to death and crucified, as his father had been. After his death, Yaḥyā's sons Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm led revolts, but they were both killed by order of the ʻAbbāsīd caliph Manṣūr, the former in Madīnah and the latter in Baṣrah. According to Shahrastānī, "Ṣādiq had already foretold to them all that would happen to them, at the same time telling them that his predecessors had foretold it all to him."[6449]

[6435] Refer to chapter 97 for a brief history of Mukhtār's uprising.
[6436] Milal wa Niḥal 126-132.
[6437] Milal wa Niḥal 128.
[6438] Refer to chapter 39.
[6439] Milal wa Niḥal 131.
[6440] Milal wa Nihal 132.
[6441] Milal wa Nihal 134.
[6442] Milal wa Niḥal 134.
[6443] Milal wa Niḥal 132-8.
[6444] Milal wa Niḥal 133.
[6445] Milal wa Niḥal 133.
[6446] Milal wa Niḥal 134-5.
[6447] Refer to chapter 52.
[6448] Milal wa Niḥal 132.

One of the sects of the Zaydīyyah is the Jārūdīyyah. Al-Jārūd, in contrast to Zayd, believed that ʻAlī (ع) was appointed by description, not by name, but claimed that, "[The companions] set up, instead, Abū Bakr of their own accord, and thus became disbelievers."[6450] The Jārūdīyyah believed that the rightful imāms were ʻAlī (ع)—Ḥasan (ع)—Ḥusayn (ع)—ʻAlī ibn Ḥusayn (ع)—Zayd ibn ʻAlī—Muḥammad ibn ʻAbd Allāh ibn Ḥasan ibn Ḥasan ibn ʻAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib, known as Nafs al-Zakīyyah (the Pure Soul). Upon Nafs al-Zakīyyah's death in an unsuccessful uprising against the ʻAbbāsīd caliph Manṣūr, his followers were divided as to whether he went into occultation (ghaybah) or whether there was an imām after him.[6451] As we discussed previously,[6452] Abū Ḥanīfah, the Sunnī imām of jurisprudence, was counted by Shahrastānī among the Jārūdīyyah.[6453]

The Ismāʻīlīyyah (Ismāʻīlīs)

Anyone who believes in the imāmate from ʻAlī (ع) to Jaʻfar ibn Muḥammad al-Ṣādiq (ع) is known as an Imāmīyyah. The Ismāʻīlīyyah are those among the Imāmīyyah who believe that after Imām Jaʻfar al-Ṣādiq (ع), the imāmate was transferred to his son Ismāʻīl or to Ismāʻīl's offspring. Since Ismāʻīl died during his father's lifetime and was buried very publicly, the Ismāʻīlīyyah have resorted to one of any number of claims to support their contentions. One claim is that Ismāʻīl did not die but was in hiding for some time and that his children thereby inherited the right to the caliphate. Another claim is that he did die during his father's lifetime but that the caliphate would nevertheless be transferred from Jaʻfar al-Ṣādiq (ع) to Ismāʻīl's son, not to another son of Imām Ṣādiq (ع) himself.[6454] A third claim is that he resembled his brother ʻAbd Allāh al-Afṭaḥ, and that it was ʻAbd Allāh who had died, while Ismāʻīl pretended to be ʻAbd Allāh after his father's death. This claim, according to the followers of Āqā Khān, is the "key" to solving the mystery of Ismāʻīl. However, this absurd claim comes from a recently-discovered anonymous seventeenth century A.D. manuscript in which this notion was inscribed.[6455] How an entire sect can be supported by a single tradition with no chain of transmission appearing nearly a millennium after Ismāʻīl's death is a good question to ask them. Of note, ʻAbd Allāh died some seventy days after the death of his father, leaving no male offspring.[6456] Moreover, in that short period of time, a number of Shīʻah left his camp because of his very apparent lack of knowledge, and the sect that followed him disappeared soon after his death. As such, if ʻAbd Allāh was indeed Ismāʻīl, it does not help the Ismāʻīlī cause too much. Moreover, ʻAbd Allāh was broad-legged, and therefore had obvious physical deformities for which he was labeled al-Afṭaḥ; this would make it difficult to mistake him with someone else.

Soon after the formation of their sect, the Ismāʻīlīyyah became subdivided. Some sects believed that either Ismāʻīl ibn Jaʻfar or his son Muḥammad ibn Ismāʻīl were the promised mahdī and had entered occultation.[6457] The Bāṭinīyyah, on the other hand, continued the imāmate onwards through a series of hidden imāms to subsequently public ones.[6458] The Ismā'īlīyyah eventually took over Egypt and created the Fāṭimīd dynasty. Political in-fighting upon the death of the Fāṭimīd caliph Mustanṣir bi-Allāh caused the division of the Ismā'īlīs into the Nizārī and Musta'lī sects. Nizār was the elder brother of Aḥmad al-Musta'lī but was defeated by the latter, who subsequently took over political control of the Fāṭimīd dynasty. Nizār was accepted as the rightful imām by the Ismā'īlīs living in Alamūt in Iran who were led by Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ at the time. Nizār's followers became known as the Nizārīs (Nizārīyyūn), while those who remained loyal to the Fāṭimīd throne of the time became known as the Musta'līs. The Musta'līs are represented today by some of the Bohra sects, while the Nizārīs of today are represented by the Āqā Khānīs.[6459]

[6449] Milal wa Niḥal 134.
[6450] Milal wa Niḥal 135.
[6451] Milal wa Niḥal 135.
[6452] Refer to chapter 43.
[6453] Milal wa Niḥal 135.
[6454] Milal wa Niḥal 144.
[6455] Refer to "Ismail" under "Ismaili History" in www.ismaili.net.
[6456] Milal wa Niḥal 143.

The Musta'lī line eventually split between the Ṭayyibī and Ḥāfiẓī lines. The Ḥāfiẓīs, who are now extinct, continued to support the legitimacy of the Fāṭimīd rulers who claimed that Āmir bi-Aḥkām Allāh, the son of Musta'lī, had not left a son, and that the imāmate was thereby transferred to his cousin, 'Abd al-Majīd al-Ḥāfiẓ. In contrast, the Ṭayyibīs believed that he did have a son, Ṭayyib, who became the last of the rightful imāms and who then went into occultation. His role in occultation was assigned to a succession of Dā'ī al-Muṭlaqs, or "absolute missionaries." The Ṭayyibī Musta'līs have survived as some of the Bohra sects that remain to this day. The Druze comprises another branch of the Ismā'īlīs that believes in the divinity of their sixteenth imām, Ḥākim bi-Amr Allāh. The Druze have more or less abandoned the ritualistic aspects of Islām. Similarly, the Āqā Khānīs, while maintaining the khums for their imāms, have abandoned the necessity of many other Islāmic rituals.

The Afṭaḥīyyah and Shumayṭīyyah

The Afṭaḥīyyah were those who believed in the imāmate of 'Abd Allāh ibn Ja'far al-Afṭal who died seventy days after his father's death.[6460] The Shumayṭīyyah were those wh believed in the imāmate of Muḥammad ibn Ja'far.[6461] Both of these sects have perished.

The Followers of Ja'far al-Kadhdhāb

Upon the death of Imām Ḥasan al-'Askarī (ع), some believed that his brother Ja'far, commonly known as Ja'far al-Kadhdhāb (Ja'far the liar), was the rightful imām.[6462] He busied himself with usurping the khums, but because of his ignorance and sinfulness as well as the overwhelming proof that the eleventh imām had left a son, his sect rapidly perished.

Sects Failing to Recognize a Rightful Imām

Sunnīsm, by its denial of 'Alī's (ع) right to the imāmate, was the first sect to arise from failure to recognize the rightful imām. In fact, the Sunnīs have gone as far as denying that a rightful imām exists altogether, instead granting legitimacy to whoever takes power through whatever means imaginable.[6463] Among the Shī'ah sects who have recognized 'Alī's (ع) right to the imāmate but who have failed to recognize other legitimate imāms of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع), there are a few noteworthy examples:

[6457] Milal wa Niḥal 144.
[6458] Milal wa Niḥal 144, 164.
[6459] Refer to "al-Mustansirbillah" under "Ismaili History" in www.ismaili.net.
[6460] Milal wa Niḥal 143.
[6461] Milal wa Niḥal 144.
[6462] Milal wa Niḥal 147.

1. The Wāqifah of Bāqir (ع) believed that the fifth imām was the final imām and that he will return as the promised Mahdī (ع).[6464]
2. The Nāwūsīyyah believed that Imām Ja'far al-Ṣādiq (ع) was the sixth and final imām, and that he entered occultation (ghaybah) and will return as the promised mahdī.[6465]
3. The word "Wāqifah," when used unqualified, typically denotes those who believed that Mūsā ibn Ja'far (ع) was the seventh and final imām. They failed to recognize 'Alī ibn Mūsā al-Riḍā (ع) as an imām, believing that the seventh imām will return after occultation.[6466]
4. Those who believed that the eleventh imām, Ḥasan ibn 'Alī al-'Askarī (ع), was the final imām and that he either did not die and instead had entered occultation (ghaybah), or that he died and will return.[6467] These sects were short-lived, as it did not take long for proof of the existence of the twelfth imām to become clear to the Shī'ah.

Sects Deifying the Imāms

One of the properties of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) that proves their superiority is that feeble minds could not comprehend their virtues and would become disposed to deifying them. Indeed, no one meeting Abū Bakr or 'Umar would ever consider them to have qualities beyond what is commonly seen in normal humans. Yet, one who met 'Alī (ع) might be deluded into thinking that he was divine in nature or that Allāh had entered into him in some form, as his virtues were unfathomable to many people. Extremists sects formed around a number of Shī'ah imāms despite being uniformly and unconditionally rejected by them. Most specifically, the following imāms were deified:

1. 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib (ع): A number of small groups have emerged believing in his divine nature.[6468] However, the most commonly cited group, the Saba'īyyah,[6469] perhaps never existed, as they were the followers of the imaginary 'Abd Allāh ibn Saba'.[6470] Of note, subsequent sects deifying the other imāms have generally believed in the divinity of 'Alī (ع) as well.
2. Muḥammad ibn 'Alī al-Bāqir (ع): The Mughīrīyyah were the followers of Mughīrah ibn Sa'īd al-'Ijlī who believed in the divinity of the fifth Shī'ah imām. The imām, in response, rejected them.[6471]

[6463] Refer to chapters 43 and 97.
[6464] Milal wa Niḥal 142.
[6465] Milal wa Niḥal 143.
[6466] Milal wa Niḥal 145.
[6467] Milal wa Niḥal 147.
[6468] Milal wa Niḥal 149-52.
[6469] Milal wa Niḥal 150-1.
[6470] Refer to chapter 74 for a discussion of the fictitious origins of 'Abd Allāh ibn Saba'.
[6471] Milal wa Niḥal 152-3.

3. Ja'far ibn Muḥammad al-Ṣādiq (ع): The Khaṭṭābīyyah were the followers of Abū al-Khaṭṭāb who claimed divinity for the sixth imām. He was similarly renounced by the imām.[6472]

4. 'Alī ibn Muḥammad al-Naqī (ع): Although their beliefs are not widely known, the Nuṣayrīyyah, who go by the title 'Alawī today, follow the beliefs of Ibn al-Nuṣayr, a companion of the tenth Shī'ah imām, who adopted a belief in his divinity.[6473]

Comments

This is neither an exhaustive list of Muslim sects, nor a detailed discussion of the beliefs and practices of each sect. However, the process of formation of sects is rather simple. Someone, generally with either noble family background or a particular personal appeal, would make a claim, gather followers, and form a sect. As such, each sect was formed around a particular imām. The saved sect is identified not by whether or not it has an imām, but whether or not it properly recognizes and follows the rightful imāms designated specifically by Allāh. Indeed, the Qur`ān is clear that every group has an imām when it says, "[On] the Day [of Judgment], We will call every people by their imām."[6474] As such, every group of people, knowingly or unknowingly, has an imām he will be called by. What one has to make sure of is that one's imām is the one and only one who leads to the garden and not one of the more numerous others who lead to the fire. Indeed, the Qur`ān is very clear that there are two types of imāms—the "imāms who guide by Our command,"[6475] and the "imāms who call to the fire."[6476] The Qur`ān also explicitly warns us not to be surprised by the large number of false imāms: "The filthy and the pure are not alike, even though you may be surprised by the abundance of the filthy."[6477]

Twelver Shī'ism is the Only Rightful Sect

It is obvious to everyone that there are many religions and that each religion has numerous sects. Among world religions, the only one that has a proper claim to being monotheistic is Islām. All other religions are rejected for lack of monotheism, as the unity of God can be easily proved by reason. Judaism has given God the properties of man by claiming that God gets tired and needs rest, and that man and God share the same physical image. Moreover, the Jews have restricted what they consider the true religion to one nation, even though any rational person would believe that God would want all of mankind to be guided. Christianity has given man the properties of God by deifying Jesus (ع), and has adopted absurd and patently false concepts such as the trinity and the concept of God having begotten children. Such beliefs are rejected outright by reason.

Among the Muslims, a sect that has perished would not be the one saved sect because, by one consensus of Muslims, the rightful sect will persist until the Day of Judgment and will not vanish. Moreover, verses of the Qur`ān such as, "Ask the People of Remembrance if you do not know,"[6478] and, "Be with the truthful,"[6479] would be meaningless if those who speak the truth based on knowledge do not exist at all times. The Prophet (ص) also said, "A group among my people will not cease fighting for the truth until the Day of Judgment."[6480] In addition, reason dictates that Allāh would not allow the true sect to perish, otherwise humans would be completely lost with no chance of being guided. Similarly, the rightful sect could not be one that appeared decades or even centuries after the death of the Prophet (ص), as that would require that the rightful sect did not exist from the death of the Prophet (ص) until that time and that there was no source of guidance during that period. Therefore, sects such as the Ash´arīs, Mu´tazilīs, Ḥanafīs, Wahhābīs, etc., which were formed based on the thoughts of later men, cannot be rightful sects.

[6472] Milal wa Niḥal 154-5.
[6473] Milal wa Niḥal 161-3. Also refer to the Shī'ah source Jāmi' al-Ruwāt 2:208 #1456 (Muḥammad ibn Nuṣayr).
[6474] Qur`ān 17:71.
[6475] Qur`ān 21:73.
[6476] Qur`ān 28:41.
[6477] Qur`ān 5:100.
[6478] Qur`ān 16:43 and 21:7.
[6479] Qur`ān 9:119.

Indeed, the rightful sect has to be one that has held on to both the Qur`ān and the Ahl al-Bayt of the Prophet (ص), since he left those two weighty items for our guidance for all time.[6481] The truthful sect has to be the one that has followed ´Alī (ع) as the imām after the Prophet (ص), as his role as the imām was clearly proclaimed throughout the prophetic mission. The truthful sect has to have selected ´Alī (ع) as its walī, as ordered by the Qur`ān,[6482] and as its mawlā, as ordained by the Prophet (ص).[6483] Sects that have supported those who rose up against ´Alī (ع) are clearly illegitimate because the Prophet (ص) declared those who fought ´Alī (ع) as the breakers of vows, deviants, and heretics,[6484] and he labeled Mu´āwīyah and his men as the army of transgressors.[6485] Supporting and excusing the acts of such deviant groups is equivalent to renouncing the Prophet (ص), as he renounced them. As such, the Sunnī sects that have granted immunity to those who fought against ´Alī (ع) in the Battles of Jamal and Ṣiffīn and to the killer of ´Alī (ع), as well as the Khārijīte sects that have supported those who fought ´Alī (ع) in the Battle of Nahrawān are not the rightful sects. Moreover, the truthful sect has to be one that, throughout the discord that caused the nation to divide into sects, was always on the side of the truth. That sect, as we have discussed previously,[6486] was clearly the Shī´ah. Even the Sunnīs admit that the Shī´ah were right on many of the issues that have divided the nation, absolving those who erred based on a dubious notion of ijtihād. Based on these and many other reasons, the truthful sect has to be found only among the Shī´ah.

Among the Shī´ah, the truthful sect has to have identified the twelve rightful leaders the Prophet (ص) promised,[6487] otherwise they would not be following the imāms that Allāh chose to guide us with. It must not only identify each and every one of the twelve imāms but also neither deny their rightful status as imām nor deify them. Only the Twelver Shī´ah have done so. Moreover, other Shī´ah sects that have either perished or that have abandoned basic principles and practices of Islām are obviously illegitimate.

Indeed, the only Shī´ah sects that remain today are the Twelvers (Ithnā ´Asharīyyah), the Zaydīyyah, and the Ismā´īlīyyah. As for the Zaydīyyah, their imāms have no provable claim to the imāmate. They believe that the rightful imām is anyone among the offspring of Fāṭimah (ع) who rises with the sword and kills people. If they kill enough people to carve out a monarchy for themselves, their legitimacy is even further established. Indeed, their claim to the imāmate is absurd, because they are the followers of Zayd ibn ʿAlī ibn Ḥusayn (ع), who they claim to have become the rightful imām as a result of his armed uprising. Yet, his father, ʿAlī ibn Ḥusayn (ع), through whose lineage Zayd's followers grant him a right to imāmate, never led an armed uprising himself. Moreover, these Zaydī imāms follow the jurisprudential laws of Abū Ḥanīfah who established laws based not on knowledge but on analogy (qīyās) and personal opinion (raʾy). They are clearly not among the twelve imāms the Prophet (ص) promised would guide us, as they require guidance themselves.

[6480] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #1.293 (Arabic original #156); Sunan Tirmidhī #2229 (certifies the tradition as good-authentic [ḥasan-ṣaḥīḥ]); Sunan Ibn Mājah #6-7, #3952; Sunan Abū Dāwūd #2484, #4252; Mustadrak Ḥākim #8389 (certifies the tradition as authentic). Note that slight differences in wording exist between the various accounts.

[6481] Refer to chapter 15.

[6482] Refer to chapter 31.

[6483] Refer to chapter 34.

[6484] Refer to chapter 78.

[6485] Refer to chapters 65 and 83.

[6486] Refer to chapter 89.

[6487] Refer to chapter 45.

As stated by the Shīʿah scholar ʿAllāmah Majlisī, "The Ismāʿīlī imāms are nothing but a few corrupt godless men who openly submit to the kings and who are famous for corruption, debauchery, and every sin, and for whom no intelligent person would permit the imāmate."[6488] Indeed, anyone who studies the conduct of the Ismāʿīlī imāms today would find that they are the furthest from being pure, sinless imāms of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع). Rather, they have turned their various sects into personal cults. The most outrageous of these sects today is the Āqā Khānī sect, the imāmate of whose imāms was established and forced upon oppressed Muslims by British colonial courts. Amazingly, even the Āqā Khānīs claim legitimacy by this court ruling. They say,

> The Aga Khan Case or the Khoja Case was heard by Sir Joseph Arnold (1814-1886)... The court's proceedings lasted for 25 days after which the judge settled down to examine and study the mountain of evidences and seek enlightenment in history. Sir Joseph Arnold had indeed a hard task sifting the evidence, separating facts from a lot of legal chaff. On November 21, 1866, Justice Arnold rendered a detailed verdict against the plaintiffs. The result was a lengthy and well argued judgment... This judgment unequivocally confirmed the Aga Khan as the spiritual head of the Khoja Ismāʿīlī community and legally established th Islāmic root and identity of the Shīʿah Ismāʿīlī Muslims.[6489]

Not much has to be said about an imām who gets his legitimacy from a British cour instead of from Allāh. It is obvious that an imām who invests the khums he collects into building casinos and purchasing race horses used for gambling is not divinely appointed to guide mankind. Historically, the Ismāʿīlī imāms rather quickly ran into the problem that their ignorance of the Qurʾān and Sunnah became obvious to all. As such, they dismissed all of the Qurʾān and Sunnah as the ẓāhir, or apparent, instead promoting the bāṭin, or hidden meaning. Using this logic, their false imāms could impose any concept or law they wished onto on their followers, and any apparent inconsistencies in what they said could be attributed to a consistent inner meaning that only the imām knew of. Indeed, the only law the Ismāʿīlī imāms have uniformly retained has been the requirement that their followers pay them khums. Each of their sects has also innovated a number of additional taxes, forms of charities, and/or jubilees to ensure a constant money supply for their imāms' insatiable greed.

In fact, it can be concluded that Twelver Shīʿism is the only rightful sect for a number of reasons:[6490] (1) This sect has persisted from the death of the Prophet (ص) to this day and will persist until the Day of Judgment. (2) It has adopted ʿAlī (ع) as its mawlā and has clung to the Qurʾān and the Ahl al-Bayt (ع). (3) It has specifically identified and

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6488. Ḥaqq al-Yaqīn 282.
6489. Refer to "The Aga Khan Case," under "Hasan Ali Shah Aga Khan I" in "Ismaili History" in www.ismaili.net.
6490. Refer to Ḥaqq al-Yaqīn 278-294.

followed the twelve imāms the Prophet (ص) promised will guide us from his death until the Day of Judgment. (4) Each of its twelve imāms claimed specific designation (naṣṣ) by the previous imām all the way back to ʿAlī (ع), who was specifically designated as imām by the Prophet (ص). (5) Each of its twelve imāms obtained their knowledge only from the imāms before, yet each of them was the most knowledgeable of mankind at their time. (6) Its imāms were the most noble of all people at their time. Indeed, even the Sunnīs do not question the virtues of the first eleven Shīʿah imāms.[6491] Instead, they relate traditions from them, and formulate beliefs based on their words. This is unlike the imāms of the false sects who were generally rejected outright by everyone except their own followers. (7) Its imāms were pure from all sin. Indeed, the Shīʿah imāms were always at the top of the list of those whom the caliphs hated and wished to discredit. Yet, after nearly three centuries of imāmate until the lesser occultation, not a single person could come up with a single sin, a single act of ignorance, or a single error emanating from any one of these twelve glorious imāms. This is in sharp contrast to illegitimate sects, whose leaders are full of vices. One can look at the list of vices for Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, and ʿUthmān in this book to see just how evident this fact is.[6492] (8) Its imāms claimed purity from sin, possession of the entirety of the Prophet's (ص) knowledge, the ability to read, write, and speak every single language, and numerous other lofty virtues. If they were illegitimate imāms, they would not have been able to live up to such claims for twelve generations, and the fallacy of their imāmate would have been rapidly proven. Therefore, these claims are proof of their legitimacy. (9) Each of its twelve imāms produced numerous miracles, which far exceed the level of tawātur.[6493]

This is a very brief and highly condensed list of proofs for Twelver Shīʿism. Indeed, any rational person who ponders all the undisputed facts will conclude that Twelver Shīʿism is the one and only saved sect. From the beginning, Shīʿism attracted those seeking the truth. There was no reward for being Shīʿah except for the whips, swords, gallows, and crucifixes of the caliphs. As such, those courageous, truth-seeking souls who would risk their lives to be among the Shīʿah of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) had nothing in their minds but seeking the ultimate pleasure of Allāh. They had no reason to lie, for if they were to disseminate lies, they would have been better rewarded in this world for disseminating lies that would please the caliphs and not lies that would rouse their ire. As such, Twelver Shīʿism has, to this day, remained the sanctuary of those seeking the truth. It remains and will remain the one and only saved sect until the Day of Judgment.

[6491] For example, refer to Sīyar Aʿlām al-Nubalāʾ 13:120-1.

[6492] Refer to chapters 53, 62, and 73, respectively.

[6493] For example, refer to the voluminous work, Ithbāt al-Hudāt bi-al-Nuṣūṣ wa al-Muʿjizāt of Muḥammad ibn Ḥasan al-Ḥurr al-ʿĀmilī.

Chapter 92
Qaḍā` and Qadar (Divine Decree and Measures)

One of the differences between the Shī´ah and the Sunnīs is in regards to qaḍā` and qadar, jabr and tafwīḍ, freedom of will and predetermination. The word qaḍā` means a decree. Since Allāh is omnipotent, when He makes a decree, the decree is fully carried out. In this regards, the Qur`ān says, "When He decrees a matter (qaḍā amran), He says to it, 'Be!' and it is."[6494] On the other hand, qadar refers to the setting of measures. This is referred to in the Qur`ān in a number of verses including the verse, "Surely We have created everything according to a measure (qadar),"[6495] as well as the verse, "And there is nothing but that with Us are the stores thereof, and We do not send it down except in known measures."[6496]

Jabr and tafwīḍ, on the other hand, are words typically used by theologians. Jabr refers to the concept that all of man's actions are forced upon him and that he has no power to choose. In English, this is commonly referred to as predetermination—the fact that man simply follows his pre-determined destiny. Although jabr and predetermination are rather similar and carry many of the same implications, differences between the essences of the two concepts are apparent. Predetermination in the West tends to follow the concept that God's knowledge of the future is what makes it impossible for us to act based on free will. Jabr, on the other hand, is the belief that man is inherently not bestowed with any power. Tafwīḍ is the opposite of jabr and refers to the delegation of power to man, a concept that the Mu´tazilīs believed in. According to Shahrastānī,

> [They believed that] man has power over his good and bad deeds and is also their creator. Man, therefore, deserves reward or punishment in the next life for what he does in this one. One cannot ascribe to Allāh evil and injustice or an act of unbelief and sin, because if He created injustice, He would be unjust; likewise, if He created justice, He would be just.[6497]

In contrast, the Ash´arīs believe that man has no power to act and that Allāh is the proximate cause of all events, good or bad. The Shī´ah follow the belief that there is neither jabr nor tafwīḍ, but rather something in between. What is in between these two extreme beliefs is said to be larger than the space between the heavens and the earth.[6498]

Problems with the Mu´tazilī View

[6494] Qur`ān 2:117.
[6495] Qur`ān 54:49.
[6496] Qur`ān 15:21.
[6497] Milal wa Niḥal 42.
[6498] Uṣūl al-Kāfī #400, #402.

The problem with the Mu´tazilī view that power is completely bestowed to man is that man is rather limited in his abilities, powers, and potentials; man can act only within the narrow range imposed by his capacities and possible modes of action, neither of which he has created; and man acts based upon situations and under conditions over which he has no control. Even though he may have a choice between two actions in a particular situation, he may have no control over the two choices that he has in the first place. Therefore, man's ability to act and to control his destiny are limited. Moreover, since man is not the creator of any of his powers and potentials, he depends upon either a single cause (i.e. Allāh) or upon a series of causes and effects that will ultimately end in Allāh. In fact, neither the power and potential to sin, nor the tools that enable one to sin are created by man himself. If one commits theft, one typically depends on the intellectual ability to plan the robbery, the existence of good eyesight, the ability to walk, the possession of hands with which to steal, and the availability of and access to the item being stolen, etc. None of these are matters within one's own control. If one does steal, he does so with the powers granted to him by Allāh. However, if he does steal, he does not do so because Allāh willed him to do so.

Problems with the Ash´arī View

According to Shahrastānī,

> Ash´arī maintains that if a man reflects on his creation, that is, on how he came into being and passed through various stages, step by step, till he reached the fully developed form; and if he knows for certain that by himself he could not have planned his own creation and his development from step to step, nor his own evolution from an undeveloped to a fully developed form, he would be forced to acknowledge that he has a creator who is all powerful, knowing, and willing. For it is impossible to imagine that these well-ordained acts could proceed from nature alone, since the signs of a deliberate choice, order, and perfection are manifest in them.[6499]

Indeed, these facts are all true and logical. What is illogical is to conclude from such obvious facts that one is as powerless over one's deliberate acts as one is over one's indeliberate acts, such as growing and aging over time, sweating when it is hot, etc. Even Ash´arīs admit that there is such a distinction, though they dismiss it as merely illusory:

> Man has power over his acts because he experiences in himself an obvious distinction between movements such as trembling and shuddering, and those which are voluntary. This difference is due to the fact that voluntary movements are brought into being through power, and as a result of the choice of the one possessing that power.[6500]

However, they dismiss this distinction as a mere sensation of power, ascribing the entirety of the power and the exercise thereof directly and wholly to Allāh:

> According to Ash´arī principle, however, the created power (i.e. man) has no effect on the bringing into being [of an act], because from the point of view of coming into being, there is no difference between substance and accident. If

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[6499] Milal wa Niḥal 79.
[6500] Milal wa Niḥal 81.

> this created power had an influence on coming into being, it could influence the coming into being of everything created, so that it would be able to bring into being colors, tastes, [and] smells, and even to produce substances and bodies. This would lead to the possibility of heaven falling on earth through the created power.[6501]

This is clearly where the Ash´arīs go wrong. They admit that there is a distinction between voluntary and involuntary acts, but they dismiss the distinction as a mere sensation, as in neither case is man capable of enactment. According to the Ash´arīs, if one feels the ability to move an object from its place and proceeds to do so, the feeling of desire and the sense of intention have no relationship to the effect, which is the object being moved. Rather, Allāh created the desire and intention and then created the act and the effect, so it merely appears that there was a cause and effect relationship between the two. To prove this, the Ash´arīs use the following method: (1) they grant the assumption that man can cause an affect; (2) they draw conclusions based on it—that is, that man could create all qualities and objects and even make the heaven fall onto the earth; (3) they claim that the conclusions are not valid; and (4) they therefore conclude that the initial assumption would have to be false.

The problem here lies in step 2—the conclusions they draw from their initial assumption. They say, "If this created power had an influence on coming into being, it could influence the coming into being of everything created, so that it would be able to bring into being colors, tastes, [and] smells, and even to produce substances and bodies." Drawing this conclusion is an obvious error. They do not seem to distinguish between what man has power over and what man does not have power over. In fact, they assume that man having the power to create his acts means that man has the power to create any act. This is simply not true. For example, man can, using the powers and objects provided by Allāh, create a painting from paint and canvass, and he can mix the paints to create new colors. However, he cannot create a new color beyond what Allāh has allowed to be created from the paints at hand, nor can he produce the substance of the canvass or paint from thin air. He merely has powers to act within the realm of possibilities allowed by Allāh.

This error arises from the erroneous assumption granting power to man requires granting unlimited power. While man has some ability to create colors, tastes, and smells and to produce substances and bodies, he does so only within the limited range of his abilities and the raw materials that Allāh has provided. While one can mix blue and red paints to create purple paint, one cannot readily make blue paint out of purple paint. Nor can man change the blue color of the sky. Similarly, man can mold clay into a pot, but cannot create clay out of thin air. It appears that man cannot make heaven fall on earth, but if he were some day able to do so, it would only be through the powers bestowed to him by Allāh.

The Ash´arī Position on Cause and Effect

According to Ash´arī principle, "The created power has no effect on the bringing into being of an effect."[6502] As such, what appears to be the cause is never the cause of the effect. Unfortunately, the Ash´arīs commit errors in their proof that causes do not bring

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6501. Milal wa Niḥal 82.
6502. Milal wa Niḥal 82.

about effects but rather precede the effects by custom and that the effects are created directly by Allāh. They claim that,

> Allāh, indeed, has established a custom of creating the resultant act, either immediately subsequent to the created power, or under its mantle, or with it; when man has willed it and wholly directed himself to it, this is called "acquisition". Accordingly, the act will be the creation of Allāh; that is, it is originated and brought into being from Him.[6503]

Indeed, the first statement is somewhat true, as it alludes to the fact that Allāh has enacted a system that allows effects to follow causes. It is also true that all substance and powers originate from Allāh. To conclude from these two facts that every act is the direct creation of Allāh or that Allāh is the proximate cause of every act is where the Ash´arīs go wrong because the latter cannot be deduced from the former. This is, in fact, rather obvious. As a simplistic example, think of a computer program. The program is created in its entirety by a programmer, who created it such that it allows specific things to happen following specific strikes of the keyboard or movements of the mouse. When one uses the program, the user is wholly limited by the setup of the program, but the programmer is by no means the proximate cause of the effects of the program, as those are determined by the users. Similarly, the one who designs or builds a car is the proximate cause of neither how or where to the car is driven, even though he may have set limits as to how fast the car can travel.

Of note, the complexity of the matter with respect to the discussion is that Allāh created not just the rules but also the users of the rules and maintains an active role. But even such facts do not prove that one's sinful acts are directly created by Allāh and then ascribed to man. In a computer simulation, both the computer and the program that runs the simulation are designed by man, but man is not the proximate cause of the results of the simulation. If someone creates a computer simulation that beats a chess master at chess, the writer of the program cannot rightly claim that he beat the chess master himself. Nor can he claim that he was the immediate cause of every move the computer made.

The Ash´arī Position on Divine Punishment

According to an Ash´arī notion rejected outright by the Shī´ah and Mu´tazilīs, there is no inherent good or evil in any act. For example, if Allāh were to punish the believers and reward the sinners, He would be just, as justice is defined by what Allāh does. This is how they can explain their concept that Allāh can force us to sin yet punish us for it, yet still refer to Allāh as being nominally just. According to Shahrastānī,

> The Ash´arīs are followers of Abū al-Ḥasan ´Alī ibn Ismā´īl al-Ash´arī, a descendent of Abū Mūsā al-Ash´arī. I have heard of the strange coincidence that Abū Mūsā al-Ash´arī held the same views as Abū al-Ḥasan al-Ash´arī. In a discussion that once took place between Abū Mūsā al-Ash´arī and ´Amr ibn ´Āṣ, ´Amr asked Abū Mūsā, "To whom shall I go for an explanation of Allāh's actions? Abū Mūsā replied, "You may come to me." Thereupon ´Amr asked, "Does Allāh predetermine what I do and then punish me for it?" Abū Mūsā said, "Yes."

[6503] Milal wa Niḥal 82.

> "Why?" ʹAmr asked. Abū Mūsā replied, "Because He does not do you an injustice." ʹAmr was silent and made no answer.[6504]

Although the Ashʹarīs are known as the Ṣifātīyyah, or those who maintain the attributes of Allāh as being real,[6505] by maintaining this position, they make the real attributes of Allāh meaningless. If justice is merely defined by what Allāh does, attributing justice to Allāh would be senseless and unnecessary, as it would have no significance whatsoever. Such thoughts have contributed to extreme anthropomorphism which has developed among some Sunnīs, to the point that they have interpreted Allāh's face and hands, as well as His sitting on the throne in a physicals sense.[6506]

The Ashʹarī Position on Religious Commands

Shahrastānī said,

> According to Ashʹarī, it is possible for Allāh to command what is beyond the power of man to perform... because for Ashʹarī, capacity is an accident, and an accident does not endure for two moments. At the time of command, the one commanded does not have power to execute the command, because the one commanded is the one who will have the power to do what he has been commanded. However, to command one who has no power at all to do what is commanded is impossible, even if it were found clearly written in the Book.[6507]

Since Allāh is the proximate cause of every perceived power and every effect, and since man has no inherent power and only the perception that he causes an effect when Allāh wills the effect to appear, Allāh can command anything. Since man cannot enact the command because of his lack of power, the power to enact the command is created by Allāh concomitantly with the act of enacting the command. One can see how primary errors in logic have led the Ashʹarīs to adopt such absurd secondary positions.

The Ashʹarī Position on Reason

The Ashʹarīs have rejected reason outright. They claim, "Reason does not impose any obligation, nor does it declare anything good or bad."[6508] Of note, the Ashʹarīs use "reason" to "prove" their absurd claims, yet they deny the validity of reason in the first place. The Ashʹarī position is in sharp contrast to the Qurʹān that repeatedly calls man to use human intellect and reason (ʹaql), while scolding the disbelievers and hypocrites for not using reason (ʹaql).

The Shīʹah Position

The Shīʹah position is that which is dictated by reason, that which has been clearly expounded by the Prophet (ص) and his Ahl al-Bayt (ع), and that which is found explicitly stated in the Qurʹān. The Shīʹah maintain that Allāh has granted man intellect (ʹaql) to seek the truth and that one is commanded to use his intellect to ascertain the truth. They also believe that Allāh has created a system in which effects follow causes, although the ultimate cause of every effect is Allāh. They maintain that Allāh has created within man certain powers, but that these powers are severely limited by qaḍā` and qadar, the former representing that which Allāh directly decrees and against which man is powerless, while the latter represents limits and bounds set by Allāh that man cannot possibly transgress. Freedom of will is therefore limited by Allāh and in no way limits Allāh's power. Furthermore, Allāh's justice is real and it is only because of man's limited freedom to create his acts that Allāh will appropriately reward and punish him.

[6504] Milal wa Nihal 78-79.
[6505] Milal wa Nihal 77.
[6506] Milal wa Nihal 77-78.
[6507] Milal wa Niḥal 81.
[6508] Milal wa Niḥal 86.

The Qur`ānic Position

The Qur`ān explicitly supports the Shī´ah position. A complete discussion of this topic is beyond the scope of this brief discussion, but a few Qur`ānic verses that are rather explicit will be cited here.

The Qur`ān says, "It was not Allāh who wronged them, but they wronged their own souls."[6509] As such, the sins that people commit are not from Allāh but from what they do themselves. This is a most obvious principle, otherwise there would be no sense in a number of key Qur`ānic concepts. First, enjoining good and forbidding evil would be senseless because if Allāh forces man to perform both good and evil acts, it would not be upon man to enjoin or forbid them. Indeed, enjoining and forbidding acts would be calling for other than what Allāh has willed, and that would be a form of disbelief. Second, repentance would be senseless, as one ought not to repent for Allāh's actions. In fact, the Qur`ān is clear that repentance is necessary only because people wrong themselves, when it refers to those who repent as "those who, having committed a flagrant [sin] or having wronged their own souls, earnestly bring Allāh to mind, asking for forgiveness for their sins."[6510] Third, punishment and reward would be senseless, as there would be no purpose in punishing and rewarding people for what they were forced to do. The Qur`ān says, "Then shall anyone who has done an atom's weight of good see it, and anyone who has done an atom's weight of evil shall see it."[6511] The Qur`ān is also explicit that the rankings in the hereafter are based on what people do: "And for all will be ranks based on what they do, so that He may pay them for their deeds; and they will not be wronged."[6512] This verse is rather clear that deeds are attributable to man, as man deserves to be rewarded for his deeds by Allāh and will not be wronged. In fact, in Islāmic law, one is not punished for coerced acts, as that would be deemed injustice. For example, if one is tied up and wine is forced down one's throat, one would not be whipped. Accordingly, it would make no sense for Allāh to punish man for coerced acts in the hereafter.

Indeed, the entirety of the prophetic mission would be nullified by Ash´arī concepts. All the pagans would have had to say when the Prophet (ص) invited them to Islām was that they did not have the power to accept Islām, as Allāh had not created belief for them. The Prophet (ص) would have had no answer to that. In fact, for Allāh to send prophets to guide us would be senseless if humans lacked the power to accept or reject their guidance. Of course, all guidance originates from Allāh, as the Qur`ān says, "He guides whom He likes to the straight path,"[6513] Similarly, the Qur`ān says, "Allāh leads astray whom He wills, and guides whom He wills."[6514] The Ash´arīs mistakenly believe that these and similar verses imply that Allāh forces guidance and misguidance upon people that He arbitrarily chooses. Yet, the Qur`ān also says, "Allāh does not guide wrongdoing folk (ẓālimīn),"[6515] and "Allāh does not guide those who reject faith (kāfirīn)."[6516] As such, Allāh leads those who are wrong-doing and who reject faith astray as a consequence of their own choices, and their acts of wrong-doing and rejection of faith are not created by Allāh. In fact, the Qur`ān lists a number of reasons why Allāh seals the hearts and the minds of the disbelievers in the following verse: "Because of their breaking their covenant, their disbelief in the signs of Allāh, their wrongful slaying of the prophets, and their saying, 'Our hearts are sealed.' Nay! Allāh has set a seal upon them due to their disbelief."[6517] Indeed, Allāh chastises the disbelievers for saying, "Our hearts are sealed," which is what the Ash´arī concept boils down to, as they do not grant any power to man, thus making man's heart immune to change by his own will, which is what a sealed heart it.

[6509] Qur`ān 9:70. Similarly, Qur`ān 3:117, 11:101.

[6510] Qur`ān 3:135.

[6511] Qur`ān 99:7-8.

[6512] Qur`ān 46:19.

[6513] Qur`ān 2:142.

[6514] Qur`ān 35:8.

Ash´arīs also confuse the concept of permission with force. For example, they claim that the following verse proves their contentions: "No affliction comes about but by Allāh's permission; and whoever believes in Allāh, He guides his heart."[6518] However, it is obvious that every act occurs by His permission. Permission and coercion are not the same. Moreover, this verse is explicitly clear that belief is a requirement for Allāh's guidance, meaning that people have the power to believe as opposed to their belief being forced upon them by Allāh.

Political Implications

This is a very brief discussion of key Ash´arī concepts. Some of these concepts will be further addressed in the next chapter. However, these Ash´arī concepts cannot be taken outside their historical and socio-political contexts. With the exception of ´Alī (ع), the early caliphs, starting with Abū Bakr and continuing onto the Umayyad rulers were key supporters of the belief that Allāh is the proximate cause of every human act. As such, they could not be criticized for anything they did. Even more importantly, the rulers could not be challenged, because Allāh was considered the proximate cause of their rise to power. To rise up against the rulers would be to rise up against Allāh's will. As such there arose a fundamental difference in interpretation of the following verse:

> Say, "O Allāh, possessor of power! You give power to whom You please, and You take away power from whom You please. You exalt whom You please, and You abase whom You please."[6519]

Yazīd saw these verses as proof that since he was the king, Allāh was the one who had granted him His kingdom and who had stripped it away from Ḥusayn (ع). Moreover, it was Allāh who had imbued Yazīd with honor and who had humiliated the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) at Karbalā`. As such, the legitimacy of every ruler would be established, as man should not question why Allāh grants the kings power. Yet, this interpretation is not only patently false but also the opposite of what the Qur`ān is saying. What the Qur`ān is saying is that Allāh is the only one who is entitled to imbue the right to hold power and that only Allāh can choose the one to whom He grants His kingdom. Any act in opposition to Allāh's decision in this regards is a grievous sin. This is very clear in the Qur`ān when it says that the Jews were told, "Allāh has appointed Ṭālūt as king over you." When the

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[6515] Qur`ān 2:258.
[6516] Qur`ān 2:264.
[6517] Qur`ān 4:155.
[6518] Qur`ān 64:11.
[6519] Qur`ān 3:26.

Jews expressed their opposition to Allāh's choice, they were told, "Allāh grants His authority to whomever He pleases."[6520] Therefore, the choice of king is Allāh's only, and man has the obligation of following the divinely-appointed king, even though he has the ability to oppose Allāh's choice of king and to put someone else in political power the same way that he can reject Allāh's prophets and follow a false prophet instead. As such, Ḥusayn (ع) was the one Allāh appointed as the king, and Yazīd was to be obedient to Ḥusayn (ع). Yazīd could not accept his ordained position as a dutiful subject, so he acted in opposition to Allāh's commands. This is the same sin Satan committed when he acted in opposition to Allāh's commands because he could not accept his position of being lower than Adam (ع) and would not succumb to his duty of prostrating before man.[6521] Yazīd's killing of Ḥusayn (ع) did not prove Yazīd's legitimacy, just as the killing of the prophets by the Jews[6522] did not prove the illegitimacy of the prophets and the legitimacy of the Jews who killed them. In accordance with these facts, it should not come as any surprise that the inscription on ʻAlī's (ع) ring, according to Suyūṭī, read, "Kingdom (mulk) belongs to Allāh."[6523]

It must be stated that the Ashʻarī view that everything, including human sins, are directly forced on man by Allāh apparently originated with Abū Bakr. According to Suyūṭī, a man went to Abū Bakr and asked, "Do you think that adultery is due to divine measure?" He replied, "Yes." The man said, "So Allāh will force it on me and then punish me for it?!" Abū Bakr replied, "Yes, O son of filth!"[6524] One can see that the belief that everything good and bad is directly ordained by Allāh and that man must simply accept everything as Allāh's will emanated from the caliphs who wanted everyone to accept their rule as the direct will of Allāh.

Of note, the early ʻAbbāsīds rejected Yazīd's view in this regards in order to justify their armed uprising against the Umayyads. As such, the early ʻAbbāsīd period was a time of Muʻtazilī surge, culminating in the caliphate of Maʼmūn. However, their philosophical excesses, their involvement in purging their opponents, and the realization of the ʻAbbāsīd and later Ottoman caliphs that they were better served politically with Ashʻarī concepts led to the eventual demise of the Muʻtazilī school of theology. Although the Muʻtazilīs had made errors in their use of reason, the conquest of the minds of the Muslim masses by Ashʻarī ideology has contributed to the mental stagnation that has led to the eventual demise of Muslim power.

[6520] Qurʼān 2:247.
[6521] Qurʼān 2:34.
[6522] Qurʼān 4:155.
[6523] Tārīkh al-Khulafāʼ 160.
[6524] Tārījh al-Khulafāʼ 87.

Chapter 93
Badā` (Change)

The concept of badā` is one that has led to much confusion as well as the leveling of unfounded criticisms against the Shī'ah. Some polemicists claim that the Shī'ah believe that badā` refers to a change in Allāh's knowledge, meaning that what Allāh believed to be true would turn out false. Of course, this is an impossibility. Belief in badā` is indeed a part of Shī'ah beliefs, but clearly not in the way some have understood it. Rather, badā` refers to an unexpected event, which may or may not be due to direct divine intervention. In this chapter, the definition of badā`, as well as its relationship to divine decree (qaḍā`), divine measures (qadar), change, and human choice will be explored, and it will be shown that belief in badā` is a fundamental part of Islāmic monotheism. Furthermore, the source of unfounded accusations against the Shī'ah with respect to badā` will be revealed, and it will be established that fallacies in fundamental Ash'arī views have prevented them from understanding this critical concept.

The word badā` has two related definitions: (1) an origination, and (2) an unexpected event. The use of the word badā` in the Qur`ān commonly occurs in its discussion of the origins of creation. The creation (bada`a) of man from dirt,[6525] and the creation (bada`a, yabda`u, yubdi`u) of all of creation from nothing[6526] are examples of badā` cited in the Qur`ān. Indeed, all religions that believe in a creator believe in badā` of this form.

Badā` also refers to a change in the expected course of events due to direct intervention by Allāh, as indicated by the Qur`ān where it says, "And badā` will occur to them from Allāh in a way that they could have never expected."[6527] This is a key concept in Islāmic monotheism (tawḥīd), as Islām sees a continuous active role for Allāh. This is in opposition to Arabian Judaism at the time of the Prophet (ص) which saw Allāh as having permanently rested upon the completion of creation, allowing the system to run by itself, with Allāh's hands tied from being able to intervene in any way. The Qur`ān refutes their belief when it says, "The Jews say, 'The hand of Allāh is tied!' Their hands shall be shackled and they shall be cursed for what they say. Nay, both His hands are spread open, [and] He expends as He pleases."[6528]

Indeed, all miracles are forms of badā`, as are some of the unexpected events that befall one—the types of things that "come out of the blue." As such, a sudden and unexpected blessing or calamity may be forms of badā`. The sudden death of an otherwise healthy individual or the unexpected resolution of an untreatable and uniformly fatal disease can be called badā`. The unexpectedness of such events, however, is only vis-à-vis the human perspective, not vis-à-vis Allāh or His knowledge. As such, Imām Ja´far al-Ṣādiq is quoted by Shī´ah traditions as having said, "Badā does not occur for Allāh out of ignorance,"[6529] and "Badā` does not occur for anything except that Allāh had knowledge of it prior to its occurrence."[6530] Furthermore, badā` is not a negation of cause and effect, but an affirmation of limited human understanding. The Qur`ān says, "And badā` will occur to them from Allāh in a way that they could have never expected, and the evil of what they wrought shall be brought forth (badā) for them."[6531] As such, the unexpected punishment will come to them as a surprise, but it will not be without cause, as their own sins were the cause of their unexpected punishment. Similarly, the Qur`ān says, "When they are brought before the fire," it will be because, "what they concealed before will be brought forth to them (badā)."[6532] As such, people expect that they will never suffer from the evil acts they have concealed, but on the Day of Judgment, their evil deeds will, to their great surprise and utmost dismay, cause them to enter the fire.

[6525] Qur`ān 32:7.

[6526] Qur`ān 10:4, 10:34, 27:64, 29:19, 29:20, 30:11, 30:27.

[6527] Qur`ān 39:47.

[6528] Qur`ān 5:64.

Of note, the highest form of monotheism (tawḥīd) requires belief in badā`, as this belief requires that Allāh not be the proximate cause of every event, thus granting man responsibility for his own sins, while admitting the shortcomings of human power, knowledge, and foresight, as well as directly allowing Allāh the power to intervene in matters as He pleases.

Badā` and Change

Refutations of badā` often rest on the claim that badā` requires a change in destiny, which is impossible because it would negate Allāh's knowledge. Even though badā` is often cited synonymously with change, they are not identical concepts. In any case, the critics are wrong in this claim, as the Qur`ān says, "Allāh does blot out or confirm what He pleases, and with Him is the Mother of the Book."[6533] Clearly, Allāh can blot out one's destiny and enact a new one. Yet, this is not to negate His knowledge, as He knew before the change that the change would occur. Furthermore, that things change is evident, and the change may be brought about by Allāh or, within limits, by man. A change in destiny may be secondary to man's own choices, as demonstrated by the verse, "Allāh does not change what is for a group until they change what is in themselves."[6534] This verse is clear in proving that change does exist in some form. Allāh's changing what is granted to a group is an effect, the cause of which is the people in the group changing what is in themselves. As such, the change referred to in this verse is that Allāh changes what is bestowed to man based on man's own choices. The fact that this verse clearly shows that Allāh will change what He bestows in response to an individual changing one's own self is in clear opposition to the Ash´arī notion that Allāh creates everything that man does and that everything comes directly from Allāh to man, including one's sinful acts. Examples of change in this sense are plenty. A pagan is destined to burn in hell, yet if he changes his disbelief into belief, Allāh will change his expected destiny from being hell-bound to being heaven-bound.

It must be stressed that a change in destiny is in no way a refutation of Allāh's knowledge, but rather an unexpected occurrence that is either directly dictated by Allāh (i.e. qaḍā`) or that is an effect following one's choices. For example, Allāh may afflict someone with a fatal disease. This, in and of itself, could, from the human perspective, be considered badā` in the form of an unexpected event in an otherwise young and healthy individual. The patient has a choice to be treated for it and survive or not to be treated for it and die. If he seeks treatment, it could be said that he changed his destiny because he did not die of what would otherwise have been a fatal disease. In fact, he was destined to die until he took the medication. This in no way implies that Allāh's knowledge changed, as Allāh always knew the exact moment of his death. Rather, there is merely a change in what befalls an individual secondary to his purposeful choices.

[6529] Uṣūl al-Kāfī #369.
[6530] Uṣūl al-Kāfī #368.
[6531] Qur`ān 39:47.
[6532] Qur`ān 6:27-28.
[6533] Qur`ān 13:39.
[6534] Qur`ān 13:11.

The Qur`ān is clear that Allāh knows everything: "No calamity befalls the earth or your own selves except that is inscribed in the Book before it is brought into existence."[6535] That Allāh knows one's destiny and what one would choose is in no way proof that He compelled one to perform what one does. For example, one can have knowledge that the sun will rise tomorrow at exactly a specific moment in time. Knowledge that the sun would rise at a specific point in time in no way implies that one forced the sun to do so. Similarly, when one knows an individual well, one can predict that individual's choices and actions, while not being responsible for them. For example, if one knows that a person is a drunkard, one might know that he will drink as soon as he rises from bed, but this is not proof that one coerced the drunkard to drink or that the one with knowledge of the drunkard's drinking created his act of drinking. Whereas man is bound by time, Allāh, as the creator of time, is not bound by it. As such, whereas man has to wait to see whether or not what he anticipates turns out to be true, Allāh's knowledge of events of all time, including what has passed and what is to come, is the same. Allāh's not being bound by time, however, does not imply that He created all of one's actions, but rather that He knows what one will do with certainty before, during, and after one's act. This knowledge is not secondary to coercion but rather secondary to Allāh's not being limited by what limits human knowledge. Indeed, the Ash´arī notion that Allāh has to compel us to act in certain ways so that His knowledge would turn out to be true is a renunciation of the true significance of Allāh's knowledge.

The Relationship Between Badā` and Qaḍā`

Badā` in the specific sense of a direct intervention of Allāh to alter the course of events essentially identical to the concept of qaḍā`, in which divine decree settles a matter. Furthermore, the concept of apparent changes in destiny is inseparable from the concepts of qaḍā` and qadar, the former comprising direct divine decree, and the latter comprising divine measures and potentials that allow man some limited freedom of choice. According to Shī´ah beliefs, Allāh does not create our sinful acts, but rather sets certain limits and potentials for us, referred to as qadar, which provide us with the potential to perform sinful acts. For example, one may wish to look at pornography, but if one were blind, one would not have the ability to do so. Similarly, one may have every intention of performing adultery, but if one is imprisoned in solitary confinement, one cannot possibly create that act because it is simply not within the limits of one's potential (qadar). Similarly, one may intend to drink alcohol, but in its absence in one's society and one's lack of knowledge of how to brew it, one may be simply unable to do so. Therefore, one has freedom of choice within the limits that are, directly or indirectly, ordained by Allāh. As such, even though there are many limits to one's power, one has a choice in many matters. This is the key difference between Shī´ah and Mu´tazilī beliefs, as the Shī´ah see an active role for qadar in setting the limits of man's powers, whereas the Mu´tazilīs see power as being handed over more or less entirely to man (tafwīḍ). Indeed, it was the fallacy of this Mu'tazilī view that led to the criticisms of the Ash'arīs and their formulation of an even more fallacious view that was eventually coerced upon all Sunnīs.

[6535] Qur`ān 57:22.

Of note, the matter of qadar is not only limited to sinning, but also pertains to other potentials. For example, one may wish to be an Olympiad-level mathematician or an Olympics-level athlete, even though one is not bestowed with the potential to do so. In that case, regardless of what decisions one makes and how hard one strives, one would never attain such a goal. On the other hand, one may have been given the potential to achieve those aims, yet due to lack of interest or the adoption of other choices, not attain those potentials. In any case, Allāh cannot hold us responsible for that which is beyond our potential, for that would be injustice.

Changes in destiny are therefore either due to a direct injunction of Allāh (qaḍā`, badā`) or a change in outcome within the limits of one's qadar based on one's choices. Take the example of a healthy young man who suddenly comes down with a deadly infection. It could be said that he is destined to die, or that Allāh has measured out his death in the form of qadar in an act referred to as taqdīr. If he dies, he does so according to Allāh's taqdīr. Yet, if he seeks treatment and survives, one could say that there was a change in outcome based on his free choice. In neither situation does Allāh's knowledge turn out to be false, as neither requires a change in Allāh's knowledge. In fact, whether or not the treatment works depends on qaḍā` and qadar. This is rather obvious, as three individuals with the same disease treated with the same medication may suffer three distinct fates—one may be cured, one may die of the disease, and one may be cured of the disease but die from a side effect of the medication used to treat the disease. As such, there is no way to escape the qaḍā` and qadar of Allāh, and man's choices and ability to control his destiny are limited by them.

The Relationship Between Badā` and Creation

The concept of badā` applies to the creation of man from dirt and the creation of something from nothing because the destiny of dirt is to remain as dirt until Allāh changes that destiny, and the destiny of nothing is to remain as nothing until Allāh changes that destiny by creating something. Unlike humans who are endowed with the power to make choices within the limits ordained by Allāh, dirt and nothingness have not been endowed with such powers. As such, all change in their status is either directly willed by Allāh, or is in accordance with systems He has created to govern any change that occurs with respect to them. As such, the concept of badā` for the beginning of creation is often cited alongside the concept of continuation or repetition. In this regards, the Qur`ān says in several verses that Allāh "originates (yabda`u) creation and repeats it (yu'īduhu)."[6536] Thus, the process of originating creation is a form of badā`, whereas the continuation of the processes that govern created objects is addressed under the concept of 'awd, or repetition, which is the process of created objects continually following laws that govern their material properties. As such, heavenly bodies and all physical objects follow their courses in the heavens unless Allāh wills otherwise, changing their course, in an act of qaḍā`, or from the human perspective, badā`.

The Qur`ān is explicitly clear that only what is good comes from Allāh and that Allāh has no system in place to either create or repeat falsehoods and sins:

[6536] Qur`ān 10:4, 10:34, 27:64, 29:19, 30:11, 30:27, 85:13. Note that the different verses have different wordings in Arabic with the same overall meaning.

> Say, "The truth has arrived and falsehood neither originates (yubdi`, from the same root as badā`) nor repeats (yu´īd)." Say, "If I stray, I stray only against my own soul (nafs), and if I am rightly guided, it is because of what my Lord has revealed to me."[6537]

This verse is explicit that Allāh neither creates evil from nothing (badā`) nor sets a system for the continuation of evil (´awd). Therefore, all evil comes from man and jinn, who are endowed with limited freedom of will. Accordingly, the verse states that while all guidance is from Allāh, all misguidance is from one's own soul (nafs).

Qadar and Badā` with Respect to Death in the Qur`ān

The concepts we have discussed in regards to qadar and badā` with respect to death are clearly demonstrated in the Qur`ān. The Qur`ān is clear that one cannot possibly live beyond the lifespan that has been allotted through taqdīr: "He sends other [souls to their bodies] for a term appointed."[6538] Moreover, the Qur`ān is clear that man lacks the power to avert death: "The ones that say, while they themselves sit [at ease], 'If only they had listened to us, they would not have been slain.' Say, 'Send away death from your own selves, if you speak the truth.'"[6539] In fact, the maximum lifespan of the Prophet's (ص) companions was set by Allāh to be one hundred years after a particular night, as the Prophet (ص) said, "Nobody present on the surface of the earth tonight will be living after the completion of one hundred years from this night."[6540] As such, none of the Prophet's (ص) companions could live more than a century after that night, as a hundred years was set as their maximum potential for their further lifespan. Of note, Sunnī scholars tend to consider Khaḍir (ع) and Dajjāl as exceptions to this tradition since they were living in ghaybah.

The verse the Ash´arīs point to in their claim that one has no way of altering the time one's death is the following: "They say, 'If we had had anything to do with this affair (i. if they had listened to us and not gone to battle), we should not have been in th slaughter here.' Say, 'Even if you had remained in your homes, those for whom death was decreed would certainly have gone forth to the place of their death.'"[6541] On the surface, this verse may appear to be saying that by avoiding battle one cannot lengthen one's lifespan. But in fact what the verse is saying is that man is powerless if Allāh were to decree his death. This is, of course, undisputed, as the Qur`ān says, "When He decrees a matter, He says, 'Be!' and it is."[6542] Moreover, the Qur`ān is clear that the Ash´arī interpretation is untrue: "Running away will not profit you if you are running away from death or slaughter; and even if [you do escape], no more than a brief [respite] will you be allowed to enjoy!"[6543] This verse is explicit that one might escape death by running away, but one does so only temporarily and at a great loss. Furthermore, the Qur`ān says, "He then decreed a stated term for you. And the definite term is with Him."[6544] This verse is clear that man has two lifespans— one that is decreed but subject to change, and one that is absolute. As such, one can make choices that affect one's lifespan but not beyond the absolutely designated lifespan one is allotted. This is, indeed, rather self-evident, as everyone lives life believing in this fact. If the Ash´arīs believe that what they do does not affect their lifespans, then they might as well not look for cars when crossing a busy street, jump out of airplanes without parachutes, and drink poison instead of water, as these acts would not affect one's lifespan.

[6537] Qur`ān 34:49-50.

[6538] Qur`ān 39:42.

[6539] Qur`ān 3:168.

[6540] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #1.3.116, #1.10.539, #1.10.575.

[6541] Qur`ān 3:154.

[6542] Qur`ān 2:117.

[6543] Qur`ān 33:16.

[6544] Qur`ān 6:2.

In summary, only Allāh gives life and takes it away, and Allāh sets an absolute limit past which one cannot live. Within one's appointed lifespan, one can make choices that may alter the exact timing of one's death. Such an alteration, however, can only occur in accordance with Allāh's measures (taqdīr) and is subject to Allāh's decrees (qaḍā`) and unexpected events (badā`).

Badā` as a Change in Allāh's Commands

Another form of badā` is that which involves changes in Allāh's commands. This type of event is clearly shown in the Qur`ān:

> And when We did appoint for Moses thirty nights [of solitude], and added to them ten, and he completed the whole time appointed by his Lord of forty nights.[6545]

As such, Allāh appointed thirty nights for Moses (ع) and later added another ten, changing His original decree. The type of badā` that pertains to laws and obligations is often referred to as naskh, or abrogation. This appears numerous times in the Qur`ān, the most obvious example of which appears in the following two verses:

> O you who believe, when you seek private counsel with the Messenger, spend something in charity before your private counsel. This is better for you. But if you cannot find [the wherewithal to do so], Allāh is oft-forgiving, most merciful. Did you dislike giving away some charity before your private counsel [with the Prophet]? You did not do it, but Allāh has forgiven you.[6546]

In the two successive verses, the Qur`ān created a law that only ´Alī (ع) followed, and then abrogated it.[6547] In no way did such an abrogation involve a change in Allāh's knowledge. Rather, Allāh knew that the first verse would be abrogated before He revealed it.

Roots of Incorrect Views of Badā` Being Attributed to the Shī´ah

Shahrastānī said the following in regards to badā`:

> Now the word badā` may be understood in different ways. It may, firstly, be taken as a change in knowledge, in the sense that Allāh may attain to a knowledge which is the opposite of His former knowledge—I do not think that any rational man would hold such an opinion; secondly, as an enlightenment with respect to will, that is, that Allāh may discover that the opposite to what He had willed and decreed was right; thirdly, as a change in command, that is, that Allāh should command something and afterwards command its contrary.[6548]

[6545] Qur`ān 7:142.

[6546] Qur`ān 58:12-13.

[6547] Refer to chapter 12.

[6548] Milal wa Niḥal 127.

Shahrastānī was correct in stating that no rational man would allow a change in Allāh's absolute knowledge, even though he tried to attribute this view to the Shī´ah elsewhere. Similarly, the Shī´ah do not believe that Allāh could find out that the opposite of what He had willed was right. Although it is clear that Shahrastānī did not have an in-depth understanding of the issue of badā`, his third concept comes closest to the truth, as it involves a change in what Allāh ordained, yet at the same time it completely misses the point. As a purported supporter of the Ash´arī view, Shahrastānī believed that Allāh is the proximate cause of everything. As such, he made the process of badā` appear as a haphazard, arbitrary, and purposeless change in Allāh's command, something that the Shī´ah do not allow. For the Shī´ah, every act of badā`, whether in the form of creation or in the form of unexpected events out of human control and ordained directly by Allāh, is an intelligent and purposeful divine act.

Shahrastānī levels the following claim against the Shī´ah:

> The Rāfiḍītes, too, were attacked by Sulaymān [ibn Jarīr][6549]. According to him, the Rāfiḍīte leaders had laid down two doctrines for their followers, as a consequence of which no one could ever prevail against them. One of these was their doctrine of badā` (change). Whenever they foretold that they would have power, might, and victory, but what they had foretold did not come about, they would say, "There was a change in what seemed fit to Allāh." The other is taqīyyah (dissimulation). Whatever they had a mind to say they said; but when it was pointed out to them that it was not true, and its falsehood was laid open before them, they would say, "Whatever we said or did was dissimulation."[6550]

As is apparent, his criticisms of the Shī´ah were with respect to two issues—badā` and taqīyyah. As for badā`, he specifically stated that the Shī´ah imāms were promisin "power, might, and victory," but that "what they had foretold did not come about." Th is clearly not referring to the twelve imāms of the Twelver Shī´ah, but rather to fal imāms and misguided sects that arose from among the Shī´ah. The twelve Shī´ah imān did not promise any immediate "power, might, and victory," but rather promised the oppression of their Shī´ah by the illegitimate caliphs and their followers, ordained taqīyyah for the purpose of survival, and foretold that their rise to power will only occur upon the reemergence of the twelfth imām who will be the promised mahdī. The ones who were revolting and seeking power through open rebellion were illegitimate imāms and their words should never be attributed to the Twelver Shī´ah. This fact is clear in the following two instances in which Shahrastānī attributed badā` to the Shī´ah:

1. "Mukhtār was led to adopt the belief in badā` by his claim that he knew events which were about to take place, either because of a revelation he had received, or because of a message from the imām.[6551] Whenever he foretold an event to his followers, and the outcome was in accordance with what he had said, he would make use of it as proof of the genuineness of his mission. If, however, it turned out otherwise he would say that Allāh had changed His mind. He made no distinction, therefore, between naskh (abrogation) and badā`, but simply said, 'If abrogation of commands is possible so also is change in the foretelling of future events.'"[6552]

[6549] A leader of the Sulaymānīyyah branch of the Zaydīyyah.

[6550] Milal wa Niḥal 136.

[6551] The imām here refers to Muḥammad ibn ´Alī al-Ḥanafīyyah, who Mukhtār claimed to be the imām (Milal wa Niḥal 126).

[6552] Milal wa Niḥal 127.

2. "The innovations of the Ghālīyah may be reduced to four: anthropomorphism, badā`, return of the imām, and metempsychosis."[6553]

In the first example, it is not the Twelver Shī´ah, but rather Mukhtār and his followers who believed in badā`. Although the Twelver Shī´ah appreciate Mukhtār's taking revenge from the killers of Ḥusayn ibn ´Alī (ع),[6554] his beliefs have been unanimously condemned, and his misguided sect has perished. In fact, Shahrastānī even admitted that,

> Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafīyyah is said to have dissociated himself from Mukhtār when he heard that he was deceiving people and making them believe that he was his supporter and emissary. He also dissociated himself from the errors and deceptions which Mukhtār had introduced, [dismissing them] as his false interpretations and distorted fantasies.[6555]

As for the Ghālīyah, the Shī´ah consider them heretics for their belief in the divinity of the imāms. In fact, they are not considered Muslim, and they are to be treated as idolaters. As such, Shahrastānī did what is typical of the anti-Shī´ah polemicists—they find some belief that existed at some point in time among a group of people who were misguided either by choosing the wrong imāms or by deviating from the beliefs of the rightful imāms, distort the idea even further, and then ascribe the idea to all Shī´ah.

As for the second criticism of the Shī´ah, there is no question that the Shī´ah were forced to practice taqīyyah, whereby they would proclaim what was expedient publicly while keeping their true beliefs to themselves in order to prevent unnecessary persecution by the illegitimate caliphate. It is no surprise that views expressed out of taqīyyah were proved wrong, as taqīyyah, by definition, is professing what is wrong, while holding what is right in one's heart. As such, Shahrastānī's statement, in fact, proves Shī´ism. This is because the concepts that were disproved were not the true beliefs the Shī´ah had obtained from their imāms and held in their hearts and minds and recorded in their trustworthy books, but rather erroneous concepts that the Shī´ah were forced to openly profess to save their lives.

Badā` with Respect to Ismā´īl

Of note, Shahrastānī indirectly addressed the concept of badā` with respect to the death of Ismā´īl, the son of Imām Ja´far al-Ṣādiq (ع). He said that the Ismā´īlīs believe, "It is impossible to believe in a change of mind, badā`, [with respect to Allāh]."[6556] What he is referring to is the purported statement of the sixth imām that the death of his son Ismā´īl was a form of badā`. They somehow take this statement to imply that the Twelver Shī´ah claim that the death of Ismā´īl involved a change (badā`) in the identity of the seventh imām from Ismā´īl to Mūsā al-Kāẓim (ع). However, the Twelver Shī´ah have no such belief, as the identities of the twelve imāms were known way prior to the death of Ismā´īl, and Imām Mūsā al-Kāẓim (ع) was designated by his father as the seventh imām from childhood, long before Ismā´īl died. In fact, it would be as impossible for the identity of a divinely appointed imām to change as it would be for ´Umar to be selected as a prophet instead of Muḥammad (ص). Rather, the concept of badā` with respect to Ismā´īl is that some people may have thought that the eldest son of Imām Ja´far al-Ṣādiq

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6553. Milal wa Niḥal 150.
6554. Refer to chapter 97.
6555. Milal wa Niḥal 127.
6556. Milal wa Niḥal 164.

(ع) would naturally be the next imām, and that the death of Ismā'īl created an unexpected change, or badā` with respect to their incorrect and limited knowledge.

Indeed, the belief that the imāmate can pass only onto the eldest son is clearly incorrect. In the fist place, 'Alī (ع) was the paternal cousin and son-in-law of the Prophet (ص) and not his son. Furthermore, when Ḥasan (ع) died, his eldest son did not become the imām. Rather, his brother Ḥusayn (ع) became the imām, as per the direct designations of the Prophet (ص), 'Alī (ع), and Ḥasan (ع). As such, the imāmate is by designation, not by father-eldest son inheritance. Of note, the Nizārī Ismā'īlīs believe that Ḥusayn (ع) was the imām after 'Alī (ع), skipping Ḥasan (ع) altogether.[6557] They therefore believe in the possibility of the imāmate of the younger son in the presence of an elder son. As for the Musta'lī, they believe that the imāmate passed from Mustanṣir bi-Allāh not to his elder son Nizār, but to Nizār's younger brother, Musta'lī.[6558] Therefore, both the Nizārī and Musta'lī allow the imāmate not to pass to the eldest son, so they cannot claim that it would have been illegitimate for Mūsā al-Kāẓim (ع) to be the seventh imām.

Conclusions

Based on this discussion, it is clear that the concept of change is part of Islām, as it is referred to in the Qur`ān in different contexts. As was shown, change may occur in a number of situations: (1) the act of creation; (2) an unexpected change out of man's control; (3) a change in what Allāh ordains for an individual based on man's own choices, which are themselves limited by what Allāh has allowed for that individual; and (4) a change in Allāh's commands and laws. Badā` is easy to establish for all these cases. Unfortunately, this concept has been distorted by a number of deviant sects, and these distorted concepts have been amplified greatly by anti-Shī'ah polemicists to the point of claiming that badā` implies a change in Allāh's absolute knowledge, something that i utterly impossible. Then this unpalatable concept is falsely ascribed to the Twelv Shī'ah. Yet, one who truly understands Islāmic monotheism (tawḥīd) will find that bad is a critical element of it because to understand badā` requires a thorough and accura understanding of other elements of tawḥīd. As such, Imām Ja'far al-Ṣādiq, according to a Shī'ah tradition, said, "Allāh has not been worshipped by anything like [He has been worshipped by believing in] badā`."[6559]

6557. Refer to Ismaili History at www.ismaili.net, which has a list of the Nizārī imāms.

6558. Refer to chapter 91.

6559. Uṣūl al-Kāfī #360.

Chapter 94
The Peace of Imām Ḥasan (ع)

Upon the martyrdom of ʹAlī (ع), the pledge of allegiance was given to Ḥasan ibn ʹAlī (ع) under the stipulation that he would follow the Book of Allāh and the Sunnah of the Prophet (ص).[6560] He demanded from his followers that, "You must be totally obedient, make peace with whom I make peace with, and fight whom I fight."[6561] The first to pledge allegiance to him was Qays ibn Saʹd in ʹUbādah.[6562] Ḥasan's (ع) first order of business was to finish off Muʹāwīyah, as his father had intended to do before he was martyred. He spent two to four months in Kūfah preparing for battle after his father's death.[6563] Since Qays ibn Saʹd was his best military commander, he relieved him from his duties as governor of Ādharbayjān and put him in charge of the army.[6564] He also ordered ʹUbayd Allāh ibn ʹAbbās to lead 12,000 of the fighting men, but ordered him to obey Qays ibn Saʹd's command.[6565] The overall army included 40,000 men,[6566] who had previously pledged allegiance to ʹAlī (ع) to fight to their deaths.[6567] Of these, 12,000 forward troops were led by Qays ibn Saʹd,[6568] 12,000 were led by ʹUbayd Allāh ibn ʹAbbās,[6569] and the remaining 16,000 were apparently led by Ḥasan (ع) himself. Ḥasan al-Baṣrī cited the total of number of troops as 50,000,[6570] and Zīyād ibn ʹUbayd, the governor in Fārs, even placed the total number at 90,000.[6571]

Since Ḥasan (ع) was preparing for battle, he was unable to lead the ḥajj pilgrimage that year (40 A.H.). According to Ṭabarī and Ibn Athīr,

> In the year in which ʹAlī was killed, Mughīrah ibn Shuʹbah wrote a letter which he forged according to Muʹāwīyah's style, and led the people in the pilgrimage in this year. It is said that he stood at ʹArafah... fearing lest his position be noticed. It was also said that Mughīrah did so because he learned that ʹUtbah ibn Abī Sufyān would replace him the following morning as the official in charge of the [pilgrimage] season, and he therefore rushed the pilgrimage.[6572]

6560. Tārīkh Ṭabarī 18:2; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:106.
6561. Tārīkh Ṭabarī 18:7; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 8:18; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:106.
6562. Tārīkh Ṭabarī 18:2; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:106.
6563. Tārīkh Yaʹqūbī 2:214.
6564. Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 8:16.
6565. Tārīkh Yaʹqūbī 2:214; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 16:40; Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:384 (specifies that they were 12,000 horsemen).
6566. Tārīkh Ṭabarī 18:10; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 8:16; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:107.
6567. Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 8:16; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:107.
6568. Tārīkh Ṭabarī 18:3-4; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:107.
6569. Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:384; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 16:40; Tārīkh Yaʹqūbī 2:214.
6570. Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:388.
6571. Tārīkh Ṭabarī 18:18.
6572. Tārīkh Ṭabarī 18:6; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:106-7.

Ibn Kathīr dismissed this story as implausible because, "The companions are higher in status than to [act like] this."[6573] How Ibn Kathīr came to that conclusion is unclear.

Ḥasan (ع) Raised a Powerful Army to Fight Mu´āwīyah

It is often claimed that Ḥasan (ع) had no interest in the caliphate, and that he gave up all his rights to Mu´āwīyah as soon as he took power. In reality, Ḥasan (ع) gathered an immense and well-equipped army to fight Mu´āwīyah, and even Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī has refuted this simplistic but oft-cited opinion. According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī,

> Narrated Ḥasan al-Baṣrī: By Allāh, Ḥasan ibn ´Alī led large battalions like mountains against Mu´āwīyah. ´Amr ibn ´Āṣ said [to Mu´āwīyah], "I surely see battalions which will not turn back before killing their opponents." Mu´āwīyah who was really the better of the two men said to him, "O ´Amr! If these killed those and those killed these, who would be left with me for the jobs of the public, who would be left with me for their women, who would be left with me for their children?"[6574]

Since Ḥasan al-Baṣrī was old enough to be quite aware of what was happening, the first statement in this tradition is obviously true—that "Ḥasan ibn ´Alī led large battalions like mountains against Mu´āwīyah." The rest of this tradition is mere speculation and hopeful well-wishing, as there was no way for Ḥasan al-Baṣrī to have known what Mu´āwīyah and ´Amr ibn ´Āṣ said to one another in private. He also added his opinion that Mu´āwīyah was better than ´Amr ibn ´Āṣ, even though it is not clear what standard he used to make that decision. In any case, it is clear that Ḥasan ibn ´Alī (ع) did not just hand over the caliphate to Mu´āwīyah, but rather prepared for a serious battle.

Mu´āwīyah Used Treachery to Defeat Ḥasan's (ع) Forces

When Mu´āwīyah realized that he had a strong chance of emerging defeated from this battle, he used treachery to alter the outcome to his favor. He sent a letter to ´Ubay Allāh ibn ´Abbās and offered him one million dirhams. According to Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd,

> Mu´āwīyah sent [a letter] to ´Ubayd Allāh ibn ´Abbās at night [saying], "Ḥasan has just sent to me asking for peace and he is surrendering the caliphate to me. If you obey me now, then I am the leader, and I will enter [Kūfah] with you as my [dutiful] subject. If you respond to me now, I will give you one thousand thousand dirhams, half of which I will send to you now and the other half when I enter Kūfah." ´Ubayd Allāh went to him at night and entered the army of Mu´āwīyah. [Mu´āwīyah] kept his promise to him. The people woke up in the morning, waiting for ´Ubayd Allāh to come out and lead their prayers, but he did not come out even though the sun was about to rise. They sent for him but could not find him, so Qays ibn Sa´d ibn ´Ubādah led the prayers. [Qays] then gave a speech, imploring them to remain steadfast, while complaining about ´Ubayd Allāh. He called them to exercise patience and to fight the enemy, and they promised him obedience and said, "Set forth with us against our enemy by the name of Allāh." He descended [from the pulpit] and set forth with them.[6575]

[6573] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 8:17.

[6574] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #3.49.867.

[6575] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 16:42. Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:385 has also related the fact that Mu´āwīyah paid ´Ubayd Allāh one million dirhams to have him abandon his post and join him.

Ṭabarī also confirmed that ʻUbayd Allāh ibn ʻAbbās joined Muʻāwīyah at night, leaving behind the army which he was in charge of.[6576] Qays ibn Saʻd gave the troops a choice: "Choose one of two [choices]: Either fighting without [one of] your leaders (i.e. ʻUbayd Allāh), or offer a misguided (ḍalāl) pledged of allegiance." They said, "We would rather fight without [one of] our leaders."[6577] So they attacked the Syrians and forced them to retreat.[6578]

Muʻāwīyah, seeing the desperate situation on the battlefield, offered Qays ibn Saʻd one million dirhams if he would join him or at least leave the battlefield, but he replied, "Do you try to cheat me of my religion?"[6579] He also told Muʻāwīyah, "No, by Allāh! You will never see me without there being spears between us!"[6580] He also wrote to Muʻāwīyah,

> You are only a pagan son of a pagan who entered Islām by force and who created divisions in it, while obediently staying out of Islām [itself]. Allāh has never set for you any share of [faith]. Your [belief in] Islām never materialized and your hypocrisy never abated. You have never stopped being an enemy to Allāh and His Messenger (ص), a party among the parties of the pagans, and an enemy to Allāh, His Prophet (ص), and the believers among His servants.[6581]

Realizing that Qays could not be bought, Muʻāwīyah sent saboteurs to the battalion directly under the control of Ḥasan (ع) to spread rumors that Qays ibn Saʻd had made peace with Muʻāwīyah and had joined him, while he sent saboteurs to the battalion of Qays ibn Saʻd, spreading rumors that Ḥasan (ع) had made peace with Muʻāwīyah.[6582] When concern arose among the Khārijītes that Ḥasan (ع) might no longer lead them in battle against the Syrians, they plotted against him, stabbing him, though not fatally.[6583] It was Jarrāḥ ibn Sinān al-Asadī who struck his thigh with a pickaxe; Ḥasan (ع) grabbed Jarrāḥ's beard, pulled it, and slit his throat.[6584] While stabbing Ḥasan (ع), Sinān yelled out, "Allāh is greater, O Ḥasan! Your father became a pagan and then you did too."[6585] The injured Ḥasan (ع), who bled profusely, was then carried to Madāʼin.[6586]

In Madāʼin, Ḥasan (ع) stayed in the White Palace with Saʻd ibn Masʻūd, who was the uncle of Mukhtār ibn Abī ʻUbayd. The latter recommended to his father that they fetter Ḥasan (ع) and hand him over to Muʻāwīyah so that they would have "wealth and honor." His uncle said, "[May] Allāh's curse [be] upon you! Shall I fall upon the son of the daughter of Allāh's Messenger and put him in fetters! What an evil man you are."[6587]

6576. Tārīkh Ṭabarī 18:9. A similar statement appears in Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:109. Note that the English translation of Tārīkh Ṭabarī says ʻAbd Allāh ibn ʻAbbās instead of ʻUbayd Allāh ibn ʻAbbās. This is an error, as the Arabic original (3:168) lists ʻUbayd Allāh ibn ʻAbbās in this account, and this is consistent with the accounts in other sources as well. Furthermore, ʻAbd Allāh ibn ʻAbbās left his post in Baṣrah during the last year of the caliphate of ʻAlī (ع) and was in Mecca at the time of ʻAlī's (ع) death (Tārīkh Ṭabarī 17:212) and does not appear to have joined Ḥasan (ع) in Iraq.
6577. Ibn Abi al-Ḥadīd 16:43.
6578. Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 16:43.
6579. Tārīkh Yaʻqūbī 2:214.
6580. Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 16:43.
6581. Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 16:43. Similarly, Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:385.
6582. Tārīkh Yaʻqūbī 2:214.
6583. Tārīkh Ṭabarī 18:7. The stabbing of Ḥasan (ع) by a man from the Banū Asad is also mentioned in Iṣābah 1:376 #1721 (Ḥasan Ibn ʻAlī).
6584. Tārīkh Yaʻqūbī 2:215.
6585. Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 16:41.
6586. Tārīkh Yaʻqūbī 2:215; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 16:42.
6587. Tārīkh Ṭabarī 18:4; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 8:16; Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:384.

Mu´āwīyah then sent Mughīrah ibn Shu´bah, ´Abd Allāh ibn ´Āmir ibn Kurayz, and ´Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Umm al-Ḥakam to Ḥasan (ع) in Madā`in. After meeting him, they left and spread the rumor among Ḥasan's (ع) troops that, "Allāh has just spared the blood [of the believers] and has quieted the discord (fitnah) through him, as [Ḥasan] has answered [positively] to [Mu´āwīyah's call for] peace." No one who heard them saying this realized that they were lying.[6588] Mu´āwīyah then sent other saboteurs to cast fear among Ḥasan's (ع) troops. According to Ṭabarī and Ibn Athīr, "Someone in [Ḥasan's] army announced, 'Qays ibn Sa´d has surely been killed, so flee!' So they fled, having plundered the pavilion of Ḥasan, even fighting him for the carpet that was under him."[6589] The plundering of Ḥasan's (ع) property has also been cited by other historians.[6590]

Ḥasan (ع) was Forced to Accept Peace

According to Ya´qūbī, "When Ḥasan saw that he was powerless and that his companions had scattered away from him and would not stand up for him, he made peace with Mu´āwīyah."[6591] He rose unto the pulpit and said, "O people! Allāh has guided you by the first of us and has spared your blood by the second of us. I have just [sought] peace with Mu´āwīyah, 'though I know that it is [both] a tribulation (fitnah) for you and a sustenance [in this world] for a designated time.'[6592]"[6593] Thus, he made it clear that he had chosen for his Shī´ah to live through a time of tribulation rather than submit them to slaughter.

Ḥasan (ع) then sent a letter to Mu´āwīyah, who agreed to grant him whatever he wished if he would abdicate from the caliphate.[6594] In fact, even before Ḥasan's (ع) letter came to Mu´āwīyah offering peace, Mu´āwīyah had sent a blank scroll sealed at the bottom along with a letter saying, "Put whatever condition you wish on this scroll which I have sealed at the bottom."[6595] Sunnī historical sources do not contain a concise list of all of Ḥasan's (ع) stipulations. Based on what has been related, the following items were among what he demanded:

1. The caliphate would return to Ḥasan (ع) after Mu´āwīyah's death,[6596] an Mu´āwīyah would not select a successor for himself.[6597]

2. The lives of the supporters and followers of ´Alī (ع) would be spared.[6598]

3. The supporters and followers of ´Alī (ع) could keep their properties.[6599]

4. The supporters and followers of ´Alī (ع) would be allowed to keep whatever they had acquired from the booty of the Battle of Ṣiffīn.[6600]

[6588] Tārīkh Ya´qūbī 2:215.
[6589] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 18:4; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:107.
[6590] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 8:16; Iṣābah 1:376 #1721 (Ḥasan ibn ´Alī); Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:384.
[6591] Tārīkh Ya´qūbī 2:215.
[6592] Qur`ān 21:111.
[6593] Tārīkh Ya´qūbī 2:215.
[6594] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 18:4.
[6595] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 18:7-8; Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:390; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:107; Istī´āb 1:437 #573 (Ḥasan ibn ´Alī).
[6596] Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:386; Iṣābah 1:376 #1721 (Ḥasan ibn ´Alī); Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 16:37.
[6597] Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:386.
[6598] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 18:9; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 16:44; Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:386.
[6599] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 18:9; Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:386.
[6600] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 18:9.

5. ʿAlī (ع) would never be cursed or reviled,[6601] and he would only be mentioned with kind words.[6602]

6. Ḥasan (ع) would keep control over the 5,000,000 dirhams in the treasury of Kūfah.[6603]

7. Ḥasan (ع) would keep control over the kharāj of Dārābjird.[6604]

Upon completion of the peace treaty, Muʿāwīyah refused to meet any of its conditions.[6605] According to Balādhurī, "Once Muʿāwīyah received the pledge of allegiance, he did not give [Ḥasan] anything of what he had promised."[6606] The people of Baṣrah also kept the kharāj of Dārābjird, refusing to hand it over to Ḥasan (ع).[6607]

During the meeting between Ḥasan (ع) and Muʿāwīyah, ʿAmr ibn ʿĀṣ told Muʿāwīyah to ask Ḥasan (ع) to give an impromptu speech, so that he would fail at delivering an eloquent speech and thereby appear inept. Ḥasan (ع) rose to the occasion and delivered a most eloquent speech, infuriating Muʿāwīyah, who then ordered him to end his speech and sit down. He then chastised ʿAmr for telling him to have Ḥasan (ع) deliver a speech.[6608] In their meetings, Ḥasan (ع) told Muʿāwīyah,

> Take notice O Sufyān! I heard ʿAlī say, "I heard the Messenger of Allāh (ص) say, 'My Ahl al-Bayt will come to me at the fount along with those in my nation who love them as two fingers [stuck together], one of which is greater than the other.'" Take notice O Sufyān! This earth will contain [both] good and evil until Allāh raises the imām of truth from the family of Muḥammad (ص).[6609]

Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd said in regards to this statement, "Our companions (i.e. the Sunnīs) believe that he (i.e. Imām Mahdī) is a descendant of Fāṭimah whom Allāh will create at the end of time."[6610] Ḥasan (ع) then said,

> "I am Ḥasan and ʿAlī was my father; you are Muʿāwīyah and Ṣakhr[6611] was your father. My mother was Fāṭimah and your mother was Hind. My grandfather was the Messenger of Allāh (ص) and your grandfather was ʿUtbah ibn Rabīʿah. My grandmother was Khadījah and your grandmother was Qutaylah. May Allāh curse the one of us who is of worse descent, the one of us who will suffer more in our accounting [on the Day of Judgment], the worse of us in the past and the future, and the one of us who stands higher in disbelief and hypocrisy!" A group of those in the mosque said, "Amen!"[6612] Yaḥyā [ibn Maʿīn] (the narrator) said, "I say Amen [to this as well]."[6613]

[6601] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 18:5; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 8:17; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:108.
[6602] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 16:44.
[6603] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 18:4; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 8:17; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:108.
[6604] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 18:5; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 8:17; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:108.
[6605] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 18:8; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:107.
[6606] Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:388.
[6607] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 18:11; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:108.
[6608] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 8:20; Tārīkh Ṭabarī 18:8-9; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:108; Usd al-Ghābah 2:18 #1165 (Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī); Istīʿāb 1:439 #573 (Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī).
[6609] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 16:45.
[6610] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 16:45.
[6611] Abū Sufyān's name was Ṣakhr ibn Ḥarb.
[6612] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 16:47.
[6613] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 16:47.

Ḥasan (ع) also said,

> A caliph is only one who acts based on the Book of Allāh and the Sunnah of His Prophet (ص). A caliph is not one who acts based on injustice—such a man is a king (malik) who enjoys his kingdom for a little [while] then leaves it behind, ending his pleasure while being forever left with its consequences. "I know not but that it is [both] a tribulation (fitnah) for you and a sustenance [in this world] for a designated time."[6614,6615]

The Pledge of Allegiance of Qays ibn Sa´d

Qays ibn Sa´d adamantly refused to submit to Mu´āwīyah.[6616] He rose among his troops and said, "O people, choose [between] submitting to a leader of error or fighting without a leader." They replied, "No, we choose instead to submit to a leader of error."[6617] So they rendered allegiance to Mu´āwīyah, and Qays ibn Sa´d left them[6618] along with 4,000 horsemen who also refused to pledge allegiance to Mu´āwīyah.[6619] After Ḥasan (ع) surrendered the caliphate, he recalled Qays and his horsemen.[6620] Qays still refused to pledge allegiance to Mu´āwīyah. Mu´āwīyah sent Qays a blank document allowing any stipulation, and Qays asked Mu´āwīyah as a condition that he exempt ´Alī's (ع) Shī´ah for the lives and property that they had taken.[6621] According to Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd,

> After the peace between Ḥasan and Mu´āwīyah, he sent for Qays ibn Sa´d, calling on him to pledge allegiance. He came... and, as he entered upon [Ḥasan], he said, "I have sworn not to meet him except with spears or swords between us." Mu´āwīyah then ordered for spears and swords to be brought and had them placed between them... Mu´āwīyah asked him, "Will you pledge allegiance, Qays?" He replied, "Yes," but kept his hand by his thighs and would not extend it towards Mu´āwīyah. Mu´āwīyah rose from his couch and leaned onto Qays until his hand touched his, even though Qays never raised his hand towards him.[6622]

According to Ya´qūbī,

> Mu´āwīyah kneeled on his knees and then grabbed [Qays'] hand and said, "I swear [allegiance] for you." He then slapped his hand. People cried out, "Qays has pledged allegiance!" Qays replied, "You lie! By Allāh, I have not pledged allegiance!"[6623]

This political charade formally ended the caliphate of Ḥasan (ع) and turned Mu´āwīyah, the leader of the mutiny of deviants (qāsiṭīn)[6624] and the leader of the army of

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6614. Qur`ān 21:111.
6615. Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 16:49. Ḥasan's (ع) recitation of this verse to Mu´āwīyah also appears in Istī´āb 1:439–40 #573 (Ḥasan ibn ´Alī) and Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:108.
6616. Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 8:17.
6617. Tārīkh Ṭabarī 18:5; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:108.
6618. Tārīkh Ṭabarī 18:5.
6619. Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 16:48.
6620. Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 16:48.
6621. Tārīkh Ṭabarī 18:10; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:109.
6622. Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 16:48.
6623. Tārīkh Ya´qūbī 2:217.
6624. Refer to chapter 78.

transgressors (fi'ah al-bāghīyah)[6625] according to the Prophet's undisputed traditions, into the political leader of the nation. Through transgression, treachery, deceit, murder, and lies he rose to power and became the official and legitimate caliph by the standard set forth by the Sunnī scholars.

"The End of the Caliphate and the Start of the Monarchy"

According to Ibn Kathīr, "It is widely held that Ḥasan's pledge of allegiance to Mu'āwīyah occurred in the year 40, which is called the Year of Consensus... Ibn Jarīr [al-Ṭabarī] and others who are experts of history consider it widely accepted that it was early in the year 41."[6626] It appears that Ibn Kathīr supported the view that the caliphate of Mu'āwīyah began in the month of Rabī' al-Awwal of the year 41 A.H., which he points out was exactly thirty years after the death of the Prophet (ص).[6627] Ibn 'Abd al-Barr also said, "This [view that it was in the year 41 A.H.] is the most correct of what is said... and the majority of the experts of history and [Islāmic] sciences hold this position. All those who say that the [year of] consensus was the year 40 [A.H.] are mistaken."[6628] It appears that those who have claimed it was in the year 40 A.H. have wanted to promote the notion that Ḥasan (ع) gave up the caliphate within three months after the death of 'Alī (ع) without putting up any resistance. The historians, however, have held that his caliphate lasted some six months until Rabī' al-Awwal of the year 41 A.H., during which time he expended a serious, though at the end futile, effort to defeat Mu'āwīyah.

According to Ibn Kathīr, Ḥasan (ع) was among the rightly-guided caliphs, or khulafā' al-rāshidīn.[6629] He also maintained that the caliphate lasted thirty years, after which monarchies began.[6630] He added, "The days of Mu'āwīyah were the first days of monarchy in Islām as well as the best of them."[6631] He then cited the following widely cited tradition from Ḥasan ibn 'Alī (ع) regarding the Umayyad dynasty that appears in numerous Sunnī sources, including Sunan Tirmidhī:

> After his pledge of allegiance to Mu'āwīyah, a man went to Ḥasan and said, "O one who tarnished the believers!" He said, "Don't say that, may Allāh have mercy on you. The Prophet (ص) saw [in a dream] that the Banū Umayyah were on his pulpit. He was very upset by this, so the verse, 'We have granted you al-Kawthar,'[6632] was revealed." [The narrator said], "[This] meant, 'O Muḥammad, [we have granted you] a fount in paradise.'" [Ḥasan continued], "It was also revealed, 'We have revealed it in the Night of Qadr. And who knows what the Night of Qadr is? The Night of Qadr is better than a thousand months.'[6633] [The Prophet (ص) was told by Gabriel], 'The Banū Umayyah will rule [for a thousand months], O Muḥammad.'" Qāsim (The narrator) said, "So we counted [the duration of rule of the Banū Umayyah] and it was a thousand [months], neither a day extra nor a day less.[6634]

[6625] Refer to chapter 65.
[6626] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 8:17.
[6627] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 8:17, 18:20.
[6628] Istī'āb 1:439 #573 (Ḥasan ibn 'Alī).
[6629] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 8:17.
[6630] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 8:17, 8:21.
[6631] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 8:21.
[6632] Qur'ān 108:1.
[6633] Qur'ān 97:1-3.
[6634] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 8:20; Sunan Tirmidhī #3350; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:108. Similarly, Tārīkh Ṭabarī 38:55; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 15:176; Usd al-Ghābah 2:17 #1165 (Ḥasan ibn 'Alī). The revelation of the verse, "The Night of Qadr is better than a thousand months," in regards to the Umayyad dynasty has also been related by numerous

According to this tradition, the Prophet's (ص) consolation was that he was granted al-Kawthar, which, as we discussed previously, referred not just to the fount in heaven but also to Fāṭimah (ع) who would bring forth his Ahl al-Bayt (ع), who would serve as the guiding light for the believers during those thousand months of gloom.[6635]

Ḥasan (ع) Returned to Kūfah and then to Madīnah

Upon completion of the peace treaty, Ḥasan (ع) returned to Kūfah, where he was assailed by people who called him, "O humiliator of the believers!" He replied, "I am not one to humiliate the believers, but I hated to kill them over power."[6636] He also added,

> I heard ʿAlī say, "I heard the Messenger of Allāh (ص) say, 'The nights and days will not end until this nation will gather under the leadership of a man with a gigantic bowels and esophagus who eats but is never satiated, at whom Allāh will never look [with mercy], and who will not die until there is no one left for him in the heavens to excuse [his evil acts] and no one [among the believers] on earth who would help him [in guidance].'" That [man] is Muʿāwīyah, and I knew that Allāh would keep His word.[6637]

While preparing to leave Iraq, he said, "O people of Iraq, three things make me glad to be rid of you—your killing my father, your stabbing me, and your plundering my possessions."[6638] He also brought the people to tears by saying, "O people of Kūfah, be God-fearing toward your neighbors and guests and toward the members of the family of the Prophet, from whom Allāh removed sinfulness and whom He purified completely[6639]."[6640] He then returned to Madīnah along with Ḥusayn (ع), his other brothers, and his cousin and brother-in-law, ʿAbd Allāh ibn Jaʿfar ibn Abī Ṭālib.[6641] Muʿāwīyah continued to rule for some nineteen years and three months until his death i the year 60 A.H.[6642]

Comments Regarding the Peace Treaty

The peace of Ḥasan (ع) is one of the most poorly-understood aspects of Islāmic history. The absence of detailed historical accounts as compared to other events of similar historical significance, the charged political and sectarian issues involved, and the sharp contrast that appears between the peace of Ḥasan (ع) and the martyrdom of Ḥusayn (ع) often complicate the understanding of this event. The basic issue involved was rather simple—he, like his father, was defeated not on the battlefield, but by Muʿāwīyah's divisive stratagems. As ʿAlī (ع) was forced to give up his battlefield victory due to divisions Muʿāwīyah sewed among his troops by raising the Qurʾāns, Ḥasan (ع) was forced to give up his battlefield victory due to a number of Muʿāwīyah's treacherous schemes. At the end, he was left with one reliable commander, Qays ibn Saʿd, and about

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commentaries, including Tafsīr Rāzī, Tafsīr Ṭabarī, Tafsīr Qurṭubī, Tafsīr Ibn Kathīr, Tafsīr Shawkānī, Tafsīr Ibn ʿAṭiyyah, Tafsīr Abū Ḥayyān, Tafsīr Nīsābūrī, Tafsīr Baghāʾī, and Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr, verse 97:3.

[6635] Refer to chapter 7.

[6636] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 8:21; Tārīkh Baghdād #5454 (ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Khalīfah); Istiʿāb 1:438 #573 (Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī).

[6637] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 16:44-5.

[6638] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 18:5; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:107.

[6639] A reference to Qurʾān 33:33. Refer to chapter 14 for a discussion of this verse.

[6640] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 18:11.

[6641] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 8:21.

[6642] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 18:210-11.

4,000 horsemen. At that point, he had no chance of defeating Muʿāwīyah militarily. As such, his prime concern was keeping his Shīʿah alive, even though the most ardent of them were prepared to fight to the death.

The peace treaty had three main components. First, the caliphate would return to Ḥasan (ع) upon Muʿāwīyah's death. This would rob Muʿāwīyah of any legitimacy in appointing an heir. In fact, Muʿāwīyah explicitly agreed that Ḥasan (ع) was more deserving of the caliphate than he was when he said, "After me, the caliphate will then be yours, as you are the most deserving of people to it."[6643] Thus, the right of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) to the usurped caliphate was thereby affirmed. Indeed, Ḥasan's (ع) acquiescence to Muʿāwīyah's caliphate was no different from his father's acceptance of the illegitimate caliphates of Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, and ʿUthmān, and his overlooking of his right to rule was no different than ʿAlī's (ع) overlooking his right to rule for some twenty-five years while the nation was ruled by illegitimate caliphs who introduced numerous innovations.

Second, Ḥasan (ع) wanted to ensure that his Shīʿah would not be persecuted. He was well aware that in case of a military defeat, Muʿāwīyah could massacre all the men of Iraq, taking their property as booty and their wives and children as slaves. Even if Muʿāwīyah chose not to do so, he could easily target the Shīʿah under the guise of avenging the blood of ʿUthmān and the blood of the Syrian soldiers who had died in the Battle of Ṣiffīn. That would have culminated in an endless process in which the supporters of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) would be decimated. As such, the most important issue was safeguarding the lives and property of his Shīʿah. In a similar vein, Muʿāwīyah was prohibited from continuing the cursing of ʿAlī (ع), which was a reprehensible act that was unbearable to the Shīʿah and indeed to all the pious believers.

Third, Ḥasan (ع) would maintain rights over the 5,000,000 dirhams in the treasury of Kūfah and the kharāj of Dārābjird, which was a Persian territory administered from Baṣrah. This is often misrepresented as some sort of personal payment in return for the caliphate, but is far from that. As the caliph, Ḥasan (ع) was responsible for proper disposal of all the wealth in the treasury, and therefore had to be guaranteed control over it so he could discharge his responsibilities thereof. Whatever future revenues would enter the treasury would be the responsibility of Muʿāwīyah. This authority would also ensure that his Shīʿah, who had aided him and his father throughout their arduous military campaigns, were paid their proper dues from property already accrued in the treasury and that the wives and orphans of the Shīʿah martyrs would receive proper compensation for their losses.

For the most part, these stipulations were ignored. Muʿāwīyah eventually imposed Yazīd as the caliph after him, but not without significant challenges. In terms of the financial demands, it appears that Ḥasan (ع) did not get control of the kharāj of Dārābjird that was held in Baṣrah,[6644] but that he was able to divide the treasury upon entering Kūfah. As far as the persecution of the Shīʿah, Muʿāwīyah had a dual record. On the one hand, he did not massacre the Iraqi men en masse, taking their wives and children as slaves and their property as booty. He also did not go on to avenge ʿUthmān's blood, which was the purported reason for his uprising in the first place. Even though he avoided such extreme acts, he did not cease the cursing of ʿAlī (ع) and the strict persecution of his Shīʿah.

Muʿāwīyah's Persecution of the Shīʿah of ʿAlī (ع), Including Ḥujr ibn ʿAdī

[6643] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 16:37.
[6644] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 18:11; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:107.

As stated previously, Mu´āwīyah did not openly massacre the general Shī´ah population. He did, however, ensure that ´Alī (ع) would continue to be cursed openly on all the pulpits in all the Muslim lands. We have dealt with this topic previously,[6645] so only a few examples will be provided here.

Immediately upon Mu´āwīyah's ascension to the caliphate, he sent Busr ibn Abī Arṭāt to Baṣrah. According to Ṭabarī and Ibn Athīr,

> When Busr spoke on the pulpit (minbar) of Baṣrah, he reviled ´Alī. Then he said, "I implore Allāh, that anyone who knows that I am truthful should say so, or likewise if I am a liar." When Abū Bakrah said, "By Allāh! We know you only as a liar," [Busr] ordered him to be strangled. But Abū Lu`lu`ah al-Ḍabbī jumped up, threw himself at [the man who was carrying out the order], and restrained him.[6646]

Busr then arrested three of the sons of Zīyād ibn ´Ubayd, who was ´Alī's (ع) governor in Fārs, and intended to kill them. According to Ṭabarī and Ibn Athīr,

> When Busr intended to kill them, Abū Bakrah came to him saying, "You seized my sons and nephews as innocent youths although Ḥasan had made peace with Mu´āwīyah on condition of a guarantee of safe conduct for ´Alī's companions, wherever they might be." ...Abū Bakrah went to Mu´āwīyah... so Mu´āwīyah wrote on Abū Bakrah's behalf to Busr telling him not to interfere with any of Zīyād's children.[6647]

It is clear that Ḥasan's (ع) stipulations that the Shī´ah of ´Alī (ع) were to be spare worked in this case. Accordingly, Ḥasan (ع) and his Shī´ah would remind the Umayyad of the stipulation that their lives be respected whenever they could. It is related that late on when Zīyād, Mu´āwīyah's governor in Iraq, sought a supporter of Ḥasan (ع), Ḥasan (ع) wrote him, "From Ḥasan ibn ´Alī to Zīyād. To proceed: You surely know that we have secured a guarantee of protection for our companions, but I have been informed that you have assailed one of them. I prefer for you not to assail him except for just cause."[6648] This type of intervention worked only to a limited extent, and the persecution of the Shī´ah became even more severe upon the martyrdom of Ḥasan (ع), as best exemplified by the fate of Ḥujr ibn ´Adī and his companions. According to Ṭabarī,

> When Mu´āwīyah ibn Abī Sufyān put Mughīrah ibn Shu´bah in charge of Kūfah... he summoned him [and said]... "Do not refrain from abusing ´Alī and criticizing him, nor from asking Allāh's mercy upon ´Uthmān and His forgiveness for him. Continue to shame the companions of ´Alī, keep them at a distance, and don't listen to them. Praise the faction of ´Uthmān, bring them near, and listen to them." ...[Mughīrah] would not stop blaming ´Alī for what had happened and for killing ´Uthmān. He continued to curse those who had killed the latter... When Ḥujr ibn ´Adī heard that, he used to say, "May Allāh rebuke and curse you instead." ...[Mughīrah] would also call for ´Uthmān's murderers [to be punished]. At that, Ḥujr ibn ´Adī jumped up and let out a scream at Mughīrah that everyone who was in the mosque and outside of it heard, saying, "...O man.

[6645] Refer to chapter 76.
[6646] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 18:15; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:111.
[6647] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 18:16-17; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:111.
[6648] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 16:18.

> Order our rations and stipends for us, for you have certainly withheld them from us, and that is not your right... You have become passionate about blaming the Commander of the Faithful (ʻAlī) and praising the criminals." At that, more than two-thirds of the people stood up with him, saying, "By Allāh. Ḥujr was right and honest."
>
> ...[Mughīrah] died this year (i.e. 51 A.H.). Kūfah and Baṣrah were then combined for Zīyād ibn Abī Sufyān[6649]... [who] mentioned [ʻUthmān's] murderers and cursed them. Ḥujr then got up and did as he had done with Mughīrah... Zīyād spoke one Friday, and by protracting the sermon he delayed the ṣalāt (prayer)... When Ḥujr was afraid that the [proper time for] worship would be past, he took a fist-full of pebbles and stood up to worship, and the people stood up with him. When Zīyād saw that, he descended [from the pulpit] and led the people in worship. When he had finished, he wrote to Muʻāwīyah about the matter of Ḥujr and exaggerated it. Muʻāwīyah then wrote back to him, "Clamp him in irons, then deliver him to me." ...When he had been clamped in irons, he was delivered to Muʻāwīyah... [who said], "Take him out and behead him." Upon being taken out from Muʻāwīyah's presence, Ḥujr said to those who were in charge of dealing with him, "Give me leave until I perform two prostrations." ...When he had performed two prostrations which he shortened, he said, "Lest you suppose that I am doing other than what I am (i.e. think that I am trying to prolong my life in this world), I would have liked for my prostrations to take longer than they did." ...Then he was brought forth, and his head was cut off.[6650]

The above summarized narration leaves out the fact that Ḥujr was among a group of fourteen men who were sent to Muʻāwīyah,[6651] seven of whom were martyred,[6652] while seven were spared.[6653] Indeed, the story of Ḥujr and his companions is far more detailed, involving the persecution and torture of the Shīʻah, the use of coercion and threats to force people to comply with the persecution of these individuals, and the massacre of a number of his companions. Further details into this event are beyond the scope of this work, but suffice it to say that the unjust execution of Ḥujr and his companions is widely transmitted in Sunnī sources.[6654]

Of note, Muʻāwīyah was widely criticized for what he did, although many people kept their criticisms quiet out of fear. ʻĀʼishah, who was angry at him for the execution of her brother Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr in captivity,[6655] confronted Muʻāwīyah in the ḥajj and said, "O Muʻāwīyah, don't you fear Allāh because of the killing of Ḥujr and his companions?" He replied, "It was not I who killed them, rather those who testified against them killed them."[6656] This is the same type of reasoning he had used to claim that he and his army of transgressors were not the killers of ʻAmmār.[6657] ʻĀʼishah told him, "I heard the Messenger of Allāh say, 'Seven will be killed in ʿAdhrā`[6658], and Allāh and those in the heavens will be angered by their murder."[6659]

[6649] This is the same person as Zīyād ibn ʻUbayd (refer to later in this chapter).

[6650] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 18:122-7.

[6651] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 18:145.

[6652] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 18:151-2; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:136; Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:170.

[6653] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 18:152.

[6654] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 18:122-162; Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:161-172; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 8:54-8; Mustadrak Ḥākim #5973-84; Muṣannaf ʻAbd al-Razzāq #9585; Iṣābah 1:358-9 #1631 (Ḥujr ibn ʻAdī).

[6655] Refer to chapter 88.

[6656] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 18:153-4.

[6657] Refer to chapters 83 and 84.

In case someone claims that the treatment Ḥujr and his companions received was the exception and not the rule, they are contradicted by the words of ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Zīyād ibn ʿUbayd, Yazīd's governor in Baṣrah and Kūfah. When Hāni` was arrested for housing Muslim ibn ʿAqīl and supporting Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī (ع),[6660] ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Zīyād said to him, "Didn't you know, Hāni`, when my father (Zīyād) came to this land, he did not spare the life of anyone of this Shīʿah except for your father and Ḥujr?"[6661] As such, Ḥujr was an exception in that Zīyād did not finish him off himself, but sent him to Damascus so that Muʿāwīyah could do so, presumably because Ḥujr was a companion of the Prophet (ص) and Zīyād did not want to be held responsible for his murder. Unfortunately, the names of most of the innocent Shīʿah believers who were killed by Zīyād have not made it to the annals of history. The fact that the treatment of Ḥujr was cited as an example of kindness goes to show the ferocity of the Umayyad persecution of the Shīʿah.

It must be noted that some Salafis today defend Muʿāwīyah for killing Ḥujr by claiming that Ḥujr might not have been a companion. This is the weakest excuse for two reasons. First, there is ample evidence that he was a companion.[6662] Second, it makes no difference whether or not he was a companion. If he was unjustly executed for demanding that the governor cease cursing ʿAlī (ع) and stop praising ʿUthmān, and for demanding fair treatment by the governor and timely performance of prayer, whether or not he was a companion is of no significance whatsoever.

We will not delve into all of Muʿāwīyah crimes. Suffice it to say that considering the qualities, acts, and innovations of the first three caliphs who have been labeled a "rightly-guided", one can only imagine what Muʿāwīyah had to be like for him not to b considered rightly-guided. In fact, rising in battle against two infallible Shīʿah imāms the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) and two of the five rightly-guided Sunnī caliphs should be enough to overshadow any other vice in the eyes of the Shīʿah and Sunnīs alike. Unfortunately, however, Muʿāwīyah's sins during his lifetime were not enough for him, so he shouldered the burden of imposing his son Yazīd on the Muslim nation.

The Martyrdom of Ḥasan (ع)

Since Muʿāwīyah's plan was to install Yazīd as his heir, he had to remove Ḥasan (ع), who posed a formidable obstacle primarily because he had a contractual agreement to resume the caliphate upon Muʿāwīyah's death. As such, as soon as Muʿāwīyah were to die, Ḥasan (ع) would readily call people to pledge allegiance to him and no one would be able to legitimately oppose him. Ḥasan (ع) also had significant numbers of supporters in Iraq, Ḥijāz, Egypt, and Yemen who would allow him to easily challenge Yazīd's rule. As such, Muʿāwīyah's plan to make Yazīd his heir required that he eliminate Ḥasan (ع). According to Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd,

> Muʿāwīyah sent to the daughter of Ashʿath ibn Qays who was married to Ḥasan and said to her, "I will marry you to my son Yazīd if you poison Ḥasan." He sent

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[6658] Marj ʿAdhrā` is a location near Damascus (Muʿjam al-Buldān 5:101) where Ḥujr and his companions were imprisoned and killed (Tārīkh Ṭabarī 18:144-6).

[6659] Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:170.

[6660] Refer to chapter 95.

[6661] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 19:38.

[6662] For example, Mustadrak Ḥākim #5974, #5983; Iṣābah 1:358-9 #1631 (Ḥujr ibn ʿAdī).

> her 100,000 dirhams, and she carried it out, poisoning Ḥasan. He granted her the property but did not marry her to [Yazīd], instead marrying her to a man from the offspring of Ṭalḥah [for whom] she bore children. Whenever there was a conflict between them and the Quraysh, they would say, "O offspring of the one who poisoned her spouse!"[6663]

According to Balādhurī, "[ʿAlī] married [Ḥasan] to Jaʿdah bint Ashʿath ibn Qays, and she poisoned Ḥasan. After him, Yaʿqūb ibn Ṭalḥah married her."[6664] He also said, "Muʿāwīyah schemed with Jaʿdah bint Ashʿath ibn Qays, the wife of Ḥasan, and kept encouraging her until she poisoned him."[6665] Of note, a number of Sunnī scholars state the same story but claim that Jaʿdah poisoned Ḥasan (ع) at the behest of Yazīd, not Muʿāwīyah.[6666] This appears to be a form of taḥrīf (textual corruption) whereby the blame on the issue is transferred to Yazīd instead of Muʿāwīyah, as Sunnī scholars glorify Muʿāwīyah as a companion, while having a higher tolerance for the sins of the successors (tābiʿīn). Yet, Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr confirmed that, "A group say that this was done by the plotting of Muʿāwīyah."[6667]

After being poisoned, Ḥasan (ع) came out of the restroom and said, "I have drank poison repeatedly, but no time did I drink it as I did this time. I just spat out a piece of my liver, and I began to turn it over with a stick I had." Ḥusayn (ع) asked, "Who gave you the poison to drink?" He replied, "And what do you intend to do with him?" He replied, "I intend to kill him." He said, "But Allāh is indeed more severe in punishment than you are."[6668] According to Ṭabarī, "Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī was poisoned a few times [but] always escaped death until the last poisoning, of which he died because his liver had been destroyed [by it]."[6669]

Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd noted that, "Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī and Saʿd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ died within days [of one another] after ten years had passed of Muʿāwīyah's rule. [People] interpreted this as both of them having been poisoned."[6670] Muʿāwīyah was most pleased by the martyrdom of Ḥasan (ع). According to Ibn Khallikān,

> Marwān wrote a letter to Muʿāwīyah... containing the news of [the death of] Ḥasan. When he was informed of his death, a loud takbīr was heard that excited the people of Syria. Fākhitah, Muʿāwīyah's wife, said, "...What was it that was so great?" He said, "Ḥasan died! ...It was not a wicked joy from his death but rather the fact that my heart now rests at peace." Ibn ʿAbbās who was in Syria entered upon [Muʿāwīyah]. He said, "O Ibn ʿAbbās, do you know what has happened in your family?" He replied, "I do not know what happened, but I do find you very pleased, and I heard your takbīr and [saw your] prostrations." [Muʿāwīyah] said, "Ḥasan died!" [Ibn ʿAbbās] said three times, "We are from Allāh and to Him we shall return! May Allāh show His mercy to Abū Muḥammad!"[6671]

6663. Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 16:49.
6664. Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:380.
6665. Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:389.
6666. Tārīkh al-Khulafāʾ 169; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 8:47.
6667. Istīʿāb 1:440 #573 (Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī).
6668. Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 16:49-50. Similar accounts appear in Iṣābah 1:377 #1721 (Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī); Istīʿāb 1:440-1 #573 (Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī). The first statement of Ḥasan (ع) appears in a similar form in Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:389.
6669. Tārīkh Ṭabarī 39:39.
6670. Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 16:49.
6671. Wafayāt al-Aʿyān 2:66-7 (Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī).

While Muʿāwīyah was celebrating, the believers were in utmost agony and despair. According to Ṭabarī, the Baqīʿ cemetery became so crowded with mourners that had someone "thrown a needle there, it would inevitably have fallen on someone's head."[6672] He also said, "The people mourned seven days for Ḥasan, suspending [trade in] the markets."[6673] Furthermore, the women of the Banū Hāshim "wailed a [whole] month for him," and "put on mourning garments for a [whole] year, [lamenting the death of] Ḥasan."[6674] The people in Kūfah were distraught by the news of his martyrdom as well, and they later said, "The first disgrace in Kūfah was the death of Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī, the killing of Ḥujr ibn ʿAdī, and the false claim of Zīyād to affinity [with the family of Abū Sufyān]."[6675] What the last statement referred to was the change of Zīyād's ascribed paternity during the caliphate of Muʿāwīyah.

The Change in Zīyād ibn ʿUbayd's Ascribed Paternity

Zīyād was the son of two slaves.[6676] His mother was Sumayyah and she conceived him while she was married to ʿUbayd.[6677] As such, Zīyād was known as Zīyād ibn ʿUbayd.[6678] Since his mother had engaged in intercourse with numerous men during the month in which Zīyād was conceived, he was often referred to as Zīyād ibn Abīh,[6679] which means, "Zīyād the son of his father [whoever that may be]." Sometimes he was called Zīyād ibn Sumayyah[6680] or Zīyād ibn Ummuh (Zīyād the son of his mother),[6681] references that carried the same implications. During the caliphate of ʿUmar, Zīyād gave an impressive speech, and upon hearing it, Abū Sufyān claimed to be his father.[6682] ʿAlī (ع), during his caliphate, told Zīyād that what Abū Sufyān had said regarding being his father was "a thoughtless act (faltah) [that occurred] during the days of ʿUmar," based on which "rights of inheritance and lineage would not be established."[6683] Of note, Zīyād served as the governor of ʿAlī (ع) in Fārs, where he was sent to battle Kurdish rebels, and he remained there during the caliphate of Ḥasan (ع).[6684]

During the caliphate of Ḥasan (ع), Muʿāwīyah wrote Zīyād threatening letters, but Zīyād stood among the people and said,

> How amazing is the son of the eater of livers, cavern of hypocrisy, and head o the [rebel] factions. He wrote to me threatening me, while there are two nephews of the Messenger of Allāh—that is [ʿUbayd Allāh] ibn ʿAbbās and Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī—between me and him. They have ninety thousand men who put

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[6672] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 39:39.
[6673] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 39:39.
[6674] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 39:39.
[6675] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 18:154.
[6676] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 16:180.
[6677] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 16:179-80.
[6678] Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:361, 2:143; Iṣābah 1:664 #2988 (Zīyād ibn Abīh); Usd al-Ghābah 2:228 #1800 (Zīyād ibn Sumayyah); Istīʿāb 2:99 #829 (Zīyād ibn Abī Sufyān).
[6679] For example, Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 7:274, 7:352, 7:355, 7:356, 8:27, 8:31, 8:51, 8:67, 8:139, 8:271, 8:312, 8:361; Iṣābah 1:664 #2988 (Zīyād ibn Abīh); Istīʿāb 2:99 #829 (Zīyād ibn Abī Sufyān); Usd al-Ghābah 2:228 #1800 (Zīyād ibn Sumayyah).
[6680] For example, Tārīkh Ṭabarī 18:78, 18:153, 18:203; Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:119, 2:153, 2:159, 2:160, 2:184, 2:230, 3:255, 3:256, 3:421; Iṣābah 1:664 #2988 (Zīyād ibn Abīh); Istīʿāb 2:99 #829 (Zīyād ibn Abī Sufyān); Usd al-Ghābah 2:228 #1800 (Zīyād ibn Sumayyah).
[6681] Istīʿāb 2:99 #829 (Zīyād ibn Abī Sufyān).
[6682] Istīʿāb 2:101 #829 (Zīyād ibn Abī Sufyān); Usd al-Ghābah 2:229 #1800 (Zīyād ibn Sumayyah); Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 16:180.
[6683] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 16:182.
[6684] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 18:14.

> their swords on their shoulders, unbending. If I were free of this business,[6685] he would feel the most biting of heavy sword blows.[6686]

After Ḥasan's (ع) peace with Mu'āwīyah, Zīyād refused to acknowledge Mu'āwīyah as the caliph, fortifying himself in Fārs and exchanging some harsh letters with the caliph.[6687] Mu'āwīyah's agent in Iraq, Busr ibn Abī Arṭāt, arrested and threatened to kill three of Zīyād's sons as discussed above. They were later released because of lack of involvement in the matter, because Mu'āwīyah had promised not to persecute the Shī'ah of 'Alī (ع), and most importantly because Mu'āwīyah had a shrewder strategy than to further alienate Zīyād.

After consulting with Mughīrah ibn Shu'bah, Mu'āwīyah wrote Zīyād a lengthy letter in which he said, "From the Commander of the Faithful Mu'āwīyah ibn Abī Sufyān to Zīyād ibn Abī Sufyān... You are a man... who has severed his ties of kinship while maintaining ties to the enemy... It is not possible for Ṣakhr ibn Ḥarb to me my father and yours, yet there be enmity between you and I..."[6688] Zīyād then went to Syria to meet Mu'āwīyah and was later appointed as the governor of Iraq.[6689] Mu'āwīyah rose to the pulpit and said, "I know that our Ahl al-Bayt (i.e. the family of Abū Sufyān) includes Zīyād, so whoever has testimony in this regards should come forth with it." So people rose and testified that he was the son of Abū Sufyān and that they had heard Abū Sufyān say so before he died.[6690] The most detailed testimony was that of Abū Maryam al-Salūlī who said that Abū Sufyān went to Ṭā'if and asked him to bring him some meat, wine, and food, and then asked for a prostitute, so he brought him Sumayyah. After Abū Sufyān had intercourse with her, Abū Maryam asked him how he liked her and he replied, "She was a nice companion, except for the foul odor in her armpits."[6691]

From that point on, Zīyād was known as Zīyād ibn Abī Sufyān. As such, in historical works, he appears alternatively referred to as Zīyād ibn 'Ubayd, Zīyād ibn Abīh, Zīyād ibn Sumayyah, Zīyād ibn Ummuh, and Zīyād ibn Abī Sufyān. The problem with a change in paternity is that Allāh says, "Call them by [the names of] their fathers; that is most just in the sight of Allāh; but if you do not know [the names of] their fathers, [then call them] your brothers in faith or your mawlās."[6692] According to Ibn Kathīr, prior to the revelation of this verse, adoptive children were called by the names of their adoptive parents and shared in every benefit of being a real child, including being maḥram (i.e. prohibited to marry and permissible to see without proper Islāmic cover) to them and their spouses, etc.[6693] As such, Zayd ibn Ḥārithah, the Prophet's (ص) adoptive son, was called Zayd ibn Muḥammad, and the girls under the tutelage of Khadījah whom the Prophet (ص) adopted were referred to as Ruqayyah and Umm Kulthūm bint Muḥammad (ص). According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Umar said,

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[6685] I.e. his continued military action against Kurdish rebels in Fārs or of the obligation of administering his province.

[6686] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 18:18. Similarly, Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:121; Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:143 (says 70,000 troops instead of 90,000).

[6687] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 18:14-18.

[6688] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 16:184.

[6689] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 16:186. According to Tārīkh Ṭabarī, Zīyād was appointed as the governor of Baṣrah in the year 45 A.H. (18:87) and Kūfah was joined to his territories in the year 50 or 51 A.H. when Mughīrah ibn Shu'bah died (18:95, 18:125).

[6690] Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:144; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 16:187.

[6691] Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:144-5; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 16:187; Tārīkh Damishq 19:173; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:121.

[6692] Qur'ān 33:5.

[6693] Tafsīr Ibn Kathīr, verse 33:5.

> We used not to call Zayd ibn Ḥārithah the freed slave (mawlā) of Allāh's Apostle but rather Zayd ibn Muḥammad until the Qur`ānic verse was revealed [saying], "Call them by [the names of] their fathers. That is more just in the sight of Allāh."[6694]

The problem with changing the ascribed paternity of Zīyād is that, regardless of who his biological father was, Islām ascribes paternity based on marriage. Therefore, a woman's husband is considered the father of any child she conceives during the marriage. According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, "The child is for the owner of the bed, and the stone is for the adulterer."[6695] The story behind this tradition was that ʹUtbah ibn Abī Waqqāṣ told his brother Saʹd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ, "The son of the slave girl of Zamʹah is from me, so take him into your custody." So Saʹd took him and said, "[This is] my brother's son whom my brother has asked me to take into my custody." Another of Zamʹah's sons said in reply, "[He is] my brother and the son of the slave girl of my father, and he was born on my father's bed," therefore insisting that the boy was the son of Zamʹah and not of ʹUtbah. The two sides went to the Prophet (ص) and each explained their case. The Prophet (ص) noted that the boy had definite resemblance to ʹUtbah, but he gave the boy to the custody of the son of Zamʹah, saying, "The child is for the owner of the bed, and the stone is for the adulterer."[6696] As such, Zīyād could not be legitimately ascribed to Abū Sufyān. The issue is clearly not a matter for ijtihād, as the pertinent ruling is clearly defined in the Qur`ān and Sunnah. In fact, this issue was obvious to those present. According to Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim and others,

> Abū ʹUthmān said: When Zīyād made his claim, I met Abū Bakrah and said, "What is this that you have done? I heard Saʹd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ saying: My two ears heard the Messenger of Allāh saying, 'Paradise is forbidden for whoever ir [the time of] Islām claims a father who is not his own, knowing that he is not h father.'" Abū Bakrah said, "I heard this from the Messenger of Allāh as well."[66

Amazingly, when this tradition in Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim was translated into English, the entir background about Zīyād was deleted and the tradition was truncated as follows:

> It is reported on the authority of Saʹd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ: Both of my ears heard the Messenger of Allāh saying, "He who claimed the fatherhood of anyone else besides his real father knowingly, paradise is forbidden to him." Abū Bakrah asserted that he too heard it from the Messenger of Allāh.[6698]

This type of censorship (taḥrīf) is how the masses are kept in the dark about historical realities. Ibn Athīr, after citing what little Ṭabarī has cited in this regards said, "This is the entirety of what Abū Jaʹfar [al-Ṭabarī] has cited in regards to Muʹāwīyah's alteration of Zīyād's lineage, and he has not stated the reality in this regards, only citing a story about what happened after the alteration of his ascribed paternity. But I will mention the reason for this and how it occurred, for it is among the famous and prominent events of Islāmic [history], and it is impermissible to neglect it."[6699]

6694. Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #6.60.305.
6695. Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #3.34.421, #4.51.8, #5.59.596, #8.80.741, #8.80.757, #9.89.293.
6696. Refer to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #3.34.421, #4.51.8, #5.59.596, #8.80.741, #8.80.757, #9.89.293 for a number of traditions regarding this incident.
6697. Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim Arabic original #63. Similarly, Musnad Ḥanbal #1454, #20484; Iṣābah 1:664 #2988 (Zīyād ibn Abīh).
6698. Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #1.120.
6699. Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:120.

The Burial of Ḥasan (ع)

In his will, Ḥasan (ع) asked to be buried next to his grandfather.[6700] He said, "Bury me by the grave of the Messenger of Allāh (ص), unless you fear that some evil would come of this; if you fear evil, bury me by my mother [in Baqī´]."[6701] Some accounts even claim that ´Ā`ishah permitted his burial by the Prophet (ص),[6702] although that appears rather unlikely, as she was the one who said, "The house is mine and I do not allow anyone to be buried in it!"[6703] Marwān ibn Ḥakam arrived with numerous armed men from the Banū Umayyah to prevent Ḥasan's (ع) burial by the Prophet (ص).[6704] The Banū Hāshim, led by Ḥusayn ibn ´Alī (ع), also gathered with their weapons.[6705]

Marwān said, "It is not possible for ´Uthmān to be buried in Ḥashsh Kawkab while Ḥasan is buried here [by the Prophet],"[6706] and he is similarly quoted as having said, "By Allāh, [Ḥasan] will never be buried there! They prevented ´Uthmān from being buried in the cemetery but they want to bury Ḥasan in the house of ´Ā`ishah!"[6707] Since at that time the governor of Madīnah was Sa´īd ibn ´Āṣ,[6708] Abū Hurayrah told Marwān, "You are no [longer] the governor. The governor is someone other than you, so call for him."[6709] Abū Hurayrah also said, "How can you prevent Ḥasan from being buried by his grandfather when the Messenger of Allāh said, 'Ḥasan and Ḥusayn are the chiefs of the young men of paradise'?"[6710] He is also quoted as having said, "By Allāh! It is injustice to prevent Ḥasan from being buried by his [grand]father!"[6711] Abū Sa´īd al-Khudrī also argued that Ḥasan (ع) should be allowed to be buried by the Prophet (ص), but Marwān retorted, "The traditions of the Messenger of Allāh are indeed ruined if no one relates them but the likes of you and Abū Hurayrah."[6712] Abū Hurayrah told Marwān, "All you seek from doing this is the pleasure of the one who is not here," referring to Mu´āwīyah. Marwān, in return, criticized him for his numerous questionable traditions from the Prophet (ص), saying, "Yet you lived with him before his death for only a short time."[6713] At the end, in order to prevent bloodshed, the Banū Hāshim decided to bury him by his mother at Baqī´.[6714]

The Myth of Ḥasan's (ع) Numerous Divorces

An unfortunate myth that has entered both Sunnī and Shī´ah sources is the claim that Ḥasan (ع) married numerous wives. The historical origins of this lie rest in the events surrounding the coming to power of the ´Abbāsīds. To summarize it briefly, when Abū

[6700] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 16:50; Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:390; Tārīkh al-Khulafā` 171.

[6701] Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:389. Similarly, Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 16:13; Usd al-Ghābah 2:18 #1165 (Ḥasan ibn ´Alī); Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:126.

[6702] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 16:50; Tārīkh al-Khulafā` 171.

[6703] Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:389; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 16:14.

[6704] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 16:14, 16:50. Similarly, Tārīkh al-Khulafā` 171 and Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:126 state that Marwān prevented his burial by the Prophet (ص).

[6705] Tārīkh al-Khulafā` 171; Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:389; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 16:14.

[6706] Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:389; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 16:13.

[6707] Istī´āb 1:442 #573 (Ḥasan ibn ´Alī).

[6708] Istī´āb 1:442 #573 (Ḥasan ibn ´Alī).

[6709] Tārīkh Damishq 67:355.

[6710] Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:390; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 16:14.

[6711] Usd al-Ghābah 2:18 #1165 (Ḥasan ibn ´Alī).

[6712] Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:390; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 16:14.

[6713] Tārīkh Damishq 67:355.

[6714] Ansāb al-Ashrāf 1:390; Istī´āb 1:442 #573 (Ḥasan ibn ´Alī).

Muslim al-Khurāsānī led the revolt in Khurāsān, he looked for an imām from the Prophet's (ص) offspring. According to Shahrastānī,

> Abū Muslim, who established the [ʻAbbāsīd] dynasty, belonged at first to the Kaysānīyyah sect, from whose missionaries he acquired the different kinds of learning which were peculiar to them. He learnt from them that they were only custodians of this knowledge, and so he looked for the one in whom it has its permanent abode. He then sent a message to Jaʻfar ibn Muḥammad al-Ṣādiq, saying, "I have proclaimed a revolt, and have called on men to transfer their allegiance from the Umayyads to the descendants of the Prophet. If you are interested in the matter, you need do no more." Jaʻfar al-Ṣādiq replied, saying, "You are not a representative of mine; and, besides, the time is not yet opportune." Abū Muslim then turned to Abū al-ʻAbbās ʻAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad al-Saffāḥ and entrusted the caliphate to him.[6715]

The problem here was that Saffāḥ had already pledged allegiance to Muḥammad ibn ʻAbd Allāh ibn Ḥasan ibn Ḥasan ibn ʻAlī (ع) ibn Abī Ṭālib (ع), also known as Nafs al-Zakīyyah (the Pure Soul),[6716] who therefore expected to become caliph after routing the Umayyads from power. Once Nafs al-Zakīyyah realized that the ʻAbbāsīds were taking power themselves and were not going to hand it over to him, he led a revolt against the ʻAbbāsīd caliph Manṣūr, in which he was defeated and killed.[6717] In the build-up to this conflict, the ʻAbbāsīds needed arguments by which they could claim that they had more rights to the caliphate than the offspring of Ḥasan (ع).

These arguments fell along three main lines. The first was that the ʻAbbāsīds were the rightful caliphs because the caliphate could not be inherited by a woman (i.e. Fāṭimah [ع]) and that, by Arab custom, an uncle would inherit before a paternal cousin; therefore ʻAbbās would be the rightful caliph after the Prophet (ص). The problem was that ir Islāmic law an uncle has no inheritance in the presence of children and grandchildren Nevertheless, with respect to the caliphate, the pre-Islāmic Arab customs have survived to some extent. Instead of the father-eldest son inheritance common in most monarchies, Arab monarchies often follow inheritance patterns in which brothers or other male relatives inherit the monarchy instead of sons. This is seen to this day in the monarchy of the family of Saʻūd. It therefore makes sense that the Prophet (ص) preempted any such arguments against the imāmate of ʻAlī (ع) by declaring ʻAlī (ع) to be the chief of the Arabs. According to a tradition Ḥākim certified as authentic, the Prophet (ص) said, "I am the chief (sayyid) of the children of Adam, and ʻAlī is the chief of the Arabs."[6718] According to another tradition,

> The Prophet (ص) told ʻĀʼishah, "O ʻĀʼishah! Whenever you wish to see the chief (sayyid) of the Arabs, look at ʻAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib." ʻĀʼishah asked, "Aren't you the chief of the Arabs?" The Prophet (ص) replied, "I am the imām of the Muslims and the chief of the pious, but when you wish to see the chief of the Arabs, look at ʻAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib."[6719]

[6715] Milal wa Nihal 132.

[6716] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 28:86.

[6717] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 28:142-231.

[6718] Mustadrak Ḥākim #4625 (certifies the tradition as authentic), #4626; Kanz al-ʻUmmāl #33006-7, #36448, #36456; Sīrah Ḥalabīyyah 2:736; Dhakhāʼir al-ʻUqbā 70; Majmaʻ al-Zawāʼid #14682, #14753; Tārīkh Damishq 42:304-6 (several traditions); Rīyāḍ al-Naḍirah 3:137.

[6719] Tārīkh Baghdād # 5776 (ʻAbd al-Bāqī ibn Aḥmad ibn ʻAbd Allāh); Kanz al-ʻUmmāl #33008.

Not surprisingly, a tradition was later forged claiming that Abū Sufyān ibn Ḥārith ibn ʹAbd al-Muṭṭalib said, "ʹAbbās was the chief of the Arabs after the Messenger of Allāh (ص)."[6720] The prophetic tradition in regards to ʹAlī (ع) was accordingly changed to, "I am the chief of the offspring of Adam and you two (i.e. ʹAlī and ʹAbbās) are the chiefs of the Arabs."[6721] The intentions here were very obvious, as such changes were made to the traditions to please the ʹAbbāsīd monarchs. Another tradition that is also an obvious corruption of the authentic word of the Prophet (ص) is the one that says that Abū Bakr is the chief of the old Arabs while ʹAlī (ع) is the chief of the young Arabs.[6722] These forgeries were necessary because it is obvious that the chief of the Arabs must be the one to rule over them. If ʹAlī (ع) was the chief of the Arabs, then he and his offspring must rule, not ʹAbbās and his offspring or Abū Bakr, ʹUmar, and ʹUthmān.

The second ʹAbbāsīd argument was that Ḥasan (ع) was unfit for the caliphate. Their main argument in that regards was the claim that he married and divorced repetitively. The third argument was that Ḥasan (ع) had sold the caliphate and, as a result, he and his descendants had no remaining legitimate rights to it. The ʹAbbāsīd caliph Manṣūr, during whose reign the Banū Ḥasan (ع) revolted, arrested a large number of the notables of the Banū Ḥasan (ع) and then gave a public speech in which he said,

> By Allāh other than whom there is no god, we left the caliphate to the descendants of Abū Ṭālib and we did not interfere at all. ʹAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib became caliph and he did not succeed... After him, Ḥasan ibn ʹAlī became caliph. By Allāh, he was not the man for it. He was offered wealth, which he accepted, and Muʹāwīyah treacherously promised that he would make him his heir. So Ḥasan abdicated the caliphate and left. He surrendered everything to [Muʹāwīyah], and instead turned his attention to women, marrying one [woman] today and divorcing another tomorrow. He remained like this till he died in his bed.[6723]

This speech demonstrates the ʹAbbāsīd propaganda against Ḥasan (ع). Manṣūr suggested that the caliphate rightfully belonged to ʹAbbās and his offspring, but that they had allowed ʹAlī and Ḥasan (ع) to have it out of some sort of kindness. Although he admitted that Ḥasan (ع) would succeed Muʹāwīyah according to the peace treaty, he claimed that Ḥasan (ع) had basically sold the caliphate for money, and instead was preoccupied with marrying one woman after another. We have previously discussed the issue of control over the wealth already present in the treasury, which did not constitute selling the caliphate but rather fulfilling his obligations to properly distribute the wealth in the Islāmic treasury that was his responsibility. Indeed, if the property he was demanding was for personal compensation, Ḥasan (ع) would have instead asked for control over the lands of Fadak, which would have provided him a long-term source of immense wealth.

Furthermore, this speech claimed that Ḥasan (ع) married woman after woman after he abdicated the caliphate. A number of unfounded claims were advanced thereafter, claiming that he had married seventy, ninety, or even three hundred wives.[6724] The problem with these claims is that they are implausible. In Islām, one can have a

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6720. Kanz al-ʹUmmāl #37346.
6721. Kanz al-ʹUmmāl #33003.
6722. Faḍāʾil Ḥanbal #599.
6723. Murūj al-Dhahab 3:311.
6724. For such accounts, refer to S. Saeed Akhthar Rizvi. Imam Ḥasan: The myth of his divorces. Al-Serat vol 4 (1978), No 3. This can be accessed at www.al-islam.org/al-serat/imamhasan.htm.

maximum of four wives. When a marriage is consummated, there is a three month waiting period (ʿiddah) after a divorce. During this period, the woman cannot marry another man and a man cannot take a fifth wife because he has the right to return to the divorced woman during her ʿiddah. Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī (ع) had three wives during the caliphate of ʿAlī (ع), all of whom outlived him as his wives. These were: (1) Khawlah bint Manẓūr ibn Zabbān ibn Sayyār, who was initially married to Muḥammad ibn Ṭalḥah, giving birth to his children. She married Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī (ع) after Muḥammad ibn Ṭalḥah's death in the Battle of Jamal, giving birth to his son Ḥasan ibn Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī;[6725] (2) Umm Isḥāq bint Ṭalḥah who outlived Ḥasan (ع) and then married his brother Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī (ع);[6726] and (3) Jaʿdah bint Ashʿath ibn Qays who, as discussed earlier in this chapter, poisoned him. As such, if Manṣūr was correct, Ḥasan (ع) could have only married and divorced one other woman every three to four months, or three to four women a year. Since he died in the year 50 A.H., he could have only married 30-40 wives in this manner, not the minimum of seventy that is alleged. In fact, such numbers would assume that he never kept a wife for any length of time, but rather had intercourse with them and divorced them in his first opportunity, which according to Jaʿfarī jurisprudence would be after the completion of one menstrual cycle, meaning that he could only marry one woman every four months, which comes out to 30 wives.

After Manṣūr's comments, a number of absurd traditions arose claiming that Ḥasan (ع) had an immense number of wives. The supporters of Ḥasan (ع) forged their own tradition to help their position. According to one such tradition, ʿAlī (ع) would warn people of his son's habitual divorces, yet they would tell him that they would gladly marry their daughters to him anyways.[6727] The problem with this tradition is that it goes even further than Manṣūr's lie that Ḥasan (ع) repetitively married and divorced after his abdication of the caliphate, claiming that he did so even during his father's lifetime. Yet the facts are that the three wives he married during his father's lifetime remained h wives until his own martyrdom. As such, it is clear that the claim that Ḥasan (ع) marrie and divorced incessantly was a mere lie intended to defame him.

Muʿāwīyah Appointed Yazīd as His Heir

By the year 56 A.H., Muʿāwīyah felt that he had a strong enough grip on power to get the nation to acknowledge his son as his heir. According to Ṭabarī, "He was able to get the people to acknowledge Yazīd except for five persons... Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī, [ʿAbd Allāh] Ibn ʿUmar, [ʿAbd Allāh] Ibn Zubayr, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Bakr, and [ʿAbd Allāh] Ibn ʿAbbās."[6728] Muʿāwīyah met with the first four of them individually, and found ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Bakr to be the most belligerent, saying, "I hope that [not pledging allegiance to Yazīd] would be good for me," suggesting that he intended to claim the caliphate himself. Muʿāwīyah replied, "By Allāh, I intend to kill you." ʿAbd al-Raḥmān replied, "If you do so, may Allāh cause a curse to follow you in this world for it and make you enter the fire in the next [world]."[6729] Muʿāwīyah offered him 100,000 dirhams, but he refused, saying, "I will not sell my religion for my life on earth."[6730] Muʿāwīyah knew that Yazīd would not be immune to some sort of Jamal-like event in which ʿĀʾishah would lead a revolt in favor of either her brother ʹAbd al-Raḥmān, or her nephew ʹAbd Allāh ibn Zubayr. As such, the Umayyads began a smear campaign against ʹAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Bakr.[6731] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī has described this event as follows:

[6725] Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 5:52.

[6726] Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 3:214.

[6727] Tārīkh al-Khulafāʾ 168.

[6728] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 18:186. The same five individuals are listed in Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr (8:86), even though Ibn Kathīr separately noted that ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Bakr had died prior to the death of Muʿāwīyah (8:123). Tārīkh Ibn Athīr lists Ḥusayn (ع), Ibn Zubayr, and Ibn ʿUmar in one account (2:142), and in another account includes ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Bakr as the fourth, but notes that he had died prior to the death of Muʿāwīyah (2:148).

[6729] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 18:186-7.

[6730] Iṣābah 2:1173 #5153 (ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUthmān); Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 8:96.

> Marwān had been appointed as the governor of Ḥijāz by Muʹāwīyah. He delivered a sermon and mentioned Yazīd ibn Muʹāwīyah so that the people might take the oath of allegiance to him as the successor of his father. Then ʹAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Bakr told him something, whereupon Marwān ordered that he be arrested. But ʹAbd al-Raḥmān entered ʹĀʹishah's house and they could not arrest him. Marwān said, "It is he (i.e. ʹAbd al-Raḥmān) about whom Allāh revealed the verse, 'And the one who says to his parents: Fie on you!'[6732]" On that, ʹĀʹishah said from behind a screen, "Allāh did not reveal anything from the Qurʹān about us except what was connected to the declaration of my innocence [from the slander]."[6733]

This tradition shows that a derogatory verse was falsely attributed to ʹAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Bakr, proving the Shīʹah contention that lies about the Qurʹān and the Prophet (ص) were first created during the lifetime of the Prophet's (ص) companions, often with political aims in mind. As stated in this tradition, ʹAbd al-Raḥmān sought refuge with his sister ʹĀʹishah, who complicated the efforts of the Umayyads to arrest him. Not surprisingly, ʹAbd al-Raḥmān and his sister ʹĀʹishah both died around the same time during the latter part of Muʹāwīyah's caliphate.[6734] Indeed, the death of Ḥasan (ع), Saʹd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ, ʹAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Bakr, and ʹĀʹishah were all deemed necessary to ensure the seamless ascension of Yazīd to the throne: Ḥasan (ع) because he had a contractual right to resume the caliphate upon Muʹāwīyah's death, as well as a divine right to the imāmate; Saʹd because he was the only remaining member of the Shūrā ʹUmar had created to select a caliph and could therefore claim that he was the only remaining companion who had ʹUmar's seal of approval for leading the nation; and ʹAbd al-Raḥmān and ʹĀʹishah because they were conspiring to seize the caliphate.

Of note, Ibn ʹAbbās, the fifth person listed in the Ṭabarī tradition, did not feature prominently in this issue, likely because Muʹāwīyah knew that the only threat from the Banū Hāshim would be from Ḥasan and Ḥusayn (ع) and that Ibn ʹAbbās would not be a threat in their presence. It is also possible that the name of Ibn ʹAbbās was later added to some of the accounts to please the ʹAbbāsīd caliphs, as his name does not appear in a number of other accounts of the three or four individuals (depending on whether the account pre- or post-dated the death of ʹAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Bakr) who were openly opposed to the designation of Yazīd as Muʹāwīyah's heir. As such, the elimination of Ḥasan (ع), Saʹd, ʹAbd al-Raḥmān, and ʹĀʹishah by the time of Muʹāwīyah's death left the Umayyads with only three remaining sources of concern—Ḥusayn (ع), ʹAbd Allāh ibn Zubayr, and ʹAbd Allāh ibn ʹUmar. Muʹāwīyah recognized the fact that they might become a problem for his son Yazīd, and he therefore warned Yazīd about them in his final testament to his heir.[6735]

[6731] Refer to chapter 63.

[6732] Qurʹān 46:17.

[6733] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #6.60.352.

[6734] Iṣābah 2:1173 #3153 (ʹAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʹAbd Allāh ibn ʹUthmān); Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 8:95-101 (states that they both died in the year 58 A.H.).

[6735] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 18:209; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 8:123; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:148.

Chapter 95
Imām Ḥusayn (ε) and the Battle of Karbalā`

The Battle of Karbalā` is one of the key events in the history of Islām. Arguably, more books have been devoted to this battle than any other in Islāmic history. A detailed history of this battle and its aftermath is beyond the scope of this work. In fact, the martyrdom of Imām Ḥusayn (ε) is not per se an issue that divides Sunnīs and Shīʻah, as the vast majority of Sunnīs, with few exceptions, have considered his slaying to have been an illegitimate act. What divides the Shīʻah and the Sunnīs in this regards is the conclusions that are drawn from this event. In this chapter, a very brief summary of the battle will be presented, based primarily on Ṭabarī's accounts. A condensed discussion of Yazīd will then follow.

Ḥusayn ibn ʻAlī (ε) and ʻAbd Allāh ibn Zubayr Left Madīnah for Mecca

Upon Muʻāwīyah's death, there were three men of political significance who continued to refuse to pledge allegiance to Yazīd—Ḥusayn ibn ʻAlī (ε), ʻAbd Allāh ibn ʻUmar, and ʻAbd Allāh ibn Zubayr.[6736] Yazīd wrote to Walīd ibn ʻUtbah ibn Abī Sufyān who was the governor in Madīnah, informing him of Muʻāwīyah's death and ordering him as follows: "Seize Ḥusayn, ʻAbd Allāh ibn ʻUmar, and ʻAbd Allāh ibn Zubayr to give the oath of allegiance. Act so fiercely they have no chance to do anything before giving the oath o allegiance."[6737] Walīd consulted with Marwān ibn Ḥakam. Marwān, expressing his lack concern about Ibn ʻUmar's desire or ability to lead an uprising, told Walīd to seize Ḥusay (ε) and Ibn Zubayr before they would find out about Muʻāwīyah's death and to execut them if they refused to pledge allegiance to Yazīd.[6738] When Ḥusayn (ε) and Ibn Zubayr were called to meet Walīd, Ḥusayn (ε) informed Ibn Zubayr that Muʻāwīyah had died, so that Ibn Zubayr would conduct his affairs accordingly.[6739] The latter avoided meeting Walīd, and instead left by night to Mecca, avoiding the main road.[6740] He remained in Mecca until his subsequent revolt after the martyrdom of Ḥusayn (ε), an event that is discussed in chapter 97.

Ḥusayn (ε) met with them and asked for a delay, saying that a pledge of allegiance made in secret would be worthless.[6741] Marwān recommended to Walīd that he kill Ḥusayn (ε) then and there, but the latter refused.[6742] Ḥusayn (ε) then left to Mecca under cover of night, one night after Ibn Zubayr had left.[6743] He took with him all of his sons, his brothers, and his brothers' sons, except for Muḥammad ibn ʻAlī al-Ḥanafīyyah who gave his advice to Ḥusayn (ع) to either seek sanctuary in Mecca or to travel from place to place to avoid capture.[6744]

[6736] Refer to chapter 97.
[6737] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 19:2-3.
[6738] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 19:3.
[6739] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 19:3-4.
[6740] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 19:7.
[6741] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 19:5; Istīʻāb 1:445 #574 (Ḥusayn ibn ʻAlī).
[6742] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 19:5-6.
[6743] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 19:7.

Ibn ʿUmar was then summoned, but he said that even though he would be the last person to pledge allegiance, they had nothing to fear from him in terms of a revolt. Since they were not afraid of him, they let him go.[6745] After the pledges of allegiance came from all the provinces, Ibn ʿUmar pledged allegiance, as did Ibn ʿAbbās.[6746] Ibn ʿUmar remained somewhat loyal to Yazīd. Even during the Battle of Ḥarrah, in which the inhabitants of Madīnah were decimated and mass-raped after revolting against Yazīd in the aftermath of Karbalāʾ,[6747] Ibn ʿUmar urged his friends and family not to break their pledge of allegiance to Yazīd and to remain neutral. According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, he said, "If I ever learn that any person among you has agreed to dethrone Yazīd by giving the oath of allegiance [to somebody else], then there will be separation between him and me."[6748]

Yazīd then said that he would not accept the pledge of allegiance of ʿAbd Allāh ibn Zubayr until he was brought to him in chains, and he sent ʿAmr ibn Zubayr, who had severe animosity towards his brother, to do so. ʿAmr first arrested a number of ʿAbd Allāh's supporters in Madīnah and lashed them forty to fifty times each. Then, despite the advice against attacking the holy city of Mecca, ʿAmr attacked the city, where he was defeated, captured, and brought to ʿAbd Allāh ibn Zubayr who allowed those who had been whipped to whip ʿAmr in retaliation (qiṣāṣ), despite the promise of protection that had been extended to ʿAmr when he surrendered. ʿAmr died as a result of those lashes.[6749]

The Dispatch of Muslim ibn ʿAqīl to Kūfah

In the meanwhile, the people of Kūfah invited Ḥusayn (ع) to join them, as they had shunned the Umayyad governor in his favor. Ḥusayn (ع) sent his cousin, Muslim ibn ʿAqīl ibn Abī Ṭālib to Kūfah to investigate the situation, saying that if what the Kūfans were saying was true, he would go to Kūfah. Upon his arrival in Kūfah, Muslim stayed with Muslim ibn ʿAwsajah, and 12,000 Kūfans poured in on him, pledging allegiance to Ḥusayn (ع), so he wrote a letter to Ḥusayn (ع) informing him of his widespread support there.[6750] Nuʿmān ibn Bashīr, the Kūfan governor, refused to intervene on behalf of the Umayyads, saying, "I would prefer to be a weak man in obedience of Allāh than a strong man in disobedience of Allāh."[6751] Yazīd summoned a client (mawlā) of his named Sarjūn for advice. He told Yazīd that Muʿāwīyah would have put ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Zīyād, who was the governor of Baṣrah at the time, up to the task of subduing Kūfah. As such, Yazīd added Kūfah to Ibn Zīyād's realm of control.[6752]

Ibn Zīyād entered Kūfah under the cover of night and veiled, heading straight to the governor's mansion. The people thought that he was Ḥusayn (ع) who had entered the city, and they greeted him as such. Upon realizing that Ibn Zīyād had entered Kūfah, Muslim changed his place of residence to the house of Hāniʾ ibn ʿUrwah al-Murādī. Ibn

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[6744] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 19:7-8.
[6745] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 19:9.
[6746] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 19:10.
[6747] Refer to chapter 97.
[6748] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #9.88.227.
[6749] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 19:10-16.
[6750] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 19:17.
[6751] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 19:17.
[6752] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 19:18.

Zīyād then sent a client (mawlā) of his with some money to investigate who was accepting the pledges of allegiance on behalf of Ḥusayn (ε), and he soon discovered that it was Muslim ibn ´Aqīl and that he was staying with Hāni`. Ibn Zīyād had Hāni` brought to him, struck him on the forehead, splitting it open, and then had him imprisoned.[6753]

Muslim ibn ´Aqīl called for support, and 4,000 Kūfan men joined him to attack the governor's mansion. However, Ibn Zīyād had gathered the nobles of Kūfah with him. Under compulsion, they called for Muslim's supporters to desert him. By late afternoon, only 500 men remained with him, and by nighttime, even they had deserted him. He sought refuge in the house of a woman, but her son was a client (mawlā) of Muḥammad ibn Ash´ath ibn Qays, and he informed Muḥammad ibn Ash´ath of Muslim ibn ´Aqīl's location. Muslim was surrounded by Ibn Zīyād's forces, so he fought them with his sword. ´Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad ibn Ash´ath ibn Qays[6754] offered him immunity, so Muslim stopped fighting. Despite the promise of protection, Ibn Zīyād had Muslim taken to the top of the governor's mansion, where he was executed and thrown down to the people. Ibn Zīyād then ordered Hāni´ to be dragged to the camel market and crucified.[6755]

The Battle of Karbalā`

Upon receiving the letter of Muslim ibn ´Aqīl describing the massive support of the people of Kūfah, Ḥusayn (ε) set out from Mecca to Kūfah. Ḥurr ibn Yazīd al-Tamīmī met him three miles from Qādisīyyah and recommended that he return, but the brothers of Muslim ibn ´Aqīl wanted to continue onwards to Kūfah so that they could avenge their father's blood. Ḥusayn (ε) continued until he saw the cavalry of ´Ubayd Allāh ibn Zīyād, then he veered towards Karbalā`, picking a spot with reeds and grass to the rear so that he would only have to fight in one direction.[6756] According to Ṭabarī, he had thirty-two horsemen and forty foot soldiers,[6757] or forty-five horsemen and one hundred foot soldiers wit him.[6758]

Ibn Zīyād had appointed ´Umar ibn Sa´d ibn Abī Waqqāṣ as the governor of Rayy, but demanded that he take care of Ḥusayn (ε) first before leaving for Rayy. Ibn Sa´d confronted Ḥusayn (ε), who said, "Choose one of three possibilities: Let me go back to where I came from; let me go to Yazīd; or let me go and join one of the frontier posts." ´Umar ibn Sa´d accepted that, but Ibn Zīyād wrote to him a letter carried by one of his military commanders, Shamir ibn Dhī al-Jawshan, saying, "No, there will be no kindness until he has submitted to me personally." Ḥusayn (ε) said, "No, by Allāh! That will never be." Since they insisted that he submit himself to Ibn Zīyād, he refused, saying, "No, by Allāh! That will never be."[6759]

As such, battle broke out. Ḥurr ibn Yazīd al-Tamīmī, who had been the first to confront Ḥusayn (ε), defected to the army of Ḥusayn (ε) and then attacked the followers of Ibn Zīyād, killing two of them before being martyred.[6760] The battle went on until all of Ḥusayn's (ε) followers were martyred. Seventeen men, all of whom were among the descendants of Fāṭimah (ع), were martyred that day along with Ḥusayn (ع) himself.[6761] The only man spared was ʿAlī ibn Ḥusayn Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn (ع), who was ill and housed with the women.[6762]

[6753] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 19:18-19.

[6754] ´Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Muhammad ibn Ash´ath ibn Qays, commonly known as Ibn al-Ash´ath, later led a Khārijīte rebellion that was put down by Ḥajjāj (refer to chapter 85).

[6755] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 19:20-21.

[6756] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 19:75.

[6757] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 19:120.

[6758] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 19:74-5.

[6759] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 19:75.

[6760] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 19:79-80.

After all of his followers were martyred, Ḥusayn (ع) was martyred as well. His head was cut off and taken first to Ibn Zīyād and then to Yazīd. According to Ibn Kathīr, those who were carrying his head would drink intoxicants in its presence.[6763] Indeed, the heads of seventy men among the family and supporters of Ḥusayn (ع) were taken from Karbalāʾ to Kūfah and presented to Ibn Zīyād.[6764] In the meanwhile, everything in the camp of Ḥusayn (ع) was plundered, and the tents housing the women were attacked and pillaged to the point that even the clothes they were wearing were robbed from them.[6765]

Upon receiving Ḥusayn's (ع) head in Damascus, Yazīd was most pleased. He poked Ḥusayn's (ع) mouth with a cane, but Abū Barzah, upon seeing that, cried out, "Take your cane away. By Allāh! How often have I seen the Apostle of Allāh kiss that mouth!"[6766] Yazīd recited a poem, saying, "I wish my ancestors [who fought against the Prophet] at Badr were [here] to witness [Ḥusayn's severed head]!"[6767]

The survivors of Karbalāʾ which included the women, children, and ʿAlī ibn Ḥusayn (ع) were taken to Ibn Zīyād in Kūfah as prisoners. When he saw ʿAlī ibn Ḥusayn (ع), he ordered him to be killed, but his aunt, Zaynab bint ʿAlī (ع), threw herself on him and said, "By Allāh! He will not be killed until you kill me." ʿUbayd Allāh then desisted.[6768] The prisoners were then sent to Damascus, where they were kept for some time and where a number of serious exchanges occurred, led by Zaynab bint ʿAlī (ع) and ʿAlī ibn Ḥusayn (ع). These words, though of utmost significant in disproving and disgracing the illegitimate caliphate, unfortunately fall beyond the scope of our brief discussion. The survivors were eventually sent back to Madīnah, where the women of the Banū ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib came out to meet them and to hear the words of the weeping Zaynab.[6769]

Although one occasionally encounters Salafīs so oblivious of reality that they glorify Yazīd as a pious man who did not want Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī (ع) to be killed, Suyūṭī said, "When Ḥusayn and the sons of his forefathers were killed, Ibn Zīyād brought their heads to Yazīd, and he initially became very delighted by their death. Later, when the Muslims loathed and despised him for this, he regretted it. People hated him for it, and it was right for them to despise him."[6770] Suyūṭī also said, "There was a solar eclipse on that day, and the horizons of the sky were red for six months after his death, and the redness that you see in it [at sunrise and sunset] since then has never ceased to exist, even though it was never seen before then. It is said that no stone was turned on that day [of ʿĀshūrāʾ] in the Bayt al-Maqdis except that there was fresh blood under it."[6771]

Comments on the Implications of the Battle of Karbalāʾ

[6761] Istīʿāb 1:445 #574 (Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī).
[6762] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 19:164; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 8:215.
[6763] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 8:218.
[6764] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 19:179.
[6765] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 8:205.
[6766] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 19:76.
[6767] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 8:209; Tārīkh Damishq 52:235; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 15:178.
[6768] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 19:76.
[6769] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 19:76-77.
[6770] Tārīkh al-Khulafāʾ 184.
[6771] Tārīkh al-Khulafāʾ 183-4.

What has been presented is an extremely condensed version of the simple historical events of the Battle of Karbalā` that barely does justice to an event of this significance. However, our purpose with all the historical discussions is to elucidate fundamental Shī'ah-Sunnī differences. For the Shī'ah, the Battle of Karbalā` was the battle between Ḥusayn (ع), the rightful imām, and Yazīd, the illegitimate caliph, and his associates. As such, it is a simple, black-and-white battle between truth and falsehood, light and darkness, justice and injustice, freedom and tyranny, belief and hypocrisy.

Sunnī interpretations of this event have fallen along several lines of thought: (1) Yazīd was a disbeliever who did not believe in Islām, making it permissible to rise up against him. (2) Yazīd was a deviant (fāsiq) ruler because he committed numerous blatant sins, but since deviance (fisq) does not disqualify one from the caliphate, his caliphate was legitimate and rising up against him was illegitimate. As for Ḥusayn (ع) and Ibn Zubayr's uprisings, it was due to ijtihād, which we cannot question. (3) Yazīd was not responsible for Ḥusayn's (ع) death; rather, his overzealous commanders were. (4) Yazīd was right for maintaining order and for trying to keep the nation unified. The bottom line is that for Salafīs the Battle of Karbalā` is among numerous other inexplicable historical events which we are to acknowledge happened, yet neither think seriously about nor take sides in.

Of note, the Sunnīs tend to be more sympathetic to the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) in this case because Ḥusayn (ع) was a companion, whereas Yazīd was among the successors (tābi'īn). They also tend to dislike Yazīd because of the genocide and mass rape that his troops subjected the inhabitants of Madīnah to during the Battle of Ḥarrah, because he fought 'Abd Allāh ibn Zubayr who would also not recognize his rule, and because of his open engagement in numerous blatant sins. Historically, Sunnī scholars have not doubted that Yazīd engaged in grave sins, even though some extreme Salafī groups now try to deny that he was a flagrant sinner and vicious tyrant.

Indeed, the uprising of Ḥusayn (ع) required that he believe at least one of the following (1) that he, himself, was the rightful ruler; (2) that Yazīd was a deviant (fāsiq) ruler ar that the rule of a deviant ruler is illegitimate; or (3) that Yazīd was a disbeliever and therefore unfit to rule. In the first case, he asserted the Shī'ah claim that only the rightful imām from the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) can legitimately rule. In the second case, he confirmed the Shī'ah belief that a deviant (fāsiq) person cannot legitimately rule, a fact that the Sunnī scholars vehemently deny. In the third case, he made it clear that it was possible for a caliph to be a disbeliever, which is what the Shī'ah have claimed all along. In the latter two cases, it becomes necessary to examine the conduct of each caliph to determine their legitimacy. In reality, all three of these facts were true.

According to Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī quoted the Prophet (ص) as having said, "When oath of allegiance has been taken for two caliphs, kill the one for whom the oath was taken later."[6772] It is clear that pledges of allegiance were taken for both Yazīd and Ḥusayn (ع) and that the Kūfans pledged allegiance to Ḥusayn (ع) after the bulk of the nation had already pledged allegiance to Yazīd. Accordingly, this tradition would necessitate the killing of Ḥusayn (ع), the chief of the young men of paradise,[6773] unless one adopts the belief that the pledge of allegiance to Yazīd was invalid. The invalidity of that pledge would only derive from his being unfit to rule, which supports the Shī'ah notion that a sinner cannot lead the nation and that such a pledge of allegiance is invalid

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6772. Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #20.4568.
6773. Refer to chapter 76.

and worthless. The Qur`ān says, "So kill the imāms of disbelief (kufr), for they have no [binding] oaths."[6774] Clearly, there are two types of imāms—the imāms of belief who are designated by Allāh and the imāms of disbelief who are not divinely appointed. Oaths of allegiance to the latter are not binding according to the Qur`ān, and according to both the Qur`ān and this tradition of the Prophet (ص), anyone other than the rightful imām who asks for a pledge of allegiance is to be killed.

The Conduct of Yazīd

Historically, Sunnī scholars have had no trouble condemning Yazīd for his devious acts, which included the massacre of Ḥusayn (ع) and his family at Karbalā`, the mistreatment and imprisonment of the family of the Prophet (ص) in Damascus, the massacre and mass-rape of the people of Madīnah including many companions, the attack on Mecca resulting in the setting of the Ka´bah on fire, his abandonment of prayer, his incessant drinking of intoxicants, his acts of homosexuality and homosexual pedophilia, his obsession with playing with dogs and monkeys, etc. ´Abd Allāh ibn Ḥanẓalah al-Ghasīl said, "By Allāh we never went to Yazīd without fearing that a rock would strike us from the sky. He was a man who would marry mothers and daughters as well as [two] sisters [at the same time], and who would drink and rebuff prayer."[6775] When ´Abd Allāh ibn Ḥanẓalah al-Ghasīl, who was a companion of the Prophet (ص) and among the best of the people of Madīnah according to Ibn Ḥajar, went to visit Yazīd with his eight sons, Yazīd granted him 100,000 dirhams and each of his sons 10,000 dirhams, but when he returned to Madīnah, he said, "I have come to you from a man who, by Allāh, if I didn't just have just these sons of mine, I would have fought him," and large groups of the people of Madīnah rose up against Yazīd upon hearing his words about Yazīd.[6776] In fact, Yazīd was so despised by the companions and successors (tābi´īn) that the caliph ´Umar ibn ´Abd al-´Azīz, whom the Sunnīs consider to be among the most virtuous people of all time,[6777] would punish anyone who referred to Yazīd as the "Commander of the Faithful." According to Suyūṭī,

> Nawfal ibn Abī Furāt said: I was with ´Umar ibn ´Abd al-´Azīz and a man mentioned Yazīd and said, "The Commander of the Faithful Yazīd ibn Mu´āwīyah said [such and such]." He said, "You call [him] the Commander of the Faithful?!" He then ordered for him to be whipped twenty times.[6778]

It is no surprise that it has been said regarding ´Umar ibn ´Abd al-´Azīz, "His example among the Banū Umayyah is like the believer of the family of Pharaoh."[6779] Ibn Khallikān said in regards to the Sunnī Shāfi´ī scholar Abū al-Ḥasan ´Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn ´Alī al-Ṭabarī, known as Ilkīyā al-Harrāsī,

> Ilkīyā was asked about Yazīd ibn Mu´āwīyah. He said, "He was not among the companions because he was born in the days of ´Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb. But in terms of the words of early ones (al-salaf), Aḥmad, Mālik, and Abū Ḥanīfah each have two statements [allowing him to be cursed], one implicit and one explicit,[6780] and we have one statement [allowing him to be cursed] that is

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[6774] Qur`ān 9:12.

[6775] Tārīkh al-Khulafā` 185.

[6776] Iṣābah 2:1035 #4639 (´Abd Allāh ibn Ḥanẓalah).

[6777] Refer to Tārīkh al-Khulafā` 201-217 for flattering comments about ´Umar ibn ´Abd al-´Azīz.

[6778] Tārīkh al-Khulafā` 185.

[6779] Tārīkh al-Khulafā` 205. Refer to Qur`ān 40:28 for a reference to the believer of the family of Pharaoh.

[6780] This may refer to either their explicit and implicit statements allowing Yazīd to be cursed or their allowing Yazīd to be cursed explicitly (i.e. by name) or by implicitly (i.e. by reference).

> explicit and not implicit. And how could [cursing him] be forbidden when it is known that he played backgammon, hunted with cheetahs, and drank intoxicants."[6781]

What is amazing is that this man thought that Yazīd should be cursed for playing backgammon, hunting, and drinking, yet he did not mention his real crimes during the Battles of Karbalā` and Ḥarrah. Clearly, he missed the entire point of cursing Yazīd. It is indeed a tendency of some Muslims to go to extremes over relatively minute and trivial recommended matters while abandoning what is critical to Islām. This fact is referred to in the following tradition in Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī,

> A person asked ʻAbd Allāh ibn ʻUmar whether a Muslim could kill flies. I heard him saying [in response], "The people of Iraq are asking about the killing of flies while they themselves murdered the son of the daughter of Allāh's Apostle. The Prophet said, 'They (i.e. Ḥasan and Ḥusayn) are my two sweet basils in this world.'"[6782]

Of note, the cursing of Yazīd was clearly allowed by Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal. According to Ālūsī,

> When Imām Ḥanbal's son ʻAbd Allāh asked him about cursing (laʻn) Yazīd, he said, "How would it not be permissible to curse one whom Allāh has cursed in His Book?" ʻAbd Allāh said, "I have read the Book of Allāh, the great and glorious, and I have not found Yazīd cursed in it." The imām (i.e. Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal) said, "Allāh, the oft-high, says, 'Would you then, if you were given command, cause mischief in the land and sever your ties of kinship? Such are the men whom Allāh has cursed.'[6783]"[6784]

The Qur`ān is very explicit that, "The curse of Allāh is on the oppressors (ẓālimīn)."[6785] As such, it is permissible to invoke the curse of Allāh on those who oppressed the rights of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع), as Allāh has cursed the oppressors. The Shīʻah therefore cannot b
blamed for saying, "O Allāh curse the first who oppressed the rights of Muḥammad a
the family (āl) of Muḥammad and the second who followed him in doing so," and f
saying, "O Allāh, specifically curse on my behalf the first oppressor and begin with hi
first, then [curse] the second, third, and fourth. O Allāh, curse Yazīd as the fifth."[6786] Anyone who bans the cursing of the oppressors clearly is doing so in explicit opposition to the Qur`ān. Ālūsī, the Sunnī commentator on the Qur`ān, said,

> There is no need to avoid cursing Yazīd for his numerous filthy qualities and [the numerous] great sins [he committed] during the entirety of his adult life. What he did to the people of Madīnah and Mecca during his conquests is sufficient [to allow us to curse him]. Ṭabarānī has related in a tradition whose chain of transmission is good (ḥasan) [that the Prophet (ص) said], "O Allāh! Cast fear upon he who oppresses the people of Madīnah and he who casts fear upon them. The curse of Allāh, the angels, and the entirety of mankind will be upon

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6781. Wafayāt al-Aʻyān 3:287 (Ilkiyā al-Harrāsī).
6782. Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.57.96.
6783. Qur`ān 47:22-3.
6784. Tafsīr Ālūsī, verse 47:23.
6785. Qur`ān 7:44.
6786. Mafātīḥ al-Janān, Ziyārah ʻĀshūrā`.

him. Nothing will be accepted from him as recompense."[6787] The greater disaster, indeed, was what he did to the Ahl al-Bayt, his pleasure with the killing of Ḥusayn, may peace and blessings be upon his grandfather, his expressing delight with this act, and his insults to the Ahl al-Bayt, accounts of which are mutawātir [in relaying the same overall] content...

A group of the scholars have judged him a disbeliever (kāfir) and have openly called for cursing him. Included among them is al-Ḥāfiẓ (memorizer of the Qur`ān and traditions) Nāṣir al-Sunnah (helper of the Sunnah) Ibn al-Jawzī. Before him, al-Qāḍī (the judge) Abū Ya´lā, and ´Allāmah (the learned scholar) Taftāzānī [shared this belief]... Among those who have expressly cursed him is Jalāl al-Suyūṭī... Among our companions are also those who consider Ḥajjāj outside [the realm] of Islām...

Ibn al-Jawzī, mercy be upon him, said in the book al-Sirr al-Maṣūn, "Among the beliefs of the masses that has been attributed to the Sunnīs is that they say that Yazīd was right and that Ḥusayn made a mistake in rising up against him. If you look at history, you would know how the pledge of allegiance to him took place, how people were forced to accept it, and how he performed every filth. Even if we do accept the validity of the pledge of allegiance as a contract, [Yazīd] performed acts that, in their totality, would make it mandatory to consider the contract annulled. No one has accepted the view [that Yazīd was right to fight Ḥusayn] except for all the fools who follow the religion of the masses (´āmmī al-madhhab) who think that they would anger the Rāfiḍītes (Shī´ah) by [adopting] such a [view]."

There are differences among people in all these [issues] that we have mentioned. Among them is he who says, "He is a Muslim who [turned into] a rebel (´āṣ) when he did what he did with the pure family, but cursing him is not allowed." Among them is he who says, "He is as such," but who allow cursing him, [though they differ as to whether they hold cursing him to be] undesirable or not. Among them is he who says, "He is an accursed disbeliever (kāfir)."

...What I say is that my best understanding is that this filthy (khabīth) [man] did not believe in the Prophet (ص) being a messenger [of Allāh based on] the entirety of what he did to the people of Mecca and to the people of Madīnah and to [the Prophet's (ص)] pure and clean offspring [both] in their life and after their death. The despicable acts that he performed are good reason [to believe that] had he placed a sheet of the Holy Book in his dirty [hands], it would have condemned him. I do not think that his status [as a disbeliever] was hidden from the prominent Muslims of his time, but rather that they had been defeated and subjugated [to the point that] they had no choice but to [exercise] patience with what fate Allāh had brought them. And if this filthy [man] was a Muslim, then he was a Muslim who committed so many great sins that the human tongue is incapable of describing them. I allow cursing him by name, as it is impossible to imagine that there is anyone as [awful] as him among the deviants (fāsiqīn). It is obvious that he did not repent. Indeed, the probability that he repented is [far] lower than [the probability] that he believed [in Islām]. Ibn Zīyād and Ibn Sa´d and a group [of others] should be added alongside his [name when cursing him]. May Allāh curse them all, as well as [Yazīd's] helpers, supporters,

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[6787] Mu´jam al-Kabīr Ṭabarānī 7:144.

> devotees, and those who incline towards him until the Day of Judgment; until then, our eyes will shed tears for Abū ʹAbd Allāh al-Ḥusayn...
>
> Whoever is afraid to explicitly curse this despicable [man] should say, "May Allāh, the great and glorious, curse those who were pleased by the killing of Ḥusayn, those who harassed the offspring of the Prophet (ص) without any just cause, and those who usurped their rights," for this would amount to cursing [Yazīd] as he would be the first to fit the definition of these [words], and no one has forbidden cursing [him] by these or similar words except for Ibn al-ʹArabī and his supporters, from whom the impermissibility of cursing those who were pleased by the killing of Ḥusayn has been related. By my life, this is a most absurd error that follows Yazīd's conspiracies and severe misguidance.[6788]

Ibn Kathīr said,

> Those who allow the cursing of Yazīd ibn Muʹāwīyah [include] Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, though he preferred not to do so, Abū Bakr ʹAbd al-ʹAzīz, Qāḍī Abū Yaʹlā and his son Qāḍī Abū Ḥusayn, and Ibn al-Jawzī who wrote about this in one of his works, allowing him to be cursed. Others have forbidden it, writing that cursing him would create a way to [criticize] his father or other companions.[6789]

According to Ibn Kathīr, Yazīd recited the following poem: "[The Banū] Hāshim may no [longer] fool with the monarchy / a monarchy that came to them while [in reality] no revelation was revealed [to them]." Ibn Kathīr said, "If Yazīd said this, then may Allāh and all the cursers curse him."[6790] Among the sins cited for Yazīd by Ibn Kathīr are "not having any religion,"[6791] "abandoning prayer,"[6792] "drinking intoxicants,"[6793] "drinking to the point of abandoning prayer,"[6794] having "songstresses play musical instruments to him,"[6795] "performing lewd acts (fawāḥish),"[6796] "performing filthy acts (qādhūrāt),"[6797] and "violating the commands (ḥukm) of the Book."[6798] According to Ibn Kathīr,

> It has been related that Yazīd was famous for [enjoying] music, drinking intoxicants, singing, hunting, playing with young boys, [playing] drums, [playing with] dogs, and fooling around among sheep, mules, and monkeys. There was not a day in which he did not wake up drunk. He would saddle up his monkey on a horse and ride off with it. He would put tiaras of gold on his monkeys and the young boys [he was intimate with]. He would race horses, and he would mourn when a monkey would die. The reason for his death was that he was carrying a monkey and it jumped and bit him.[6799]

[6788] Tafsīr Ālūsī, verse 47:23.
[6789] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 8:245.
[6790] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 8:246.
[6791] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 8:236.
[6792] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 8:238, 8:255.
[6793] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 8:236, 8:238, 8:254, 8:255.
[6794] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 8:236.
[6795] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 8:236.
[6796] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 8:254.
[6797] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 8:255.
[6798] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 8:255.
[6799] Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 8:258.

These are the words of Ibn Kathīr, one of the most ardently anti-Shī'ah of the Sunnī scholars. In fact, a voluminous book would be created if one were to compile all the historical accounts detailing Yazīd's conduct, as well as the criticisms Sunnī scholars have leveled against him. Despite this, it is not uncommon today to run across claims that Yazīd was a devoted Muslim who was virtually sinless and that all the sins attributed to him were lies. This view is a clear innovation, as earlier Sunnī scholars more or less unanimously condemned Yazīd for his heinous acts. The argument the Salafīs use to claim that Yazīd never sinned is a tradition cited by Ibn Kathīr, according to which 'Abd Allāh ibn Muṭī' went to Muḥammad ibn 'Alī al-Ḥanafiyyah during the mutiny the people of Madīnah against Yazīd. He said, "Yazīd drinks intoxicants and has abandoned religion and transgresses the orders of the Book." Ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah replied, "I have not seen what you say." He then refused to join their rebellion.[6800] Although this tradition, like many of the other traditions that have been attributed to Ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah, is highly doubtful, it does not help the Salafī cause too much. It is very likely that if Yazīd were to meet Ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah after Karbalā`, he would have been on his best behavior, praying, and asking questions about Islām to show respect, particularly since Yazīd was in a particularly precarious position after the massacre at Karbalā`. For Yazīd to drink wine, engage in intercourse with young boys, bring out his songstresses, and avoid prayers in front of Ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah would have not been an act of deviance (fisq), but rather an act of insanity at a time when his grip on power was tenuous at best and the cities of Ḥijāz would not submit to his authority. Moreover, 'Alī ibn Ḥusayn (ع), the imām of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع), and his Shī'ah refrained from engagement in the Battle of Ḥarrah, so Ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah's calling for restraint to avoid unnecessary bloodshed should not be surprising, and in no way confers a virtue on Yazīd.

The Significance of Karbalā`

The event of Karbalā` is because it shows that by the year 60 A.H. the nation had deviated so far from Islām that it was necessary for Ḥusayn (ع) to rise up against the caliphate to ensure that Islām would survive. The Sunnah of the Prophet (ص) had been replaced by forged traditions to the point that even the external forms of Islāmic rituals were no longer recognizable to the companions of the Prophet (ص). The two weighty items that the Prophet (ص) had left—the Qur`ān and his Ahl al-Bayt (ع)—had both been abandoned; the Qur`ān in its essence, and the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) in terms of the wilāyah that had been mandated for the nation. The words of the Qur`ān were recited but its meaning was completely distorted, and the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) had not only been oppressed and martyred, but also continued to be cursed on every pulpit.

Another significance of Karbalā` is that on the day of 'Āshūrā` the companions of Ḥusayn (ع) forever put to shame the bulk of the companions of Muḥammad (ص). While many of the Prophet's (ص) companions were reluctant to go to war, fought only for booty, fled at Uḥud, would not rise to fight 'Amr ibn 'Abd Wudd at Aḥzāb, fled at Khaybar under the commands of both Abū Bakr and 'Umar, retreated from the battle of Mu`tah under the command of Khālid ibn Walīd, fled from the Prophet (ص) in the Battle of Ḥunayn, and were cursed by the Prophet (ص) for abandoning the army of Usāmah, Ḥusayn (ع) brought forth dozens of brave Shī'ah men who stood firmly and without fear against a far larger army. There was no reluctance to fight, no fear of death, and no fleeing from the battlefield—just courage and firm belief in the face of overwhelming odds. That such men could be brought forth to the battlefield was reflective of the victory of Islām at the hands of the imāms of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع).

6800. Tārikh Ibn Kathir 8:255.

Yet another significance of Karbalā` is that it epitomizes how the nation of Muḥammad (ص) treated the five purified member of his Ahl al-Bayt (ع). The hypocrites at the time of the Prophet (ص) conspired to assassinate him.[6801] Soon after his death, his daughter's property was confiscated and she was deprived of inheritance.[6802] The sanctuary in which she resided was attacked, and she passed away soon thereafter.[6803] ʿAlī (ع) was oppressed,[6804] opposed on the battlefield by a series of breakers of vows, deviants, and heretics,[6805] and was finally martyred.[6806] Ḥasan (ع) had to be poisoned to clear the way for Yazīd to ascend to the Umayyad throne.[6807] Yazīd and his accomplices then had to martyr the last remaining member of the Ahl al-Kisā`[6808] in order to solidify his illegitimate claim to power. This is the conduct of the so-called holy salaf, whom we are called to revere, with respect to the purified Ahl al-Bayt (ع).

Were it not for Ḥusayn's (ع) martyrdom at Karbalā`, it would have been assumed by the nation that what they saw being practiced was true Islām. They would have assumed that the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) had given up all claims to the caliphate after the peace of Ḥasan (ع) or that they had no legitimate claim to the caliphate in the first place. It was the blood of Ḥusayn (ع), his pious family, and his loyal companions spilled at Karbalā` that ensured that Islām would survive and that its destiny would not be forsaken to hands of deviant monarchs. His blood was a wake-up call to the nation that the caliphs had no share of Islām, and that true Islām was to be found only with the Ahl al-Bayt of the Prophet (ص), who were its devoted and designated guardians. It was his blood spilled at Karbalā` that drew increasing numbers of people away from Umayyad Islām to the unadulterated Islām practiced and propagated by the Ahl al-Bayt of the Prophet (ص), ensuring that the Islām of Muḥammad (ص) would survive to this day among the Shīʿah of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع).

The Shīʿah concept that, "Every day is ʿĀshūrā` and every land is Karbalā`," is what has kept Islām alive. Yet, this concept is not simply a call for armed uprisings, but rather a call to make every sacrifice necessary to keep Islām alive. ʿAlī's (ع) acquiescence to Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, and ʿUthmān, as well as Ḥasan's (ع) abdication of the caliphate in favor of Muʿāwīyah were, indeed, more painful than martyrdom, but those acts of forbearance were as mandatory for them at those moments in time as it was mandatory for Ḥusayn (ع) to choose martyrdom over submission at Karbalā`.

[6801] Refer to chapter 61.

[6802] Refer to chapter 49.

[6803] Refer to chaptes 48 and 50.

[6804] Refer to chapter 10 for a discussion of how ʿAlī (ع) was the oppressed one in the nation of Muḥammad (ص) just as Aaron (ع) was the oppressed one in the nation of Moses (ع).

[6805] Refer to chapters 79, 83, and 88.

[6806] Refer to chapter 88.

[6807] Refer to chapter 94.

[6808] People of the Cloak, referring to Muḥammad (ص), Fāṭimah, ʿAlī, Ḥasan, and Ḥusayn (ع) who were enclosed in the Prophet's (ص) cloak when the verse of purification was revealed. Refer to chapter 14.

Chapter 96
The Day of ´Āshūrā`: To Fast or to Mourn

The Resurrection of the Abandoned Fast of ´Āshūrā`

´Āshūrā`, the day in which Ḥusayn ibn ´Alī (ع) was martyred, is the tenth day of Muḥarram, which is the first month of the Muslim calendar. ´Āshūrā` was a day of fasting for the Quraysh prior to Islām as well as for the followers of the Jewish faith. According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, "´Āshūrā` was a day on which the tribe of Quraysh used to fast in the pre-Islāmic period of ignorance."[6809] Similarly Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī notes that, "When Allāh's Apostle arrived at Madīnah, he found the Jews observing the fast on the day of ´Āshūrā`."[6810] Apparently, the day of ´Āshūrā` coincided with Yom Kippur, which is the tenth day of the seventh month of the Jewish calendar. According to the Old Testament, "In the seventh month, on the tenth day of the month, you shall afflict your souls, and you shall not do any work... For on that day He shall provide atonement for you."[6811]

At that time, the Arab and Jewish calendars overlapped, as extra months were added every three years or so to keep the lunar calendar somewhat affixed to the solar calendar, a process referred to as intercalation. As such, each lunar year would have either twelve or thirteen months. The Jewish calendar has retained this feature to this day. In Islām, this type of calendar was abrogated by the Qur`ān when it was revealed, "The number of months with Allāh is twelve months."[6812,6813] Upon the revelation of this verse, the Muslim months started to rotate with respect to the solar year. Furthermore, as Islāmic law no longer allowed intercalation, the months of the Islāmic calendar and those of the Jewish calendar no longer coincided.

According to most Sunnī traditions, the Prophet (ص) at some point observed the fast of ´Āshūrā`. According to some accounts, he fasted on ´Āshūrā` in line with the observation of the fast by the Quraysh. ´Ā`ishah said, "´Āshūrā` was a day on which the tribe of Quraysh used to fast in the pre-Islāmic Days of Ignorance. The Prophet also used to fast on this day."[6814] Others suggest that the Prophet (ص) fasted on this day in accordance with the tradition of the Jewish inhabitants of Madīnah. In ´Abbās reportedly said,

> The Prophet came to Madīnah and saw the Jews fasting on the day of ´Āshūrā`. He asked them about that. They replied, "This is a good day, the day on which Allāh rescued the Children of Israel from their enemy. So Moses fasted on this

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[6809] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.58.172. Similarly, Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #3.31.117, #3.31.220, #6.60.28, #6.60.31.
[6810] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #6.60.261. Similarly, Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #3.31.222, #4.55.609, #5.58.279, #6.60.202.
[6811] Bible, Old Testament, Leviticus 16:29-30.
[6812] Qur`ān 9:36.
[6813] Tafsīr Rāzī, verse 9:36.
[6814] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #5.58.172. Similarly, Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #3.31.220.

> day." The Prophet said, "We have more claim over Moses than you." So the Prophet fasted on that day and ordered [the Muslims] to fast [on that day].[6815]

Based on some traditions, it appears that fasting on 'Āshūrā` was never mandatory. According to Mu'āwīyah, the Prophet (ص) said, "This is the day of 'Āshūrā`, and fasting on it has not been prescribed for you. I am fasting on it, and whoever among you wants to fast on it can do so, and whoever does not want to does not have to."[6816] As such, it appears that even if he did fast on 'Āshūrā`, he did not mandate it for others. In fact, some Sunnī traditions go further by making it appear that the Prophet (ص) never fasted on 'Āshūrā` himself, but merely allowed his followers to do so. For example, according to Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, "Hishām... made no mention... that the Messenger of Allāh used to observe the fast [of 'Āshūrā`]."[6817] Yet others claim that the Prophet (ص) strongly recommended it. Salamah ibn ['Amr ibn] Akwa' said, "The Messenger of Allāh... commanded... people to observe fast in case they had not observed it, and to complete fast until evening if they had taken food."[6818] Some traditions even indicate that fasting on 'Āshūrā` would carry great reward, claiming that "it expiates the sins of the preceding year."[6819] Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that the Prophet (ص) was rather emphatic that 'Āshūrā` must not be taken as a celebration:

> Abū Mūsā reported that the [Jewish] people of Khaybar fasted on the day of 'Āshūrā` and they treated it as an 'īd (celebration) and gave their women ornaments and beautiful dresses to wear. The Messenger of Allāh said, "You [only] observe the fast on this day."[6820]

The fasting of 'Āshūrā` was abandoned upon revelation of the following verses, which mandated the fasting of Ramaḍān: "O you who believe! Fasting is prescribed to you as it was prescribed to those before you, so that you may adopt piety. [Fasting is prescribed for] a fixed number of days."[6821] There are a number of traditions in Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī that make it clear that the fasting of 'Āshūrā` was abandoned at that time: (1) 'Ā`ishah said "The people used to fast on 'Āshūrā` before the fasting of Ramaḍān was mad obligatory."[6822] (2) Ibn 'Umar said, "When the fasting of the month of Ramaḍān wa prescribed, fasting on 'Āshūrā` was abandoned."[6823] (3) 'Ā`ishah said, "When [the order of compulsory fasting in] Ramaḍān was revealed, fasting in Ramaḍān became an obligation, and fasting on 'Āshūrā` was given up."[6824] Therefore, it is clear that the Prophet (ص) stopped fasting on the day of 'Āshūrā`, and fasting on 'Āshūrā` became an abandoned tradition. It should be noted that one account claims that the Prophet (ص) ordered the abandonment of the fast of 'Āshūrā` in the last year of his life:

> Ibn 'Abbās reported that when the Messenger of Allāh fasted on the day of 'Āshūrā` and commanded that it should be observed as a fast, they said to him, "Messenger of Allāh, it is a day that the Jews and Christians hold in high esteem." Thereupon the Messenger of Allāh said, "When next year comes, Allāh

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[6815] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #3.31.222, #4.55.609.

[6816] Muwaṭṭa` Mālik #18.11.34; Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #6.2515-7.

[6817] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #6.2500.

[6818] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #6.2530.

[6819] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #6.2602-5.

[6820] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #6.2523.

[6821] Qur`ān 2:183-4.

[6822] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #2.26.662. Similarly, Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #3.31.117, #3.31.220, #5.58.172.

[6823] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #3.31.116.

[6824] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #6.60.31.

> willing, we would observe fast on the ninth." But the Messenger of Allāh died before the advent of the next year.[6825]

Regardless of whether the fasting of ´Āshūrā` was abandoned when the fasting of Ramaḍān was instituted or during the last year of the Prophet's (ص) life, it is clear that the fasting of ´Āshūrā` went from either mandatory (wājib, farīḍah) or recommended (mustaḥabb) to either mubāḥ (permissible but not particularly recommended) or makrūh (detested but not expressly forbidden) or ḥarām (forbidden).

Whereas the Shī´ah scholars of Islāmic jurisprudence generally state that fasting on ´Āshūrā` became makrūh, Sunnīs generally consider it recommended (mustaḥabb), even though Sunnī traditions are divided as to whether the fasting of ´Āshūrā` became mubāḥ or makrūh. ´Ā`ishah, Jābir ibn Samurah, and Ibn ´Umar claimed that it was mubāḥ, meaning it was permissible but not particularly recommended, as is the fasting of any arbitrary day. ´Ā`ishah said that after the Prophet (ص) abandoned the fast of ´Āshūrā`, "Whoever wished to fast [on it] did so, and whoever did not wish to fast on it, did not fast."[6826] Jābir ibn Samurah said, "The Messenger of Allāh commanded us to observe fast on the day of ´Āshūrā` and exhorted us to do so and was particular about it. But when [fasting] in Ramaḍān was made obligatory, he henceforth neither commanded us nor forbade us, nor was he so particular about it."[6827] Ibn ´Umar related a similar account, saying, "It is up to one to fast on it (´Āshūrā`) or not."[6828] Other traditions, however, indicate that Ibn ´Umar would not fast ´Āshūrā` himself, as he maintained that fasting on that day had been abandoned. According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī,

> ´Abd Allāh ibn ´Umar narrated that Ash´ath [ibn Qays] entered upon him while he (i.e. Ibn ´Umar) was eating. Ash´ath said, "Today is ´Āshūrā`!" [Ibn ´Umar] said, "Fasting had been observed [on ´Āshūrā`] before [the order of compulsory fasting in] Ramaḍān was revealed. But when [the order of fasting in] Ramaḍān was revealed, fasting [on ´Āshūrā`] was given up, so come and eat."[6829]

This tradition shows that Ibn ´Umar told Ash´ath ibn Qays to break his fast on the day of ´Āshūrā`. This indicates that Ibn ´Umar held fasting on that day to be either detested (makrūh) or forbidden (ḥarām), otherwise there would be no reason for Ash´ath to break his fast.

Attempts to resurrect the pre-Islāmic tradition of fasting on ´Āshūrā` may have started with ´Umar. According to Mālik's Muwaṭṭa`,

> Yaḥyā related to me from Mālik that he had heard that ´Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb had sent [the following] message to Ḥārith ibn Hishām: "Tomorrow is the day of ´Āshūrā`, so fast and tell your family to fast [as well]."[6830]

This tradition, however has no chain of transmission. Since Ḥārith had gone to Syria and died there during ´Umar's caliphate,[6831] it is possible that this story was passed on

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6825. Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #6.2528-9.
6826. Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #6.60.31. Similarly, Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #6.60.29.
6827. Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #6.2514.
6828. Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #6.60.28.
6829. Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #6.60.30; Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #6.2510-3.
6830. Muwaṭṭa` Mālik #18.11.35.
6831. Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb vol 2 #281 (Ḥārith ibn Hishām).

among the Syrians, as they tried to ascribe their practice of fasting on ʿĀshūrāʾ to ʿUmar.

In the aftermath of the massacre of Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī (ع) and his men in Karbalāʾ, turning ʿĀshūrāʾ into a day of celebration became critical for the caliphs who wanted to create a culture that was not only immune to the miseries inflicted by the caliphs and their followers on the Ahl al-Bayt (ع), but that indeed celebrated their most atrocious crimes. In this regards, their resurrection of the celebration of ʿĀshūrāʾ provides a blatant example. Abrogated traditions from early Islām were resurrected and quoted to encourage Muslims to fast on that day. Thus, the Sunnah of the Prophet (ص) was abandoned, while abrogated acts from the Days of Ignorance (Jāhilīyyah) and the customs of the Jews were revived. Since fasting in Islām is a celebratory act, ʿĀshūrāʾ turned into a day of celebration. Amazingly enough, Yom Kippur itself is a day of sorrow for those following the Jewish faith, as it is a day on which they solemnly atone for their sins. Yet, for the caliphs, ʿĀshūrāʾ was most definitely not to be treated as a day of sorrow and atonement, but rather a day of celebration.

Crying for Imām Ḥusayn (ع) is the Sunnah of the Prophet (ص)

Some mistakenly promote the idea that crying for the death of Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī (ع) is an innovation. However, this act is clearly part of the Sunnah of the Messenger of Allāh (ص). We have previously discussed that the Prophet (ص) cried when his uncle, son, and adoptive daughter died, as well as in commemoration of his mother's death.[6832] The following are a few traditions in this regards:

1. "When the Prophet (ص) saw that Ḥamzah was killed, he cried. And when h saw that he had been disfigured, he broke out into loud weeping."[6833]
2. According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, "At that time Ibrāhīm (the son of the Prophet) wa in his last breaths, and the eyes of Allāh's Apostle started shedding tears. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿAwf said, 'O Allāh's Apostle, even you are weeping!'"[6834]
3. According to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, Anas said, "I saw his eyes shedding tears [during the funeral of Ruqayyah]."[6835]
4. According to Nasāʾī, Abū Dāwūd, Ibn Mājah, Ḥanbal, and Ḥākim, "The Messenger of Allāh (ص) visited the tomb of his mother. He cried and so did those around him."[6836]

It is clear that the Prophet (ص) cried, shed tears, and even wept loudly when his family members died or were killed. As such, his Sunnah is to cry for the death of his family members, and the Shīʿah follow that Sunnah. Some might try to claim that these traditions only establish that it is Sunnah for one to cry for one's own family members and not for those of others. However, that is incorrect because it is clearly stated in the tradition of Nasāʾī, Abū Dāwūd, Ibn Mājah, Ḥanbal, and Ḥākim that those around the Prophet (ص) wept with him for his mother as well. This tradition also shows that the

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[6832] Refer to chapter 11.

[6833] Istīʿāb 1:426 #559 (Ḥamzah ibn ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib); Kanz al-ʿUmmāl #36938-9.

[6834] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #2.23.390.

[6835] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #2.23.374.

[6836] Sunan Nasāʾī #2034; Sunan Abū Dāwūd #3234; Sunan Ibn Mājah #1572; Musnad Ḥanbal #9686; Mustadrak Ḥākim #1390 (certifies the tradition as authentic by the criteria of Muslim).

Prophet (ص) and his companions cried for the Prophet's (ص) deceased family members decades after they had died, showing that there is no expiry for mourning the dead of the Prophet's (ص) family. There is no doubt that had Fāṭimah (ع) died, had ʿAlī (ع) been martyred, had Ḥasan (ع) been poisoned, or had Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī (ع) been slain during the Prophet's (ص) lifetime, he would have wept for them, and his devoted companions would have joined him in weeping for them. Indeed, he would have wept for them decades later had he outlived them by that long, just as he wept for his mother decades after her death.

Sunnī traditions prove that the companions considered it permissible, if not highly recommended, to cry for the martyrdom of Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī (ع). According to Ḥākim, Umm Salamah, the Prophet's (ص) wife, was consoled for the murder of Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī (ع).[6837] Moreover, according to Tirmidhī, Ḥākim, Suyūṭī, and Ibn Kathīr,

> Salmā said: I entered upon Umm Salamah (the wife of the Prophet [ص]) and she was crying. I asked, "What is making you cry?" She replied, "I saw the Messenger of Allāh (ص) next to me [in a dream] while asleep. There was dirt on his head and beard. I asked, 'What is [going on] with you, O Messenger of Allāh?' He said, 'I witnessed Ḥusayn just getting killed!'"[6838]

According to Sunnī principle, if Umm Salamah, as a companion, could mourn the martyrdom of Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī (ع) and cry for it, it is permissible for us to follow her ijtihād and do so as well. In addition, her mentioning the fact that the Prophet (ص) had dirt all over his head and beard and that she cried after meeting the Prophet (ص) in her dream shows that the Prophet (ص) went to extreme measures to mourn the martyrdom of Imām Ḥusayn (ع) and recommended to his wife to mourn for him as well. As such, the Shīʿah follow the Sunnah of the Prophet (ص) in his lifetime as well as in his death. According to a similar tradition, whose chain of transmission Ibn Kathīr called "strong (qawī),"[6839] Ibn ʿAbbās said,

> I saw the Messenger of Allāh (ص) in [a dream in] the middle of the day, disheveled and covered with dust. I said, "By my father and my mother, O Messenger of Allāh! What is this [condition I see you in]?" He said, "This is the blood of Ḥusayn and his companions. From this day, I will not cease picking it up from the ground." ʿAmmār (the narrator) said, "We recorded that day, and later found out that it was the day on which Ḥusayn was killed."[6840]

As such, it is clear that we ought to mourn for Ḥusayn (ع) to the point of becoming disheveled and covered with dust, instead of celebrating the day of ʿĀshūrāʾ. In fact, even the jinn mourn for Ḥusayn (ع) according to Sunnī traditions. Umm Salamah said, "I heard the jinn crying for Ḥusayn and wailing (tanūḥu) for him."[6841] Clearly, she was not condemning the jinn for wailing for the martyrdom of Ḥusayn (ع). If these pious jinn could wail on ʿĀshūrāʾ, there is no reason why pious Muslims should not.

6837. Mustadrak Ḥākim #6765.

6838. Sunan Tirmidhī #3771; Mustadrak Ḥākim #6764; Tārīkh al-Khulafāʾ 184; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 8:218-9.

6839. Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 8:218.

6840. Musnad Ḥanbal #2553; Faḍāʾil Ḥanbal #1389; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 6:258, 8:218; Tārīkh al-Khulafāʾ 184; Dalāʾil al-Nubuwwah of Bayhaqī 8:471; Istīʿāb 1:445 #574 (Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī).

6841. Tārīkh al-Khulafāʾ 184.

Chapter 97

The Uprisings of ʹAbd Allāh ibn Zubayr and Mukhtār ibn Abī ʹUbayd al-Thaqafī

The political career of ʹAbd Allāh ibn Zubayr began when he became instrumental in arousing his father Zubayr and his aunt ʹĀʾishah to rise up against ʹAlī (ع) in the Battle of Jamal. According to Ṭabarī, Mālik al-Ashtar said, "It was Ibn Zubayr who forced ʹĀʾishah to come out."[6842] Of note, the mother of ʹAbd Allāh ibn Zubayr was Asmāʾ bint Abī Bakr, making him the grandson of Abū Bakr and making ʹĀʾishah his maternal aunt. As such, ʹĀʾishah had a strong desire to promote the political career of ʹAbd Allāh ibn Zubayr, her nephew.

As discussed in chapter 94, when Muʹāwīyah asked for the pledge of allegiance to be given to his son Yazīd, there were five of the companions who refused to pledge allegiance:[6843] (1) ʹAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Bakr, who reportedly died in the same year in which Muʹāwīyah came to Madīnah to get the pledges of allegiance for his son, and his sister ʹĀʾishah died shortly after him.[6844] In his final days, the Umayyads put on a smear campaign to discredit him, drawing the ire of ʹĀʾishah.[6845] (2) ʹAbd Allāh ibn ʹUmar who would neither pledge allegiance to nor openly oppose Yazīd. Yazīd was not too concerned about him, particularly because ʹUmar had forbidden the caliphate to his family members,[6846] so he was generally left alone. (3) Ḥusayn ibn ʹAlī (ع) who le Madīnah for Mecca upon the ascension of Yazīd to the Umayyad throne, and w subsequently responded to the call of the people of Kūfah to lead them. On his way Kūfah, he was intercepted by Yazīd's troops, and was slaughtered along with his fami members and followers at Karbalāʾ on the day of ʹĀshūrāʾ.[6847] (4) ʹAbd Allāh ibn ʹAbbās, who did not have any particular claim to the caliphate and who deferred to Ḥusayn (ع) in this regards. (5) ʹAbd Allāh ibn Zubayr, who is the subject of this chapter.

ʹAbd Allāh ibn Zubayr's Claim to the Caliphate

Upon the ascension of Yazīd to the Umayyad throne, ʹAbd Allāh ibn Zubayr fled to Mecca to seek sanctuary instead of pledging allegiance to Yazīd. After the massacre of Ḥusayn ibn ʹAlī (ع), he began pressing his claim to the caliphate. He had a three key assertions. First, he asserted his lineage, which included Abū Bakr, the first caliph, as his grandfather; Zubayr, a member of the Shūrā that ʹUmar had created, as his father; and ʹĀʾishah, a mother of the believers, as his maternal aunt. Second, he asserted that ʹĀʾishah had appointed him to lead prayers during the Battle of Jamal.[6848] Third, he claimed that ʿUthmān had specifically designated him (naṣṣ) as the caliph by allowing him to lead prayers when he was under siege.[6849] This last claim would be astonishing were it not that he had precedent set by a similar claim put forth by his aunt and grandfather. Since Ṭalḥah, Zubayr, and ʿĀʾishah were all instrumental in arousing the public against ʿUthmān and were the leaders of the uprising against him,[6850] it is very hard to believe that ʿUthmān would appoint Ibn Zubayr to lead prayers, as he was among the dissidents himself. It is plausible that he led some prayer at some point in time, but certainly not as ʿUthmān's representative. He clearly learned how to fudge the truth in this regards from his aunt ʿĀʾishah, as she had previously claimed that Abū Bakr's leadership of prayer when the Prophet (ص) was in his deathbed was commanded by the Prophet (ص), even though the Prophet (ص) not only did not order Abū Bakr to lead prayer, but also used his last bit of physical strength to rise from his deathbed so that he could depose Abū Bakr from the leadership of prayer.[6851] As such, Ibn Zubayr's implausible assertions in this regards should not come as much of a surprise.

[6842] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 16:140.

[6843] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 18:186; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 8:86.

[6844] Iṣābah 2:1173 #3153 (ʹAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʹAbd Allāh ibn ʹUthmān).

[6845] Refer to chapters 63 and 94.

[6846] Refer to chapter 61.

[6847] Refer to chapter 95.

Further proof of this claim being untrue is that, according to Ṭabarī, ʿAlī (ع) took charge of prayers during ʿUthmān's siege, appointing Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī and Sahl ibn Ḥunayf to lead the daily prayers, while he led the Friday and ʿīd prayers himself.[6852] It is noteworthy that, according to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, the companions of ʿUthmān told him that the people were being led by the "leader of discord (imām al-fitnah)" during the siege.[6853] It is not clear whether this is referring to ʿAlī (ع), Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī, Sahl ibn Ḥunayf, or even Ibn Zubayr, but what is clear is that the people were not being led by someone selected by ʿUthmān.

Of note, by this point in time, Ibn Zubayr had embellished his involvement in the Battle of Jamal, creating credentials for himself as one who had fought for ʿUthmān's blood and who had valiantly protected ʿĀʾishah on the battlefield, while not stressing the fact that he had hidden himself among the corpses to save his life.[6854] It appears that the people of Mecca who had aided his father and maternal aunt in the Battle of Jamal were more than happy not to question his claims. His involvement in the Battle of Jamal also gave him some credentials vis-à-vis the Umayyads, who claimed that their usurpation of the caliphate was justified based on the need for them to avenge ʿUthmān's blood.

ʿAbd Allāh ibn Zubayr's Uprising

Ibn Zubayr fortified his claims to the caliphate after the massacre of Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī (ع) in Karbalāʾ. He took advantage of the dissatisfaction of the population with Umayyad rule and their treatment of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع). After the massacre at Karbalāʾ, Ibn Zubayr continued to refuse to pledge allegiance to Yazīd. His men expelled Marwān ibn Ḥakam and other Umayyads from Madīnah. This aroused Yazīd's ire, and he dispatched his troops to Madīnah in the Battle of Ḥarrah. After defeating the people of Madīnah, Yazīd's commander allowed his troops to pillage and rape Madīnah as they pleased for three days (see below).

[6848] Refer to chapter 79.
[6849] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 9:110.
[6850] Refer to chapter 72.
[6851] Refer to chapter 37.
[6852] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 15:257-8. Similarly, Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:22.
[6853] Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī Arabic original #663. Note that this tradition should appear between Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī #1.11.663 and #1.11.664, but has been deleted from the English translation.
[6854] Refer to chapter 79.

After the bloody conquest of Madīnah, Yazīd's troops proceeded onwards to Mecca, which was placed under siege. Due to the use of firebrands, the Kaʿbah caught on fire.[6855] Yazīd died in 64 A.H. during the siege of Mecca. At this point in time, ʿAbd Allāh ibn Zubayr began more openly eliciting the pledge of allegiance as caliph from the various lands. Yazīd's heir, the thirteen[6856] or twenty-one[6857] year old Muʿāwīyah ibn Yazīd, expressed no interest in the caliphate, seeking to return it to one whom the people would accept. He even offered to discuss the caliphate with Ibn Zubayr, but the latter refused.[6858] Muʿāwīyah ibn Yazīd died between forty days and three months into his caliphate without selecting an heir.[6859] It is said that he was poisoned,[6860] and that he refused to select a successor.[6861] This gave Ibn Zubayr some leeway in expanding his realm of control, particularly during the nine-month long[6862] caliphate (64-65 A.H.) of the Umayyad ruler Marwān ibn Ḥakam who, in the absence of having been named an heir to the Umayyad throne, had no clear mandate to rule. As such, he was only able to gain the pledge of allegiance of some Syrians, while Ibn Zubayr was able to obtain the pledge of allegiance of most of the Muslim lands, including the Arabian Peninsula, Iraq, Egypt, and even many Syrians.

Marwān ruled for only nine months, but he was able to take back control of Egypt during that time.[6863] Upon his death (65 A.H.), his son, ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Marwān, became caliph. In 66 A.H., Mukhtār ibn Abī ʿUbayd al-Thaqafī led a revolt in Kūfah in the name of avenging the blood of Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī (ع), forcing Ibn Zubayr's governor, ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muṭīʿ al-ʿAdawī, to flee.[6864] Mukhtār was able to take over significant territories extending from Iraq to Ādharbayjān and Armenia.[6865] He exacted a tolling revenge on the killers of Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī (ع) (see below). However, he was in a militarily precarious position, as he was surrounded by Ibn Zubayr's forces in Baṣrah on the one side and the Umayyad forces in Syria on the other. Eventually, Ibn Zubayr's forces defeated Mukhtār returning Kūfah to their realm of control.

By then, ʿAbd al-Malik had organized stronger forces and was able to defeat Ibn Zubayr's army in Iraq, which was led by his brother, Muṣʿab ibn Zubayr, who was killed in the battle (71 A.H.).[6866] ʿAbd al-Malik then dispatched Ḥajjāj, a cruel but capable military leader, to finish off Ibn Zubayr's forces in Ḥijāz (72 A.H.). He attacked Mecca, bombarding it incessantly with trebuchets for six to eight months (72-73 A.H.).[6867] During the siege, Ibn Zubayr was abandoned by most of his followers, including his own two sons.[6868] Finally, Ḥajjāj killed Ibn Zubayr (73 A.H.) and destroyed the novel structures that Ibn Zubayr had built in and around the Kaʿbah (74 A.H.).[6869]

6855. Tārīkh Ṭabarī 19:224-5; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:193; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 8:247.
6856. Tārīkh Ṭabarī 20:5.
6857. Tārkh Ibn Athīr 2:195; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 8:260 (cites several accounts of his age at death, ranging from 19-23 years old).
6858. Tārīkh Ṭabarī 20:3-4.
6859. Tārīkh al-Khulafāʾ 187; Tārīkh Ṭabarī 20:5; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:195. Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 8:260 cites six opinions about the length of his reign, ranging from twenty days to four months.
6860. Tārkh Ibn Athīr 2:195.
6861. Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 8:261.
6862. Tārīkh Ṭabarī 20:161.
6863. Tārīkh Ṭabarī 20:64; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 8:267.
6864. Tārīkh Ṭabarī 20:220; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:223; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 8:289.
6865. Tārīkh Ṭabarī 20:219-20; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:230.
6866. Tārīkh Ṭabarī 21:178-184; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:262-7; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 8:346-9.
6867. Tārīkh Ṭabarī 21:224-5. Accounts of this bombarding appear in Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:272 and Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 8:363.
6868. Tārīkh Ṭabarī 21:226; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:273; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd 3:281.
6869. Tārīkh Ṭabarī 22:1; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:277.

The Battle of Ḥarrah

According to Suyūṭī,

> In the year 63 A.H., [Yazīd] was informed that the people of Madīnah had risen up against him and had dismissed him [as their leader]. He send against them a vicious army and ordered them to fight them and then to go to Mecca to fight Ibn Zubayr. They arrived and the incident of Ḥarrah occurred at the gate of the pure [city of Madīnah]. And who comprehends what the event of Ḥarrah is? Ḥasan al-Baṣrī recalled it once and said, "By Allāh! No one could escape from them. On that [day], a group of the companions and others were killed and Madīnah was pillaged. One thousand virgins were deflowered. We are from Allāh and to Him we shall return! The Messenger of Allāh said, 'Whoever casts fear on the people of Madīnah, Allāh will cast fear on him [on the Day of Judgment], and upon him will be the curse of Allāh and all the angels and [all] mankind.'[6870]"[6871]

According to Suyūṭī, "The number of dead from among the Quraysh and the Anṣār in Ḥarrah was three hundred and six men."[6872] According to Dhahabī,

> After Yazīd did what he did to the People of Madīnah, combined with his drinking intoxicants and his performance of forbidden acts, the people became angry at him, and more than one rose up against him. Allāh did not bless him during his lifetime. The army of Ḥarrah went to Mecca to fight [ʿAbd Allāh] ibn Zubayr, and the leader of the army died en route. A [new] leader was selected, and they arrived in Mecca, laying siege to Ibn Zubayr, fighting him, and bombarding him with catapults. This was in [the month of] Ṣafar of the year 64. The covers of the Kaʿbah and its roof caught on fire from their flames, as did the horn of the ram that Allāh had sent to be slaughtered for Ishmael which was in the roof [of the Kaʿbah]. Allāh killed Yazīd in the middle of the month of Rabīʿ al-Awwal of this year. News of his death arrived while there was continued fighting. Ibn Zubayr yelled out, "O people of Syria! Your transgressor has just died." ...Ibn Zubayr called for [them] to pledge allegiance to him and to hail him as the caliph. But the people of Syrian pledged allegiance to Muʿāwīyah ibn Yazīd, whose period [of reign] did not last [long].[6873]

Confused Views About Ibn Zubayr and ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Marwān

The reign of Ibn Zubayr in Ḥijāz and other Muslim lands has led to complications for the Sunnī view of the caliphate. Sunnīs generally believe that a legitimate caliph is not deposed simply because of his sinful acts.[6874] Yet, if Yazīd was the rightful ruler, then Ibn Zubayr's failure to pledge allegiance to him would be wrong, as would be the fact that the people of Mecca and Madīnah joined him to fight Yazīd. Similarly, Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī's (ع) accepting the pledges of allegiance of the Kūfans would be wrong. If Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī (ع) and Ibn Zubayr were right in refusing to pledge allegiance to Yazīd, then Yazīd was clearly illegitimate. Historically, perhaps the majority of Sunnī scholars have opted to side with Ḥusayn (ع) and Ibn Zubayr and have vilified Yazīd and have cast into question his right to rule. However, a minority of Sunnī scholars historically and many of the Salafīs of today assert that Yazīd's rule was legitimate. Such a position, however, leads to rather confused viewpoints as the issues became even more complicated, as they did during Ibn Zubayr's uprising. According to Suyūṭī,

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[6870] A similar tradition appears in Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #7.3160.

[6871] Tārīkh al-Khulafā` 185.

[6872] Tārīkh al-Khulafā` 186.

[6873] Tārīkh al-Khulafā` 185.

[6874] Refer to chapter 43 for the comments of Sunnī scholars asserting that a caliph cannot be deposed because of evil acts (fisq).

> [Ibn Zubayr] was among those who refused to pledge allegiance to Yazīd and who fled to Mecca [instead]. He called people to himself, but they did not pledge allegiance to him... [until] Yazīd died. They then pledged allegiance to him as the caliph, and the people of Ḥijāz, Yemen, Iraq, and Khurāsān followed him... Nothing was outside his [realm of control] except for Syria and Egypt, which pledged allegiance to Mu'āwīyah ibn Yazīd, whose duration [of rule] did not last long. When he died, their people followed Ibn Zubayr and pledged allegiance to him, but Marwān ibn Ḥakam then took over Syria and then Egypt and remained in charge [of them] until he died in the year 65. He proclaimed his son 'Abd al-Malik [to be his heir]. The soundest [opinion] is what Dhahabī said that Marwān is not counted among the rulers of the believers, but rather that he was a transgressor who rose against Ibn Zubayr, and that [Marwān's] covenant to his son ['Abd al-Malik] was invalid, and the caliphate of 'Abd al-Malik was only valid from the moment Ibn Zubayr was killed. As for Ibn Zubayr, he ruled in Mecca as the [rightful] caliph until he was defeated by 'Abd al-Malik, who sent Ḥajjāj to fight him with [an army of] 40,000 [men]. They laid siege to Mecca for several months and struck it with catapults. Ibn Zubayr's men abandoned him and slipped away to Ḥajjāj, who defeated [Ibn Zubayr], killed him, and hanged him... in the year 73 [A.H.][6875]

Suyūṭī also addressed similar concepts under the caliphate of 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān:

> He was given the pledge of allegiance according to the command of his father (Marwān ibn Ḥakam) during the caliphate of Ibn Zubayr, so his caliphate was not legitimate. He remained in control of Egypt and Syria and then took over Iraq, even though he did not legitimately hold the caliphate until he killed Ibn Zubayr in the year 73. His caliphate became legitimate from that day on, and his rule became valid. In this year Ḥajjāj destroyed the Ka'bah and returned it to the way it has been until now. And he conspired against ['Abd Allāh] ibn 'Umar, having him stabbed with a poisoned spear; he fell ill from that and died.[6876]

There are three interesting points. First, Suyūṭī offered no good reason why Marwān's caliphate was illegitimate while that of Ibn Zubayr was legitimate when neither was appointed as heir by the previous caliph. It is hard to think of a consistently valid criterion by which this determination would be made. Presumably, Ibn Zubayr has been favored by the Sunnīs because of his lineage and his companionship with the Prophet (ص) or perhaps because he had more lands under his control until 'Abd al-Malik defeated him. Second, he called Marwān a transgressor who rose against Ibn Zubayr, yet did not call Ibn Zubayr a transgressor for rising up against Yazīd. This requires the illegitimacy of Yazīd's rule, which implies the illegitimacy of Mu'āwīyah's decision to select him as his heir. Third and foremost, he deemed the caliphate of 'Abd al-Malik illegitimate and his appointment to power null and void until the day in which his general Ḥajjāj killed Ibn

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6875. Tārikh al-Khulafā' 187-8.
6876. Tārikh al-Khulafā' 190.

Zubayr. On that day, by killing someone who Suyūṭī and indeed all Sunnīs have held in the highest esteem, ʿAbd al-Malik became the rightful caliph. Thus, if an illegitimate transgressor kills enough Muslims, he can become a rightful caliph, whereas if he has not yet killed enough Muslims, he is merely an illegitimate rebel worthy of being killed. It is clear that the political philosophy of Sunnīsm was designed to support the victor, granting legitimacy to whoever ascended to the throne. Yet, this process of legitimizing acts based on their outcomes is morally untenable, particularly when the outcome is the empowerment of one tyrant or another.

Indeed, after the beheading of Ḥusayn (ع), there were serial beheadings of political leaders in order to attain greater power, as is evident from the following account cited by Suyūṭī:

> ʿAbd al-Malik ibn ʿUmayr al-Laythī, pointing at the governor's mansion in Kūfah, said, "I saw in this mansion the head of Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī in front of ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Zīyād on a shield. Then I saw the head of ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Zīyād in front of Mukhtār ibn Abī ʿUbayd. Then I saw the head of Mukhtār in front of Muṣʿab ibn Zubayr. Then I saw the head of Muṣʿab ibn Zubayr in front of ʿAbd al-Malik [ibn Marwān]. So I told ʿAbd al-Malik this, and he saw it as a bad omen and left."[6877]

For some, legitimacy is defined by eventual victory and ascension to the throne. For the Shīʿah, however, this is all very simple. ʿAlī (ع) was the legitimate imām, while Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, ʿUthmān, Ṭalḥah, Zubayr, ʿĀʾishah, and Muʿāwīyah all illegitimately usurped or tried to usurp the caliphate; Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī (ع) was the legitimate imām, while Muʿāwīyah was illegitimate; Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī (ع) was the legitimate imām, while Muʿāwīyah and Yazīd were illegitimate; ʿAlī ibn Ḥusayn (ع) was the legitimate imām, while Yazīd, Muʿāwīyah ibn Yazīd, ʿAbd Allāh ibn Zubayr, Marwān ibn Ḥakam, ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Marwān, and Walīd ibn ʿAbd al-Malik were all illegitimate; and so on and so forth. Uprisings are legitimate if led and called for by a legitimate imām; otherwise, they were illegitimate. Clearly, the Shīʿah view is that of the Prophet (ص), who worried about illegitimate caliphs taking over his nation, and therefore, according to a tradition certified as authentic by Tirmidhī, said, "The imāms of misguidance are my only fear for my nation."[6878] Clearly, the imāms of misguidance have no legitimacy in Islām.

A Brief Account of the Uprising of Mukhtār ibn Abī ʿUbayd al-Thaqafī

As mentioned previously, Mukhtār's uprising against Ibn Zubayr in Kūfah was based on his call to avenge the blood of Ḥusayn (ع), and his slogan was, "Vengeance for al-Ḥusayn!"[6879] He rose up with the alleged support of Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī al-Ḥanafīyyah,[6880] who, as the brother of Ḥusayn (ع), could give legitimacy to the uprising seeking to avenge Ḥusayn's (ع) blood.

Upon taking control of the city, Mukhtār said to the Kūfans, "Enemies of Allāh, enemies of His Book, enemies of His Messenger and the family of His Messenger! Where is Ḥusayn the son of ʿAlī? Deliver Ḥusayn to me. You killed him whom you were commanded to

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6877. Tārīkh al-Khulafāʾ 184.

6878. Ṣaḥīḥ Tirmidhī #2229 (certifies the tradition as good-authentic [ḥasan-ṣaḥīḥ]); Sunan Abū Dāwūd #4252; Musnad Ḥanbal #22447-8, #22505; Majmaʿ al-Zawāʾid #9215 (certifies those in the chain of Ḥanbal as trustworthy).

6879. Tārīkh Ṭabarī 20:201; Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:353, 2:357, 2:359.

6880. Tārīkh Ṭabarī 20:19-1, 20:195; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:223-5.

bless during prayer." They replied, "We were sent unwillingly. Be gracious to us and spare us." Mukhtār said, "Why were you not gracious to Ḥusayn, the son of your Prophet's daughter? Why did you not spare him and give him [water to] drink?"[6881] He then began a systematic purge of those who had attacked and killed Ḥusayn (ع) and his followers at Karbalā`.

Mukhtār turned to Mālik ibn Nusayr al-Baddī who had taken the hood of Ḥusayn (ع), and said, "Cut off his hands and feet, and leave him. Let him thrash about until he dies."[6882] He then had four of the killers of Ḥusayn (ع) arrested and had them beheaded in the marketplace.[6883] Mukhtār then ordered the arrest of ʹUthmān ibn Khālid ibn Usayr al-Duhmānī and Abū Asmā` Bishr ibn Sawṭ al-Qābiḍī, who were among those present in the murder of Ḥusayn (ع) and who had participated in killing ʹAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʹAqīl ibn Abī Ṭālib and taking his spoils. After they were beheaded, Mukhtār ordered their bodies to be burned.[6884]

He then sent for Khawalī ibn Yazīd al-Aṣbaḥī who had taken the head of Ḥusayn (ع) and brought it to Kūfah. He hid in a latrine, but his wife, who had become hostile to him since he had brought Ḥusayn's (ع) head to Kūfah, disclosed his location to Mukhtār's men. Mukhtār had him killed in front of his family and then had him burnt to ashes.[6885]

He then had ʹUmar ibn Saʹd ibn Waqqāṣ killed, and he had Ibn Saʹd's head brought to him along with Ibn Saʹd's son, Ḥafṣ ibn ʹUmar ibn Saʹd. Ḥafṣ said, "There is no good in life after his death." "You are right," Mukhtār said to him, "for you shall not live after him." He had Ḥafṣ beheaded and placed his head next to that of his father and then said, "This one is for Ḥusayn, and that one for ʹAlī ibn Ḥusayn[6886]! But there is no equivalence; by Allāh, if I killed three-fourths of the Quraysh in requital for Ḥusayn, they would not measure up to one of his fingernails!"[6887]

Then Mukhtār sent for Ḥakīm ibn Ṭufayl al-Ṭā`ī al-Sinbisī who had taken the spoils ʹAbbās ibn ʹAlī and who had shot Ḥusayn (ع) with an arrow. He was told, "You despoile ʹAlī's (ع) son of his clothing; by Allāh, we will despoil you of your clothes while you are alive and watching." They stripped off his clothes and said to him, "You shot Ḥusayn and used him as a target for your arrows, and you said, 'My arrow caught in his coat of mail and did not harm him.' We swear to Allāh that we will shoot you the way you shot him with arrows, and let what sticks in you be sufficient for you." He was shot with one volley of arrows, many of which hit him, and fell dead. Someone who saw him said, "He had so many arrows in him that he looked like a hedgehog."[6888]

ʹAmr ibn Ṣubayḥ used to say, "I thrust at some of them and wounded them, but killed none of them." Mukhtār had him arrested and brought to him in chains; he then had his men thrust at him with lances until he died.[6889] Zayd ibn Ruqād used to say, "I shot one of their young men[6890] with an arrow [at Karbalā`]—he was holding his hand on his forehead, warding off the arrows, and I pinned his hand to his forehead, so that he could not remove his hand from his forehead." Mukhtār sent for him to be punished. They shot him with arrows and pelted him with stones. Since he still had some life in him, they then burned him alive.[6891]

[6881] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 21:32.
[6882] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 21:32.
[6883] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 21:32-3; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:235.
[6884] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 21:34; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:235.
[6885] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 21:35; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:235.
[6886] According to Ibn Kathīr (8:302), this is referring to Ḥusayn's elder son who was martyred at Karbalā`, but it could have also referred to his youngest son who was martyred at Karbalā` as well.
[6887] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 21:38; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:235; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 8:302.
[6888] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 21:40-1. Similarly, Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:236; Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:359.
[6889] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 21:43-4. Similarly, Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:359.
[6890] This young man was ʹAbd Allāh ibn Muslim ibn ʹAqīl (Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:359).

Mukhtār then sought out Sinān ibn Anas, who claimed to have killed Ḥusayn (ع); ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUqbah al-Ghanawī, who had killed one of the young men of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع); and ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUrwah al-Khathʿamī, who claimed that he had unsuccessfully shot twelve arrows as Ḥusayn's (ع) men. Since they had already fled, Mukhtār had their houses torn down.[6892] Similarly, he tore down the house of Muḥammad ibn Ashʿath ibn Qays, and used its bricks to rebuild the house of Ḥujr ibn ʿAdī al-Kindī, which had been torn down by the previous governor Zīyād ibn ʿUbayd.[6893]

After exacting revenge on those he could reach, Mukhtār sent Ibrāhīm ibn al-Ashtar to kill ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Zīyād. After a bloody battle, ʿUbayd Allāh was defeated. He was personally killed in battle by Ibrāhīm ibn al-Ashtar, who struck him such that his body was chopped in half, with his legs flung to the east and his arms flung to the west.[6894] Of note, Ibn Zīyād was killed on the day of ʿĀshūrāʾ of the year 67 A.H., and Ibrāhīm ibn al-Ashtar sent Ibn Zīyād's head to Mukhtār. Mukhtār forwarded the head to Ibn Zubayr, who then gave it to ʿAlī ibn Ḥusayn (ع).[6895] As one can see, the killers of Ḥusayn did not meet a prosperous end in this world—"For them there will be a pittance in this world and a grave punishment in the hereafter."[6896]

Soon thereafter, Ibn Zubayr appointed his brother, Muṣʿab ibn Zubayr, as the governor of Baṣrah.[6897] Those who had fled Mukhtār's punishment, most notably Muḥammad ibn Ashʿath ibn Qays, pressured Muṣʿab to attack Mukhtār.[6898] Muṣʿab set out against Mukhtār, cutting off food and water to his forces.[6899] Fighting broke out in which most notably Muḥammad ibn Ashʿath and ʿUbayd Allāh ibn ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib (ع) were killed.[6900] Mukhtār was completely surrounded, so he offered to surrender if granted immunity. The reply was, "No, except on condition of your submitting to judgment," so he went out and fought the enemy until he was killed.[6901] Before he died, he told his companion Sāʾib ibn Mālik al-Ashʿarī,

> I am a man of the Arabs. I saw Ibn al-Zubayr seize the Ḥijāz for himself; I saw Najdah[6902] seize al-Yamāmah, and Marwān Syria. Not being inferior to any man among the Arabs, I took this country and was like one of them—except that I sought vengeance for the members of the Prophet's family, while the Arabs were asleep about the matter.[6903]

[6891] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 21:42-3. Similarly, Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:359; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:236.

[6892] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 21:43; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:236.

[6893] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 21:44-5; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:236. For a discussion of the persecution of Ḥujr ibn ʿAdī, refer to chapter 94.

[6894] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 21:80. For accounts of this battle, refer to Tārīkh Ṭabarī; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:242-4; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 8:310-12; Ansāb al-Ashrāf 2:363-5.

[6895] Istīʿāb 1:445 #574 (Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī).

[6896] Qurʾān 2:114.

[6897] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 21:83; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:244; Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr 8:315.

[6898] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 21:85-6; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:244.

[6899] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 21:100; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:246.

[6900] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 21:95, 21:100; Tārīkh Ibn Athīr 2:246.

[6901] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 21:105.

[6902] Najdah ibn ʿĀmir al-Ḥanafī was the leader of a group of Khārijītes (Tārīkh Ṭabarī 20:102).

[6903] Tārīkh Ṭabarī 21:104.

Muṣ´ab then ordered Mukhtār's hand to be cut off and nailed to the side of the mosque, where it remained until Ḥajjāj ordered it to be taken down.[6904] The Kūfan men were rounded up as prisoners. Despite their pleas for mercy and promises to help Ibn Zubayr against the Syrians, ´Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad ibn Ash´ath ibn Qays and others asked Muṣ´ab to have the prisoners executed. Muṣ´ab complied, ordering the execution of the prisoners,[6905] in clear contravention of Islāmic law. ´Abd Allāh ibn Qurād turned to ´Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad ibn Ash´ath ibn Qays and said, "If I didn't smite your father and kill him with my sword, then I [would] have the same religion as your grandfather (Ash´ath ibn Qays), who believed and then became a disbeliever." ´Abd al-Raḥmān then killed him.[6906]

[6904] Tārikh Ṭabarī 21:109; Tārikh Ibn Athīr 2:247.
[6905] Tārikh Ṭabarī 21:107-9; Tārikh Ibn Athīr 2:247.
[6906] Tārikh Ṭabarī 21:106.

Chapter 98
A Brief Account of the Imāmate Culminating in Imām Mahdī (ع) Based on Shī´ah Accounts

The Lives of the Twelve Imāms of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع)

As we have discussed in detail, upon the Prophet's (ص) death, ´Alī's (ع) right to the caliphate was usurped. This right was passed on from Abū Bakr to ´Umar to ´Uthmān, while ´Alī (ع) calmly endured the tribulations in order to preserve the unity of the nation, to prevent discord, and to prevent the extermination of his family and their loyal supporters who remained the only protectors of Islām. ´Uthmān was executed when the nation could no longer tolerate his mischief. ´Alī (ع) then accepted the caliphate, but with full knowledge that the nation had no real interest in submitting to his rule and no real interest in the resurrection of the Prophet's (ص) Sunnah. Since the nation insisted on his caliphate, he reluctantly agreed, knowing that the Prophet (ص) had told him that three bands of transgressors—the breakers of vows (nākithīn), the deviants (qāsiṭīn), and the heretics (māriqīn)—would fight him just as the disbelievers had fought the Messenger of Allāh (ص) before.[6907] Indeed, ´Alī's (ع) caliphate was plagued by a series of wars against different bands of misguided and rebellious companions and successors (tābi´īn) who reviled him for his attempts at restoring the Sunnah of the Prophet (ص) and who killed his most beloved Shī´ah, such as Mālik al-Ashtar and Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr, and, as the Prophet (ص) had foretold, ´Ammār ibn Yāsir and Khuzaymah ibn Thābit.

Upon ´Alī's (ع) death, his son, Ḥasan (ع), took over affairs as the second Shī´ah imām and fifth Sunnī caliph, but he was rapidly abandoned by some of his military commanders who were paid huge sums of cash to join Mu´āwīyah, as well as troops who were duped by Mu´āwīyah's treachery. His most loyal commander was Qays ibn Sa´d ibn ´Ubādah, but at Ḥasan's (ع) urging, even he had to give up the fight against Mu´āwīyah. To save the Shī´ah of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) from massacre, Ḥasan (ع) agreed to overlook his rights to the caliphate, as his father had done during the caliphates of Abū Bakr, ´Umar, and ´Uthmān. His agreement with Mu´āwīyah, however, stipulated that Mu´āwīyah would not select an heir and that the caliphate would revert to Ḥasan (ع) upon Mu´āwīyah's death. Ḥasan (ع) was subsequently poisoned by his wife Ja´dah bint Ash´ath ibn Qays at the behest of Mu´āwīyah in order to pave the way for the designation of Yazīd as Mu´āwīyah's heir.

Ḥusayn ibn ´Alī (ع), the third Shī´ah imām, refused to pledge allegiance to Yazīd, whom Mu´āwīyah had appointed as his successor in contravention of his peace agreement with Ḥasan (ع) and in contravention of Islāmic principles and even the norms of his predecessors. Instead, Ḥusayn (ع) answered the call of his Shī´ah who were most numerous in Kūfah. By his uprising, Ḥusayn ibn ´Alī (ع) openly publicized the undeniable claim of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) to the imāmate and caliphate. His blood spilled at Karbalā` grew the Shī'ah nation, as Muslims increasingly saw the sharp contrast between the truth that lay with the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) and the falsehood that lay with the illegitimate caliphs and their followers. His martyrdom at Karbalā` drew the Muslim nation closer to the Ahl al-Bayt (ع), who had a mandate from Allāh, while the illegitimate caliphs were even further alarmed by the ever-rising popularity of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع).

[6907] Refer to chater 78.

After the martyrdom of Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī (ع), a long period of political seclusion by the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) began, as they devoted their lives to acts of devotion and guidance of the Muslim nation, while avoiding political activism, as their political victory was to be deferred until the rise of Imām Mahdī (ع). The remaining history of the Shī'ah imāms became a balancing act between drawing the Muslim nation to the truth, an act that naturally irked the caliphs, and their desire to be left alone by the caliphs so they could spread true Islām, revive the Sunnah of the Prophet (ص), and undo the innovations that had been introduced to Islām. Invariably, this tug-of-war would end up in the martyrdom of each of the first eleven Shī'ah imāms at the hands of illegitimate caliphs and their associates. Yet, the Shī'ah imāms were undeterred in exploiting every opportunity to revive Islām.

Imām 'Alī ibn Ḥusayn Zayn al-'Ābidīn (ع), the fourth Shī'ah imām, was forced to spend most of his life in acts of devotion and teaching limited to a few close associates. His most notable work is the Ṣaḥīfah al-Sajjādīyyah, which has supplications so rich in devotional and spiritual detail that it is sufficient to prove the imāmate to anyone who ponders its content and who compares it to the simplistic theological concepts prevalent among those the Sunnīs consider to have been among the leading scholars of his time.

The waning years of the Umayyad dynasty created a power vacuum that allowed Imām Muḥammad al-Bāqir (ع) and Imām Ja'far al-Ṣādiq (ع), the fifth and sixth Shī'ah imāms respectively, some leeway to more openly spread the Shī'ah faith. They trained thousands of disciples in Islāmic law, Qur`ānic commentary, theology, Islāmic history, and every Islāmic science imaginable. Indeed, their knowledge was not limited to religious teachings. Jābir ibn Ḥayyān, and who has been acknowledged as the father o experimental chemistry, was a companion of Imām Ja'far al-Ṣādiq (ع), and he learned the science of chemistry from the sixth imām.

By the last years of the sixth Imām, Ja'far al-Ṣādiq (ع), the political situation turned more dire, with the relentless persecution of the Shī'ah by the 'Abbāsīd caliph Manṣūr. At this point, Imām Ṣādiq (ع) adamantly stressed the importance of taqīyyah for the years to come. His son, Imām Mūsā al-Kāẓim (ع), was active in training disciples and in propagating the true teachings of Islām, but was forced to spend fourteen years incarcerated by the 'Abbāsīd caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd, and was finally martyred by him. The reign of Ma`mūn brought the eighth Shī'ah imām, 'Alī ibn Mūsā al-Riḍā (ع), to the political forefront for a short period, as Ma`mūn appointed him as his heir to the caliphate due to political expediency. Imām Riḍā (ع), though extremely reluctant to accept such a position, was forced to do so and was exiled from Madīnah to Marw[6908]. Once Ma`mūn established his rule and began to perceive the imām as a political liability, he had Imām Riḍā (ع) poisoned.

Imām Muḥammad ibn 'Alī al-Taqī (ع) was seven to nine years old when he became the ninth imām, but his knowledge surpassed that of all the Islāmic scholars of his time. Despite lingering doubts regarding his ability to serve as an imām at his young age, he answered some 3,000 unresolved legal and theological questions during the ḥajj,[6909] establishing himself as the rightful imām to all the Shī'ah scholars of the time. He was later called to Baghdād, where his debates with the Sunnī scholars in Ma`mūn's court became famous, as had similar debates his father had conducted in Ma`mūn's court in Marw. He was eventually poisoned by the 'Abbāsīds and buried alongside his grandfather in Kāẓimayn near Baghdād. His son, Imām 'Alī ibn Muḥammad al-Naqī (ع), and grandson, Imām Ḥasan ibn 'Alī al-'Askarī (ع), were kept in Sāmarrā, which was an 'Abbāsīd garrison town, where they were forced to live under the closest of scrutiny. They are both buried there today. Imām Ḥasan al-'Askarī (ع) left a young boy, whom he kept successfully hidden from the 'Abbāsīd caliphs, just as the mother of Moses (ع) was able to keep Moses (ع) hidden from Pharaoh. He did, however, utilize many opportunities to introduce him to his close associates, so that they would know their imām after him.

[6908] An ancient central Asian city known as Marv and Merv, located near today's Mary in Turkmenistan.

This young boy, Ḥujjah ibn Ḥasan al-Qā`im al-Mahdī (ع), took over the imāmate in hiding, initially through a series of four designated intermediaries, in a period called the lesser occultation or ghaybah al-ṣughrā. This was followed by the period of greater occultation, ghaybah al-kubrā, in which he has no designated intermediary, but rather guides his Shī'ah in the same way the sun provides light on a cloudy day. This greater occultation will last until Allāh decides that it is time for Imām Mahdī (ع) to rise against tyranny, oppression, and injustice, in order to restore power to the Prophet's Ahl al-Bayt (ع), to revive the entire Sunnah of the Prophet (ص), and to destroy every innovation. Thus, the Twelver Shī'ah faith forms the only Muslim sect that has followed the twelve imāms designated by the Prophet (ص) to continually guide his followers from his death until the Day of Judgment.

Comments on the Occultation of the Twelfth Imām

Anti-Shī'ah polemicists have focused much attention on the occultation of the twelfth imām, citing this as an impossibility. However, that is clearly not the case. Muslims, Shī'ah and Sunnī alike, maintain that Jesus (ع) will return along with Imām Mahdī (ع), even though the life of Jesus (ع) ended over eight centuries before Imām Mahdī (ع) went into occultation. Moreover, Sunnīs believe that Khaḍir (ع) was born long before the time of Moses (ع), perhaps even at the time of Adam (ع), and will live on to fight Dajjāl, even though he does not openly declare his presence and location.[6910] This is similar to the occultation of Imām Mahdī (ع), who is alive and living among us, yet not in the open. Indeed, the Prophet Jonah spent time away from his tribe in the belly of a fish.[6911] The Qur`ān states, "And had he not been one of those who glorify [Allāh], he would certainly have remained inside the fish until the Day of Judgment,"[6912] showing that a period of absence can last for a very long time, indeed until the Day of Judgment. Furthermore, some Sunnī traditions claim that Dajjāl, commonly referred to as the antichrist, was alive at the time of the Prophet (ص) and will come out of hiding prior to the appearance of Imām Mahdī (ع). If Dajjāl can have an occultation, Imām Mahdī (ع) most certainly can as well.

In addition, living over one thousand years is not an impossibility. Noah, according to the Qur`ān, served some 950 years as a messenger among his people.[6913] Indeed, with rather rudimentary advances based on highly imperfect scientific methods developed primarily by non-believers, human life expectancy has nearly tripled over the past couple of centuries. To say that Allāh cannot make one live a millennium while man can triple the human lifespan is pure disbelief.

[6909] Ḥaqq al-Yaqīn 289.
[6910] Refer to chapter 39.
[6911] Qur`ān 37:142.
[6912] Qur`ān 37:143-4.
[6913] Qur`ān 29:14.

Moreover, for anyone to demand to know the location of the twelfth imām is absurd, as even Jacob (ع) did not know the location of his son Joseph (ع) for many years. Furthermore, the enemies of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) bear more similarities to the brothers of Joseph (ع) than to his father, as their treatment of the imāms of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) was much like the casting of Joseph (ع) into a well. For them to expect the twelfth imām to reveal his location to them after what they did to his forefathers only shows their sheer ignorance and utter arrogance. It would be like the brothers of Joseph (ع) demanding to know where he was living so they could finish him off once and for all.

Indeed, the occultation of the twelfth imām is, in and of itself, one of the greatest miracles and proofs for Shī'ism. The Shī'ah imāms promised in mutawātir traditions that the twelfth imām would have two occultations, one short and the other very lengthy in duration. These traditions were recorded by the companions of the Shī'ah imāms and traditions regarding the occultation were widespread long before the occultation occurred. The fact that their predictions regarding the occultation came true only proves the legitimacy of the Shī'ah faith and the veracity of the Shī'ah claims regarding the occultation of the twelfth imām. Indeed, if the occultation did not occur, it could be held as proof against Shī'ism, as the imāms had repetitively publicized it.

All Shī'ah pray that Imām Mahdī (ع) will re-appear soon and restore the true, unadulterated religion of Allāh and the Sunnah of His Messenger (ص), purified from all innovations and corruptions. Upon his re-appearance, he will restore the Masjid al-Ḥarām and the Masjid al-Nabī to their original states at the time of the Prophet (ص). He will rid the earth of the enemies of Islām and establish a true Islāmic imāmate, one that could never be established before due to the impediments posed by the disbelievers and hypocrites during the lifetime of the Prophet (ص), Imām 'Alī (ع), Imām Ḥasan (ع), and every rightful imām after them, and due to political power being in the hands of illegitimate rulers who have obstructed the path of Allāh. The time of his uprising, however, is only known by Allāh, and anyone who claims otherwise is a liar. We can only pray for it to be during our lifetime.

Chapter 99
The Everlasting Legacy of ʹAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib (ع)

It would have sufficed ʹAlī (ع) to leave the nation only his two sons Ḥasan (ع) and Ḥusayn (ع), the chiefs of the young men of paradise, from his wife Fāṭimah (ع), the best of the women of the worlds and the chief of the women of paradise, so that they would serve as the rightful imāms after him and so that Ḥusayn (ع) would leave a lineage of nine other imāms culminating in Imām al-Qāʾim al-Mahdī (ع), the twelfth and final imām, so that the Muslim nation would always be guided as promised by the Messenger of Allāh (ص). However, ʹAlī (ع) left even more behind. As with his merits, knowledge, piety, and faith, ʹAlī's (ع) contributions to the Islāmic sciences far outweighed all other companions combined, and every branch of Islāmic science is based on his teachings. Moreover, he has left an astonishing example of every noble quality known to man—knowledge, piety, devotion, courage, strength, patience, forgiveness, congeniality, eloquence, keenness, insight, and intellect—for the generations to follow.

The Comments of Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd Regarding ʹAlī's (ع) Legacy

It is hard to summarize ʹAlī's (ع) contributions better than the Sunnī Muʹtazilī Shāfiʹī scholar Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd did in his introductory remarks in his commentary on the Nahj al-Balāghah:

> His merits excel so far in their grandeur and majesty, [in their] widespread [acceptance], and [in their unquestioned] fame that any mention of them can only belittle them... What can be said about a man whose enemies and opponents even admit to his merit? [He is] one, denying whose excellent qualities and hiding whose merits is an impossible act. Know that the Umayyads established themselves as the monarchs of Islām in the east of the lands and in the west of them. They struggled with every trick to put out his light, to instigate against him, and to invent faults and blemishes for him. They cursed him on every pulpit. They threatened [everyone] who praised him. Indeed, they imprisoned and killed them. They banned the transmission of any tradition that would imply a merit for him, and [they even banned] raising one's voice in mentioning him, to the point that they forbade anyone from mentioning him by name. Yet, this only increased his status and eminence. This was like [an open] secret—the more tightly it was held, [the more] the knowledge of it spread. Whatever they hid [of ʹAlī's merits] spread [in manners] unseen [by them], just as the [existence of] the sun is not [fully] covered by the clouds. It was like the beam of the daytime [sun]—even if it is hidden from one eye, many [other] eyes perceive it.
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> What can be said about a man to whom every merit is traced back and in whom every sect culminates. Every group was allured by him, as he has been

[considered by every group as] its leader in every merit, its source-spring, its origin, its antecedent in [every] domain, its archetype, and the one emulated by everyone who appeared after him. His footsteps are followed and his example is imitated.

And you know that the most eminent of [the fields of] knowledge is theology (al-ʿilm al-ilāhī), as the eminence of [a field of] knowledge follows the eminence of its subject, and the subject of [theology] is the most eminent of what exists. Therefore, [theology] is the most eminent among [the fields] of knowledge. [Theologians] derive [knowledge] from his words, quote from him, and trace back [their knowledge] to him, as he is their source. As for the Muʿtazilīs—those who are the people [who believe in divine] unity and justice, and who are the masters of theoretical thought (naẓar) and from whom the people have learned this skill—they are his students and companions because Wāṣil ibn ʿAṭāʾ was the student of Abū Hāshim ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn [ʿAlī] al-Ḥanafīyyah, and Abū Hāshim was the pupil of his father, and his father was [ʿAlī's] pupil. As for the Ashʿarīs, they trace back to Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī ibn [Ismāʿīl ibn] Abī Bishr al-Ashʿarī, and he was the pupil of Abū ʿAlī al-Jubbāʾī. Abū ʿAlī was one of the leaders of the Muʿtazilīs. Therefore, the Ashʿarīs trace back to the master of the Muʿtazilīs and their teacher—ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib. As for the Imāmīyyah and the Zaydīyyah, their being traceable back to him is obvious.

And among the [branches] of knowledge is the knowledge of jurisprudence (ʿilm al-fiqh). He was its origin and its foundation. Every jurist (faqīh) in Islām is one of the members of his family [of pupils] and has benefited from his [knowledge of] jurisprudence. As for the companions of Abū Ḥanīfah such as Abū Yūsuf and Muḥammad and others, they learned from Abū Ḥanīfah. As for Shāfiʿī, he studied under Muḥammad ibn Ḥasan [al-Shaybānī], who similarly obtained his [knowledge of] jurisprudence from Abū Ḥanīfah. As for Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, he studied under Shāfiʿī, so his [knowledge of] jurisprudence similarly traces bac to Abū Ḥanīfah. Abū Ḥanīfah studied under Jaʿfar ibn Muḥammad [al-Ṣādiq and Jaʿfar studied under his father, and the matter ends in ʿAlī. As for Mālik ib Anas, he studied under Rabīʿah al-Raʾy. Rabīʿah studied under ʿIkrimah, and ʿIkrimah studied under ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās, and ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās studied under ʿAlī. And if you wish, Shāfiʿī's jurisprudence can also be traced back to him because he studied under Mālik as such. And these are the four [leading Sunnī] jurists. As for Shīʿah jurisprudence, its origination in him is evident. Moreover, the jurists (fuqahāʾ) among the companions were ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb and ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās, and each of them obtained [their knowledge] from ʿAlī. As for Ibn ʿAbbās, it is evident [to all]. As for ʿUmar, everyone knows that he would refer to ʿAlī and others among the companions for many problems that he would have trouble with. He said more than once, "Were it not for ʿAlī, ʿUmar would have perished," and he said, "I would not want to be [stuck] in a problem for which Abū al-Ḥasan in not present," and "No one may give a legal ruling (fatwā) in the [Prophet's] Mosque in ʿAlī's presence." In this way it becomes clear that jurisprudence traces back to him.

And the Sunnīs and Shīʿah have related [the Prophet's (ص)] word, "The best judge amongst you is ʿAlī." Since judging is jurisprudence, he is the most knowledgeable of them in jurisprudence (afqah). Similarly, everyone has related that when he was dispatched to Yemen as a judge, [the Prophet (ص)] said, "O Allāh! Guide his heart and strengthen his tongue," and [ʿAlī] said, "I have not had doubts while judging between two people since then." He was the one who gave a fatwā in regards to the woman who gave birth after six months, he was the one who gave a fatwā in regards to the pregnant adulteress, and he was the one who gave the reply at his pulpit, "[The wife's] eighth becomes a ninth."[6914] This problem [of inheritance is such that] if one thinks hypothetically about it for a long time, one would conclude the correctness of this answer, but only after lengthy contemplation. So what would you conclude in regards to one who said this as a matter of fact, and who extracted it impromptu.

And among the [branches of] knowledge is the science of Qur`ānic interpretation (tafsīr), which has been obtained from him and from whom it has branched out. If you were to go to the books of Qur`ānic commentary, you would realize the truth of this claim because most of it is from him and from ʻAbd Allāh ibn ʻAbbās. And everyone knows the tenacity with which Ibn ʻAbbās clung to him, the [fact that his knowledge] originated from ʻAlī, and [the fact] that he was his pupil and was a trainee of his. He was asked, "What is your knowledge in relation to that of your uncle's son?" He replied, "Like the relation of a drop of water to the all-encompassing sea."

And among the [branches of] knowledge is the knowledge of the path (ṭarīqah) and truth (ḥaqīqah) and spiritualism. And you know that the masters of this specialty in every Muslim land trace back to him, and that [every chain] terminates with him. Al-Shiblī, Junayd, Sarī, Abū Yazīd al-Bisṭāmī, Abū Maḥfūẓ commonly known as al-Karkhī, and others have explicitly stated this. Suffices for you as proof for this the orders that define them to this day, and the fact that they [all] claim contiguous chains of transmission to him.[6915]

And among the [branches of] knowledge is the knowledge of syntax and the Arabic [language]. All people know that he was the one who started this [field], that he was its creator, and that he dictated its fundamentals and comprehensive principles to Abū al-Aswad al-Du`alī. Among these [was his saying], "All words [fall into] three categories—nouns (ism), verbs (fiʻl), and particles (ḥarf)." And among his pronouncements were the division of words into definite (maʻrifah) and indefinite (nakirah), and the creation of the Arabic symbols (aʻrāb) for rafʻ,

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6914. According to Ibn Athīr (al-Nihāyah fī Gharīb al-Ḥadīth 3:321), ʻAlī (ع) was asked in the midst of giving a sermon how to divide the inheritance of a man who died leaving a wife, two parents, and two daughters. He immediately replied, "[The wife's] eighth becomes a ninth." The reason for this is that the wife's share was one-eights as the man had children (Qur`ān 4:12), the parents would take one-sixth each (Qur`ān 4:11), and the daughters were entitled to two-thirds of the inheritance (Qur`ān 4:11). The problem here is that 1/8 + 1/6 + 1/6 + 2/3 = 3/24 + 4/24 + 4/24 + 16/24 = 27/24, which means that the inheritance needed to be divided into twenty-seven shares, of which the wife would inherit three shares, which is one-ninth of the total inheritance.

6915. Of note, the Naqshbandī Ṣufī order which was formed in the late 8th century A.H., over a century after the death of Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd in 656 A.H., claims to trace their roots back to Abū Bakr. This, however, is highly doubtful because their chain of transmission goes through the sixth Shīʻah Imām, Jaʻfar al-Ṣādiq (ع). Moreover, the two listed before Jaʻfar al-Ṣādiq (ع) on their chain include Qāsim ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr and Salmān al-Fārsī (www.naqshbandi.org, "Golden Chain"), both of whom were among the most devoted Shīʻah of the Ahl al-Bayt. The Naqshbandī claim that Salmān al-Fārsī learned his devotion from Abū Bakr is absurd because the two had rather poor relations given the fact that Salmān was a fierce supporter of ʻAlī (ع), including in the matter of the caliphate, as well as the fact that Salmān could obtain such knowledge directly from the Prophet (ص) and was in little need of Abū Bakr. Of note, Qāsim ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr has been listed by the Shīʻah among the most ardent devotees of Imām ʻAlī ibn Ḥusayn (ع) (Jāmiʻ al-Ruwāt 2:19 #143, Qāsim ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr). His daughter, Umm Farwah (Fāṭimah) bint Qāsim, was married to Imām Muḥammad ibn ʻAlī al-Bāqir (ع), and she gave birth to Imām Jaʻfar al-Ṣādiq (ع) (Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā 5:320). As such, the Naqshbandī claim that their chain originates from Abū Bakr is rather doubtful. Of course, such chains were invented centuries after the lifetime of these men, as each Ṣūfī order needed some sort of chain to substantiate the order's validity.

naṣb, jarr, and jazm.[6916] This approaches the miraculous because human powers do not encompass such things and do not make such discoveries.

And if you look at the personal characteristics (khaṣā`iṣ al-khulqīyyah) and spiritual and religious merits, you would find him [to be] the most celebrated character.

And in terms of courage, he made people forget those before him and erased the names of those after him. His status in battle is well-known, and metaphors will be based on it till the Day of Judgment. He is the one so courageous that he never ever fled. Whoever was in his squadron never had fear. No one came out to fight him except that he was killed. He never struck [the sword] with a strike that required a second. In a tradition [it is stated that], "His strikes were performed singly." And when he called upon Mu´āwīyah for [one-to-one] combat so that the people could be dismissed upon the death of one of the two of them, ´Amr [ibn ´Āṣ] told [´Alī], "You surely have acted honorably!" Mu´āwīyah [later] said, "You never deceived me with your advice except on that day. Did you order me to fight Abū al-Ḥasan when you knew that his courage was well-established? I saw you lusting for the leadership of Syria after me." The Arabs would brag about encountering him in battle. As for those he killed, their folk would brag that [´Alī] was the one who had killed them. The sister of ´Amr ibn ´Abd Wudd recited the following eulogy:

> Had the killer of ´Amr been other than the one who killed him,
> I would have cried for him forever, for as long as I lasted,
> But his killer is one who has none similar to him,
> Whose father used to call him the most noble of the town.

...And among the realities is that every courageous [Muslim] on earth [derives his courage from] him and calls [to battle] by his name on the east and west of the earth.

And in terms of physical strength, metaphors are struck by him. Ibn Qutaybah said in al-Ma´ārif, "No one wrestled him except that he wrestled them [to the ground]." He was the one who plucked out the gate of Khaybar and a group of people gathered to put it back but they could not do so. He was the one who struck down Hubal, which was truly large, from the rooftop of the Ka´bah, striking it to the ground. He was the one who plucked out [of the earth], by his own hands, a massive rock after his entire army was unable to do so, and water appeared from under it.

And in terms of generosity and munificence (al-sakhā` wa al-jūd), his status is apparent... In regards to him was revealed, "And they feed, out of their love for Him, the indigent, the orphan, and the captive, [saying], 'We feed you for the sake of Allāh alone. No reward do we desire from you, nor thanks.'"[6917] The interpreters [of the Qur`ān] relate that he owned nothing but four dirhams, yet he gave away one dirham in the nighttime, one dirham in the daytime, one dirham openly, and one dirham secretly, so that it was revealed in regards to him, "Those who give their property at night and at day, privately and publicly—for them is their reward with their Lord. There is neither fear for them nor worry."[6918] It is related that he would water palm trees for a tribe among the Jews of Madīnah with his own hands until his hands became severely callused; he would then give his wages away in charity, while fastening a stone to his belly [to abate his own hunger]. Sha'bī said when mentioning him, "He was the most generous of people. He had qualities that Allāh loved—generosity and munificence. He never ever said, 'No,' to anyone asking [for help]."

[6916] These are four grammatical properties that determine the vowel to be placed at the end of a word—u for raf´, a for naṣb, i for jarr, and no vowel for jazm.

[6917] Qur`ān 76:8-9.

Mu'āwīyah ibn Abī Sufyān was his enemy and detester who, based on ijtihād, tarnished him and criticized him. When Miḥfan ibn Abī Miḥfan al-Ḍabbī said, "I come to you from the most niggardly of people," he replied, "Woe unto you! How dare you say that he is the most niggardly of people when, if he had a house made of gold and one made of straw, he would give away the gold before giving away the straw?"

He was the one who would sweep the treasury and then pray in it. And he was the one who would say, "O gold! O silver! Fool other than me!" And he was the one who left no inheritance when the entirety of earth was in his hands except for Syria.

And in terms of patience and forgiveness, he was the most patient with mistakes and the most forgiving of errors. The correctness of what we say in regards to him became apparent during the Battle of Jamal, when he triumphed against Marwān ibn Ḥakam, who was his greatest enemy among the people and the one who held the strongest grudge against him; yet, he let him go. And during the Battle of [Jamal] in Baṣrah, 'Abd Allāh ibn Zubayr vilified him in front of many heads [who] witnessed [this]. He said, "A reprehensible scoundrel has just come to you—'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib!" 'Alī would say, "Zubayr did not abandon us Ahl al-Bayt until 'Abd Allāh grew up." 'Alī vanquished [Ibn Zubayr] on the day of Jamal and took him as a prisoner, yet released him, saying, "Go! Let me never see you [again]!" He did nothing more than that. And he defeated Sa'īd ibn 'Āṣ[6919], his enemy, in Mecca after the Battle of Jamal and he let him go and did not say anything to him.

And you know what 'Ā'ishah did in regards to his caliphate, but when he defeated her, he treated her respectfully and he sent her to Madīnah with twenty of the women of [the tribe of] 'Abd al-Qays, placing turbans on their heads and granting them swords to carry. During the journey, she mentioned ['Alī] in ways repeating which is forbidden, for she was ashamed [of being transported by men] and said, "He has disgraced me with his men and his troops to whom he has entrusted me." When they arrived in Madīnah, the women removed their turbans and told her, "We are only women!"

He fought the people of Baṣrah who struck their swords at his face and at the faces of his children and who vilified and cursed him. When he defeated them, he lifted the sword from them, and his announcer announced in the farthest reaches of his troops, "The fleers are not to be chased. The injured are not to be finished off. The prisoners are not to be killed. Whoever puts away his weapon is safe. Whoever unites with the army of the imām is safe. Take neither their old ones nor their young ones as slaves, and do not take any of their possessions as booty." If he wished to do all this (i.e. slaughter the men, take them, their wives, and their children as slaves, and take their property as booty), he could have done so. But he avoided doing so out of mercy and forgiveness. He followed the Sunnah of the Messenger of Allāh (ص) on the day he conquered Mecca. He forgave so that the enmity could abate and so that the animosity could subside.

[6918] Qur'ān 2:274.

[6919] It appears from this statement that Sa'īd ibn al-'Āṣ was in control of Mecca during the Battle of Jamal and that he was deposed after 'Alī's (ع) victory. It is known that he remained in Mecca during the Battles of Jamal and Ṣiffīn (Istī'āb 2:184 #992, Sa'īd ibn 'Āṣ).

And when the army of Mu´āwīyah took control of the water, encircling the Euphrates river, the leaders of Syria told him, "Kill them by thirst the way they killed ´Uthmān [while he was] suffering thirst." ´Alī and his companions asked them for permission to drink from the water, but they said, "By Allāh, no! Not a single drop until you die thirsty the way [´Uthmān] ibn ´Affān died!" When he saw that they would die [of thirst], he went to his companions, and they led concentrated attacks against Mu´āwīyah's troops until they pushed them back from their positions after slaughtering them, chopping off their heads and hands, and taking control of the water from them. The companions of Mu´āwīyah fled without any water. [´Alī's] companions and Shī´ah told him, "Withhold water from them, O Commander of the Faithful, the way they withheld it from you. Do not let them drink a single drop, and kill them by the swords of thirst, and let them die [from thirst], as you have no need for war." He said, "No, by Allāh! I will not treat them according to their actions. Make space for them in part of the river in an enclosure [guarded by men carrying] swords, so that they may [take] what they need of it." So if you attribute this to patience and forgiveness, this would summarily conclude it rather well. And if you attribute this to religion and piety, has one been created like him who has acted as he did?

And in terms of jihād in the path of Allāh, it is known by his friends and foes alik that he is the chief of the holy warriors (sayyid al-mujāhidīn). Has any man other than him [truly] performed jihād? You know that the greatest of battles were the battles that the Messenger of Allāh (ص) fought, and the most significant of them in harming the pagans was the Greater Battle of Badr[6920], in which seventy of the pagans were killed. ´Alī killed half of them, and the Muslims and the angels killed the other half... This is ignoring the ones he killed in other [battles] such as Uḥud and Khandaq[6921] and others. There is no point in spending time on this subject, as it is among the absolutes of what is known, such as knowledge of the existence of Mecca and Egypt and [places] like them.

As for eloquence, he was the leader of the eloquent (imām al-fuṣaḥā`) and the chief of the articulate (sayyid al-bulaghā`). It is said regarding his speech, "It is other than the Word of the creator, yet above the word of the created." People learned speech-giving and writing from him... When Miḥfan ibn Abī Miḥfan told Mu´āwīyah, "I have come to you from the most faltering of people in speech," he replied, "Woe unto you! How is he the most faltering in speech?! By Allāh, no one has established eloquence for the Quraysh other than him." And suffices this book (i.e. the Nahj al-Balāghah) that we are writing a commentary on as proof that he has neither equal nor competition in eloquence. And it suffices you that they have not recorded from a single one of the eloquent companions a tenth or even half of a tenth of what has been recorded from him. And suffices you what Abū ʹUthmān al-Jāḥiẓ and others have written about him in the book al-Bayān wa al-Tabyīn and other books.

[6920] Note that there were two expeditions to Badr. The first was a small military expedition to the vicinity of Badr, in which the Prophet (ص) tried to capture Kurz ibn Jābir al-Fihrī, who had raided pasturing camels in Madīnah. Since Kurz escaped, there was no bloodshed (Sīrah Ibn Isḥāq 286). This has been referred to as the Lesser Battle of Badr or the First Battle of Badr. What is commonly known as the Battle of Badr in which the Muslims defeated the Meccan pagans is more specifically referred to as the Greater Battle of Badr.

[6921] Khandaq means trench and refers to the trench dug during the Battle of Aḥzāb. As such, the Battle of Aḥzāb has also been known as the Battle of the Trench (Khandaq).

As for beauty of character, pleasantness of encounter, ease of countenance, and [constancy] of smile, he is the object of metaphor to the point that even his enemies criticized him for it. ʹAmr ibn ʹĀṣ said to the people of Syria, "He is too cheerful." ʹAlī said in regards to this, "Amazing [what] Ibn al-Nābighah [says]! He makes the people of Syria think that I am a playful man, jesting and playing around with women." ʹAmr ibn ʹĀṣ got this [statement] from ʹUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, when he said to [ʹAlī] when he was considering him for the caliphate, "By Allāh! Were it not for your cheerfulness!" Truly ʹUmar sought to belittle [this merit], and ʹAmr added to [what ʹUmar had done] by turning it into [something] loathsome... This [pleasant] character has, to this day, been inherited by those who love him and who follow him as their master...

As for piety (zuhd) in this world, he was the chief of the pious (sayyid al-zuhhād)... He never ever satisfied his appetite with food. Among people, he was the one who [chose] the harshest of food and clothing...

As for worship, he was the most worshipful of people and the one who prayed and fasted the most. People learned the [recommended] nighttime prayer, supplications, and [the significance of] upholding recommended prayers from him... And when you ponder his prayers and supplications and pause [to consider] what is contained in them in terms of the glorification and praise of Allāh, as well as what they imply regarding his immense humility, his submission to His Highness, and his seeking [everything] from Him, you will know his devotion (ikhlāṣ)... ʹAlī ibn Ḥusayn, who was exemplary in worship, was asked, "How does your worship compare to that of your grandfather?" He replied, "My worship as compared to the worship of my grandfather is like the worship of my grandfather as compared to the worship of the Messenger of Allāh (ص)."

As for his recitation of the Qurʾān and his busying himself with it... there is consensus among all that he memorized the Qurʾān at the time of the Messenger of Allāh (ص), and that no one else had it memorized. He was then the first who compiled it. Everyone relates that he delayed the pledge of allegiance to Abū Bakr. The experts of tradition [among the Sunnīs] do not say what the Shīʹah say—that he delayed it out of opposition to the pledge—but rather say that it was to compile the Qurʾān. This shows that he was the first who compiled the Qurʾān... And if you refer to the books of Qurʾānic recitation, you will finds that the leaders of recitation (aʾimmah al-qurrāʾ), such as Abū ʹAmr ibn ʹAlāʾ and ʹĀṣim ibn Abī al-Najūd and others, all referred to him because they referred to Abū ʹAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sulamī, the [eminent] reciter (al-qāriʾ), and Abū ʹAbd al-Raḥmān was [ʹAlī's] pupil who learned the [recitation of] the Qurʾān from him. So this skill has originated from him as well, as have the many others mentioned before.

Jurisprudence: Fiqh, Islāmic law

Ka´b: Head

Ka´bah: The cubic building in the Masjid al-Ḥarām in Mecca towards which Muslims stand to offer prayers

Kāfir: Unbeliever

Kalālah: Those who die leaving no descendants or ascendants to inherit from them

Karbalā`: Location in Iraq where Ḥusayn ibn ´Alī (ع) and his family and followers were massacred

Kawthar: A sūrah of the Qur`ān; a fount in heaven; a reference to Fāṭimah (ع) who was the source of the Prophet's (ص) progeny

Khālif: Successor, more specifically a non-appointed successor

Khalīf: Successor, more specifically an appointed successor, but this title has been used by rulers from the time of Abū Bakr onwards and has therefore lost the sense of appointment and is generically referred to in English as caliph, referring to the Muslim rulers from Abū Bakr to the end of the Ottoman dynasty

Khalīfah: See khalīf

Khalīl: Friend

Kharāj: A variety of taxes from various sources

Khārijite: A sect that formed during the caliphate of ´Alī (ع) who believed that he had become a disbeliever by accepting arbitration in order to settle the Battle of Ṣiffīn

Khāṣif al-Na´l: Mender of shoes

Khaybar: An oasis north of Madīnah; site of a battle between the Muslims and the Jewish residents of Khaybar

Khazraj: One of the two main tribes of the Anṣār of Madīnah

Khilāfah: Successorship, caliphate

Khulafā`: Caliphs

Khums: A one-fifth tax whose proceeds belong to the Prophet (ص) and his family that applies to spoils of war, income that surpasses one's reasonable annual expenses, and a number of other specific assets

Khurāsān: The lands comprising the eastern territories of ancient Persia

Kitāb: Book

Kūfah: A city in southern Iraq

Kunyah: An assumed name including Abū (father of) or Umm (mother of) followed by another proper name, often the name of the person's child

Lāt: A pagan idol

Madā`in: Site of the ancient Persian capital along the Tigris river located in current-day central Iraq

Madhhab: School of law, religious creed, or denomination

Madīnah: A city in Ḥijāz to which the Prophet (ص) and his companions emigrated from Mecca

Mafḍūl: Less preferable

Maghrib: Sunset; evening, specifically referring to evening prayers; a region in northern Africa extending from nowadays Libya to Mauritania, but more specifically to Algeria and Morocco

Mahdī (ع): The promised savior of the Muslim nation who will obliterate injustice and tyranny, establish a true Islāmic state, and rid Islām of every innovation, restoring it to its original form as revealed to the Prophet (ص)

Mahr: Dower (i.e. property a man gives to a woman to marry her)

Makrūh: A legal term denoting an act as undesirable but not forbidden

Māl: Worldly possessions and property

Mālikī: The school of jurisprudence (madhhab) based on the teachings of Mālik ibn Anas; the followers of this madhhab

Manāf: A pagan idol

Manāt: A pagan idol

Mansūkh: Abrogated, referring to a verse or practice that is canceled by a subsequently revealed verse

Manzilah: Relation; specifically, the tradition of manzilah is the tradition in which the Prophet (ص) said that ʹAlī (ع) was in relation to him as Aaron (ع) was to Moses (ع)

Māriqīn: Heretics, specifically referring to the Khārijītes who fought ʹAlī (ع) in the Battle of Nahrawān

Marwah: A location in Mecca between which and Ṣafā pilgrims performing the ḥajj or ʹumrah pilgrimages walk back and forth seven times

Maṣāḥif: Plural of Muṣḥaf

Masīḥ: Messiah, a title of Jesus (ع)

Masjid: Mosque

Masjid al-Aqṣā: A mosque in Jerusalem to which the Prophet (ص) traveled by night from the Masjid al-Ḥarām and from which he ascended to the seventh heaven during the miʹrāj

Masjid al-Ḥarām: The mosque in Mecca in which the Kaʹbah is situated

Masjid al-Nabī: The Prophet's (ص) Mosque in Madīnah

Maʹṣūm: Protected from sin, sinless, infallible

Matrūk: Abandoned, particularly referring to a narrator of tradition

Mawlā: Master, guardian, custodian, slave, freedman. Refer to Chapter 34 for a discussion of the meaning of mawlā with respect to ʹAlī (ع). Mawlā in early Islām often referred to a person's freedman, and later referred to non-Arab clients who enjoyed a system of patronage with prominent Arabs.

Mecca: The city in which the Prophet (ص) was born and where he resided until his emigration to Madīnah

Miḥrāb: The location in which the leader of prayer stands to offer prayers, sometimes translated into English as pulpit

Minā: A location east of Mecca where part of the ḥajj rituals are performed

Minbar: Pulpit of a mosque where sermons are delivered

Miʹrāj: The ascension of the Prophet (ص) to the seventh heaven

Muʹadhdhin: The one who makes the call to prayer

Mubāḥ: A legal term denoting an act's permissibility in the absence of any recommendation for or against performing the act

Mubāhalah: The act of invoking a curse, specifically when the Prophet (ص) invited his Ahl al-Bayt and the Christians of Najrān to invoke mutual curses upon one another so that Allāh would curse those not following the truth

Muḥaddith: (pl. muḥaddithīn) Relayers and/or experts of tradition

Muhājirīn: Emigrants, referring to the Muslims of Mecca who emigrated with the Prophet (ص) to Madīnah

Muḥkam: Solid verses of the Qurʹān based on which one acts, in contrast to mutashābih verses which serve as examples or similitudes or whose exact practical implications are not readily apparent or that have been abrogated

Mujtahid : One who performs ijtihād

Mukhlaṣ: Sincere

Munqaṭiʹ: A tradition lacking an intermediary source

Murjiʹah: Refers to those who either relegated deeds to being of secondary importance with respect to beliefs, or who relegated ʹAlī (ع) to being of lesser virtue than Abū Bakr, ʹUmar, and ʹUthmān

Mursal: A tradition lacking an intermediary source, most specifically lacking the companion who related the tradition from the Prophet (ص)

Muʹmin: (pl. muʹminīn) believers

Muṣḥaf: Scroll, book; copy of the Qur`ān

Mushrik: Polytheist, pagan; one who ascribes partners to Allāh

Mustaḥabb: A legal term denoting an act to be recommended but not mandatory

Mu`tah, Battle of: A battle during the Prophet's (ص) lifetime against the Byzantines and allied Arab tribes

Mut´ah: Marriage contracted for a fixed term of time; a form of pilgrimage in which the ´umrah is performed followed by the ḥajj

Mutawātir: A tradition that has so many independent chains of transmission as to leave little doubt regarding its veracity

Mu´tazilī: One of the two Sunnī schools of theology that eventually became more or less defunct

Muttaqīn: Pious

Nabī: Prophet

Naḍr: A religious promise to carry out a good deed if one's wish comes true

Nahrawān: Location of the battle between ´Alī (ع) and the Khārijītes

Najāshī: Negus, the title of the kings of Abyssinia

Najd: The central region of the Arabian Peninsula

Najrān: A city in historical Yemen, currently in Saudi Arabia near the border of Yemen

Nākithīn: Breakers of vows, referring specifically to Ṭalḥah and Zubayr who broke their pledge of allegiance with ´Alī (ع) and started the Battle of Jamal

Naṣb: The act of despising and/or cursing ´Alī and the Ahl al-Bayt (ع)

Nāṣibī: Those who perform naṣb—i.e. despise and/or curse ´Alī and the Ahl al-Bayt (ع)

Nāsikh: Abrogating, referring to a verse that cancels a previously revealed one

Naskh: Abrogation of a previously revealed verse by a new one

Naṣṣ: Specific designation, particularly the specific designation of a prophet or imām by Allāh

Na´thal: A derogatory reference to ´Uthmān based on his resemblance to a man named Na´thal from Egypt who bore a similar long beard

Niḥlah: Gift, present

Nikāḥ: Marriage

Occultation: See Ghaybah

Ottoman: A Turkish dynasty claiming the caliphate after the ´Abbāsīds

People of the Book: Followers of previously revealed although later corrupted divine Books, most specifically the Christians and Jews

People of the Cloak: Muḥammad (ص), ´Alī, Fāṭimah, Ḥasan, and Ḥusayn (ع) who were enclosed in the Prophet's (ص) cloak when the verse of purification was revealed

Prophet's Mosque: The Masjid al-Nabī in Madīnah

Qaḍā`: Divine decree

Qadar: Divine measure, limitations, potential

Qāḍī: Judge

Qādisīyyah: Location in Iraq where the main battle in which the Muslims defeated the Persians took place

Qadr, Night of: Laylah al-Qadr (Night of Power, Night of [Divine] Decree, Night of [Divine] Measures) is a night in the month of Ramaḍān with particular spiritual significance and in which the Qur`ān was revealed

Qā`im: The one who rises, a title of Imām Mahdī (ع)

**Qāri`:** Reciter of the Qur`ān

Qasīm: Separator

Qāsiṭīn: Unjust oppressors, deviants; refers specifically to Mu´āwīyah and his followers who fought ´Alī (ع) in the Battle of Ṣiffīn

Qiblah: Direction to which prayers are offered (for Muslims, the qiblah is the Masjid al-Ḥarām)

Qīyās: Reasoning by analogy

Qunūt: Performing a supplication during ṣalāt during which the hands are placed in front of the face

Qur`ān: The Book of Allāh revealed to Muḥammad (ص)

Quraysh: The dominant tribe of Mecca at the onset of Islām

Qurayshī: A member of the tribe of Quraysh

**Qurrā`:** Reciters of the Qur`ān

Rabadhah: A desolate land to which Abū Dharr was exiled by ´Uthmān

Rāfiḍī, Rāfiḍīte: A term used for the Shī´ah, typically with a derogatory connotation

Raj´ah: Return to earthly life after death

Rajm: Stoning to death, typically as punishment for adultery

Rak´ah: One unit of prayer

Ramaḍān: Ninth month of the Islāmic calendar, which is the month of fasting

Rasūl: Messenger

Rasūl Allāh: Messenger of Allāh, usually referring specifically to Muḥammad (ص)

Ra`y: Personal opinion

Rayy: A city in Iran near modern-day Tehran

Riddah wars: The battles in which Abū Bakr fought those who had left Islām as well as the Muslims who would not submit to his rule

Riḍwān, Pledge of: The pledge of allegiance to the Prophet (ص) during the peace of Ḥudaybīyyah

Riḍwān, Tree of: Tree under which the companions pledged allegiance to the Prophet (ص) during the peace of Ḥudaybīyyah

Rijāl: People; narrators of a tradition; ´ilm al-rijāl is the science of biography, particularly as it pertains to the narrators of traditions

Rukū´: The act of bending during prayers

Ṣadaqah: Charity

Ṣādiqīn: The truthful

Ṣafā: A location in Mecca between which and Marwah pilgrims performing the ḥajj or ´umrah pilgrimages walk back and forth seven times

Ṣāḥib: Companion, associate; owner, possessor

Ṣaḥīfah: Scroll, paper, manuscript, text

Ṣaḥīḥ: Authentic, referring to a tradition whose chain of transmitters is strong; a compilation of authentic traditions, most specifically Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī and Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim

Ṣaḥīḥayn: The two most authentic works of Sunnī traditions, specifically Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī and Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim

Sajdah: Prostration

Sakīnah: Serenity, tranquility

Salaf: The early generations of Islām, particularly the companions and the first, second, and perhaps third generations after them

Salafi: A branch of or tendency within Sunnīsm that believes that the early generations of Islām were exemplary and beyond reproach; sometimes used as a more glorified phrase for the term Wahhābī

Salām: Greeting, peace; see taslīm

Ṣalāt: Formal mandatory or recommended prayers; may also be used to mean ṣalawāt

Ṣalawāt: The act of invoking Allāh's blessings on the Prophet (ص) and his family (ع)

Ṣāliḥ : (plural ṣāliḥīn) Sincere, righteous; the name of a prophet

Saqīfah of Banū Sā´idah: The roofed enclosure where Abū Bakr was selected as caliph

Shāfi´ī: Founder of a Sunnī school of jurisprudence; the school of jurisprudence (madhhab) based on the teachings of Shāfi´ī; the followers of this madhhab

Shahādah: Testimony in the oneness of Allāh and the prophecy of Muḥammad (ص)

Shahādatayn: Testimony in the oneness of Allāh and the prophecy of Muḥammad (ص)

Shām: Syria, referring to what today comprises Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, and Jordan
Sharḥ: A work of commentary
Sharī´ah: Code of divine laws and ordinances
Shaykh: Leader, elder, eminent scholar
Shī´ah: Devotee, follower; Muslims who believe that ´Alī (ع) was appointed as the rightful imām after the Prophet (ص) and as his designated khalīf (successor)
Shūrā: Consultative council, specifically the one ´Umar set up to select ´Uthmān as the caliph after him
Ṣiddīq: Truthful; a title of ´Alī (ع) that has been attributed to Abū Bakr
Ṣiddīqah: Truthful woman
Ṣiddīqūn: The truthful
Ṣidq: Truth
Ṣiffīn, Battle of: The battle between Mu´āwīyah and ´Alī (ع)
Ṣiḥāḥ sittah: A reference to the six Sunnī compilations of traditions that are considered most authentic, including those of Bukhārī, Muslim, Abū Dāwūd, Ibn Mājah, Nasā`ī, and Tirmidhī
Sīrah: Conduct, way of life; a work of biography devoted to the life of Muḥammad (ص)
Ṣirāṭ: Path; a bridge leading over hell into heaven
Ṣubḥ: Morning; early morning prayers
Subḥān: Word of praise used to glorify Allāh; more literally, "Subḥān Allāh" means "Allāh is free [of every wrong description]"
Successors: Tābi´īn, the generation after the Prophet's (ص) companions, or the companions of the companions
Ṣufī: Muslim mystics
Sunḥ: Location of Abū Bakr's house in the outskirts of Madīnah
Sunnah: The traditions of the Prophet, including his words and acts
Sunnī: The sect comprising the majority of Muslims who believe that the Prophet (ص) left no instructions regarding the leadership of the nation after his death
Sūrah: A chapter of the Qur`ān
Tābi´īn: The successors, i.e. the companions of the Prophet's (ص) companions
Tabūk: A location in modern day northwestern Saudi Arabia, which corresponds to the southern border of ancient Shām and the northwestern Arabian Peninsula
Tabūk, Battle of: One of the wars of the Prophet (ص) in which he left ´Alī (ع) in Madīnah, specifically appointing him as his successor (khalīf)
Tadlīs: Corruption of the chain of transmission of a tradition (i.e. substituting the actual source of a tradition with another generally more reliable source)
Tafḍīl al-mafḍūl: Preferring the less preferable
Tafsīr: Commentary, specifically on the Qur`ān
Tafwīḍ: The state in which affairs are relegated to humans with no divine intervention
Ṭāghūt: A rebel, one who rises up against Allāh's decrees; an idol
Taḥrīf: Deliberate textual corruption
Taḥrīm: Forbiddance; the verses of taḥrīm are the verses in which the Prophet (ص) was made aware of the efforts of ´Ā`ishah and Ḥafṣah to make him forbid what was lawful to him
Ṭā`if: A city in Ḥijāz that is situated to the southeast of Mecca
Ṭā`ir: Bird
Takbīr: Proclamation that Allāh is greater ("Allāhu Akbar")
Tamattu´: Synonymous with mut´ah; a marriage contracted for a fixed term of time; a form of pilgrimage in which the ´umrah is performed followed by the ḥajj
Tanzīl: Revelation; overt wording, particularly of the Qur`ān as it was revealed
Taqdīr: A measure (qadar) set our by Allāh
Taqīyyah: Dissimulation, the act of hiding one's true beliefs out of dire necessity

Taqwā: Piety

Tarāwīḥ: Recommended prayers offered during the month of Ramaḍān

Tārīkh: History

Tashahhud: Bearing witness to the oneness of Allāh and the prophecy of Muḥammad (ص); portion of prayer bearing this testimony that is recited after the second rak´ah as well as prior to the taslīm of every prayer

Taslīm: The final act ending prayers in which salutations of peace (salāms) are sent

Tathwīb: Adding the phrase, "prayer is better than sleep," to the Adhān

Ṭawāf: Circumambulation, specifically walking around the Ka´bah during the ḥajj and ´umrah

Tawātur: The state of being mutawātir, i.e. a tradition having so many independent chains of transmission as to leave little doubt regarding its authenticity

Tawbah: Repentance; the title of the ninth sūrah of the Qur`ān

Ta`wīl: Inner meaning, interpretation

Tawrāt: The Book of Moses (ع)

Tayammum: Rubbing one's face and hands with clean earth in the absence of water as a substitute for wuḍū` and ghusl

Thamūd: The tribe of the Prophet Ṣāliḥ (ع)

Thaqalayn: Two weighty items, specifically the Book of Allāh and the Ahl al-Bayt of the Prophet (ص), that the Prophet (ص) left his nation to guide them till the Day of Judgment

Thawāb: Reward

Thiqah: Trustworthy; someone whose traditions are trusted

Thuqāt: Plural of thiqah

Tradition: See ḥadīth and sunnah

Trustworthy: Thiqah, someone whose traditions are trusted

Ṭūbā: A tree in paradise

Ṭulaqā`: Divorcees; the Meccan pagans who were spared from death upon accepting Islām upon the conquest of Mecca

Turāb: Dirt; Abū Turāb was a title of ´Alī (ع) that was used disparagingly by the Umayyads

Twelver Shī´ah: Shī´ah Ithnā ´Asharīyyah, the followers of the one guided sect who believe in the imāmate of the twelve imāms of the Ahl al-Bayt, from ´Alī (ع) to Imām Mahdī (ع)

´Udūl: Plural of ´ādil (just)

Uḥud: A mountain near Madīnah where a major battle against the pagans of Mecca took place during the Prophet's (ص) lifetime

´Ulamā`: Scholars

Umayyads: Descendants of Umayyah who formed the first dynasty to rule Islām

Ummah: Nation

´Umrah: The lesser pilgrimage to the Masjid al-Ḥarām

Unconnected: Mursal or munqaṭi´, referring to traditions lacking intermediary sources in their chains of transmission

´Uzzā: A pagan idol

Verse: Āyah of the Qur`ān (each sūrah or chapter is divided into numerous phrase-, sentence-, or paragraph-like verses)

Wahhābī: The followers of Muḥammad ibn ´Abd al-Wahhāb who have introduced many innovations in their brand of Islām

Wājib: Mandatory

Wakīl: Agent

Walī: Master, guardian, custodian, slave (see chapter 31 for a discussion of the definition of walī)

Wārith: Inheritor, heir
Waṣī: Agent, executor, executor of will
Wazīr: Vizier
Wilāyah: Stage of being or having adopted a walī or mawlā
Witr: Recommended late night prayer
Wuḍū`: An act of ritual purity performed prior to prayer
Yamāmah: A part of the Najd plateau in the Arabian Peninsula
Yamāmah, Battle of: The battle between Abū Bakr's forces and the false prophet Musaylimah
Yathrib: The name of the city of Madīnah prior to the emigration of the Prophet (ص) from Mecca to Madīnah
Zakāt: Charity
Zamzam: A well in the Masjid al-Ḥarām
Ẓann: Conjecture, guesswork
Zaydī, Zaydīyyah: Those who believe in the imāmate of Zayd ibn ʿAlī ibn Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib
Zindīq: Heretics or followers of other creeds who often sought to undermine Islāmic teachings
Zuhd: Piety
Ẓuhr: Noon, referring specifically to the noontime prayers
Ẓulm: Oppression

Appendix B
Brief Description of Commonly Cited Individuals

Aaron (ع): Hārūn (ع), a prophet of Allāh and the brother of Moses (ع)

´Abbās ibn ´Abd al-Muṯṯalib: Uncle of the Prophet (ص) and ´Alī (ع)

´Abd Allāh ibn ´Abbās: Cousin of the Prophet (ص) and ´Alī (ع) and a leading expert in Islāmic law and Qur`ānic commentary among the companions

´Abd Allāh ibn Abī Sarḥ: See ´Abd Allāh ibn Sa´d ibn Abī Sarḥ

´Abd Allāh ibn ´Āmir: ´Uthmān's maternal cousin and tribesman from the Banū ´Abd Shams whom he appointed as governor of Baṣrah

´Abd Allāh ibn ´Amr ibn ´Āṣ: A companion who was purportedly the most pious of those in the camp of Mu´āwīyah

´Abd Allāh ibn Mas´ūd: Prominent companion of the Prophet (ص)

´Abd Allāh ibn Sa´d ibn Abī Sarḥ: ´Uthmān's milk-brother with a history of apostasy whom the Prophet (ص) had ordered to be killed after the conquest of Mecca who was appointed by ´Uthmān as the governor of Egypt

´Abd Allāh ibn Ubayy ibn Salūl: Chief hypocrite of Madīnah during the lifetime of the Prophet (ص)

´Abd Allāh ibn ´Umar: Companion of the Prophet (ص) and son of the second caliph

´Abd Allāh ibn Zubayr: Son of Zubayr ibn ´Awwām who played an active role in the Battle of Jamal and who later claimed the caliphate after the martyrdom of Ḥusayn (ع)

´Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān: Umayyad caliph who ruled after Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam

´Abd Manāf: Ancestor of the Prophet (ص)

´Abd al-Muṯṯalib: Grandfather of the Prophet (ص) and ´Alī (ع)

´Abd al-Raḥmān ibn ´Awf: A companion of the Prophet (ص) and the one who selected ´Uthmān as the caliph in the Shūrā

Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Muljam: The killer of ´Alī (ع)

´Abd al-Razzāq: Early Sunnī scholar of ḥadīth

Abraham (ع): Ibrāhīm (ع), a prophet of Allāh

Abū al-´Abbās al-Saffāḥ: The first ´Abbāsīd caliph

Abū al-´Āṣ: One of the sons of Umayyah and the forefather of a main branch of the Umayyads, as he was the father of ´Affān and Ḥakam and therefore the grandfather of Marwān and ´Uthmān

Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī: A companion of the Prophet (ص)

Abū Bakr: The first Sunnī caliph

Abū Dardā`: A companion of the Prophet (ص)

Abū Dāwūd: Sunnī scholar of ḥadīth and author of one of the ṣiḥāḥ sittah

Abū Dharr: Prominent companion of the Prophet (ص) and devoted Shī´ah of ´Alī (ع)

Abū al-Faṣīl: Derogatory name for Abū Bakr

Abū Ḥanīfah: Nu´mān ibn Thābit, the founder of the Ḥanafī school of Sunnī jurisprudence

Abū al-Ḥasan: ´Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib (ع)

Abū al-Haytham ibn Tayyihān: A companion of the Prophet (ص)
Abū Hurayrah: The companion of the Prophet (ص) who has narrated more Sunnī traditions from him than any of his other companions
Abū Ja'far al-Bāqir: Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, the fifth Shī'ah imām
Abū Ja'far al-Iskāfī: A Mu'tazilī Sunnī scholar
Abū Jahl: A leader of the pagans and archenemy of the Muslims in Mecca who was killed during the Battle of Badr
Abū Lahab: A pagan uncle of the Prophet (ص) who was promised the fire by the Qur`ān
Abū Lu`lu`ah: The Persian Christian slave of Mughīrah ibn Shu'bah who assassinated 'Umar
Abū Mu'ayṭ: A grandson of Umayyah and the forefather of a branch of the Umayyad clan that included Walīd ibn 'Uqbah ibn Abī Mu'ayṭ
Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī: The governor of Kūfah who was deposed by 'Alī (ع) and who later was forced upon 'Alī (ع) as his arbitrator in the aftermath of the Battle of Ṣiffīn
Abū Muslim al-Khurāsānī: A leader of the revolt against the Umayyad dynasty who empowered the 'Abbāsīds and who was later killed by the 'Abbāsīd caliph Manṣūr
Abū al-Qāsim: A kunyah of the Prophet (ص)
Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī: A companion of the Prophet (ص)
Abū Sufyān ibn Ḥarb: The leader of the Meccan pagans during the Battle of Badr and subsequent battles and the father of Mu'āwīyah
Abū Ṭālib: The father of 'Alī (ع)
Abū Turāb: A title for 'Alī (ع)
Abū 'Ubaydah ibn al-Jarrāḥ: A companion of the Prophet (ص) and one of the five who initially pledged allegiance to Abū Bakr in the Saqīfah
Adam (ع): Ādam, the first man and prophet of Allāh
Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal: Founder of the Ḥanbalī school of Sunnī jurisprudence and prominent Sunnī expert on traditions
Aḥnaf ibn Qays: A Muslim military commander who had led successive battles in Persia, and who later helped ensure that a number of tribes who were set to fight against 'Alī (ع) in the Battle of Jamal would withdraw from the battle
'Ā`ishah bint Abī Bakr: A wife of the Prophet (ص), a daughter of Abū Bakr, and a leader of the Battle of Jamal against 'Alī (ع)
'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib (ع): Son-in law and cousin of the Prophet (ص) and the designate first imām after him
'Alī ibn Ḥusayn (ع): The fourth Shī'ah imām and the sole adult male survivor of t Battle of Karbalā`
Ālūsī: Sunnī commentator on the Qur`ān
Amīnī, 'Allāmah: A Shī'ah scholar
'Ammār ibn Yāsir: A prominent companion of the Prophet (ص) and a devoted Shī'ah of 'Alī (ع)
'Amr ibn 'Abd Wudd: A famous pagan fighter killed by 'Alī (ع) in the Battle of Aḥzāb
'Amr ibn 'Āṣ: A companion of the Prophet (ص) and enemy of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) who served as 'Umar and Mu'āwīyah's governor in Egypt
'Amr ibn Bakr: A Khārijīte who attempted to assassinate 'Amr ibn 'Āṣ but killed the wrong person instead
Amram: English version of 'Imrān, the father of Moses and Aaron (ع)
Anas ibn Mālik: A companion of the Prophet (ص)
'Aqīl ibn Abī Ṭālib: A brother of 'Alī (ع)
'Āṣ ibn Wā`il: A Meccan pagan and the purported father of 'Amr ibn 'Āṣ in regards to whom Sūrah Kawthar was revealed
Ash'arī: The founder of the Ash'arī school of Sunnī theology

Ash´ath ibn Qays al-Kindī: A companion who left Islām upon the Prophet's (ص) death who was spared death by Abū Bakr because of his engagement or marriage to Abū Bakr's sister; he later became a chief hypocrite in ´Alī's (ع) army

Ashtar: See Mālik al-Ashtar

Āsīyah bint Muzāḥim: The wife of Pharaoh and one of the best four women of all time

´Askarī, ´Allāmah: A Shī´ah scholar

Asmā` bint Abī Bakr: Daughter of Abū Bakr, wife of Zubayr, and mother of ´Abd Allāh ibn Zubayr

**Asmā` bint Nu´mān:** A wife of the Prophet whose marriage was not consummated due to the treachery of ´Ā`ishah

Asmā` bint ´Umays: Wife of Ja´far ibn Abī Ṭālib and later of Abū Bakr, who married ´Alī (ع) upon the death of Abū Bakr; she was the mother of ´Abd Allāh ibn Ja´far and Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr, who along with her were among the prominent Shī´ah

´Aṭā`: A prominent member of the tābi´īn (successors)

Āzar: A pagan who was a father figure to Abraham (ع)

Baghawī: A Sunnī commentator on the Qur`ān

Baghdādī, Khaṭīb: A prominent Sunnī scholar and expert on ´ilm al-rijāl

Baḥīrā: The Christian monk who recognized the prophecy of Muḥammad (ص) when he was a child

Balādhurī: A prominent Sunnī scholar, historian, and biographer

Barā` ibn ´Āzib: A companion of the Prophet (ص)

Bashīr ibn Sa´d: A companion from among the Khazraj who was among the five who pledged allegiance to Abū Bakr at the Saqīfah

Bayḍāwī: A prominent Sunnī commentator on the Qur`ān

Bayhaqī: A prominent Sunnī scholar

Bilāl: A prominent companion of the Prophet (ص) and devoted Shī´ah of ´Alī (ع) who was an Abyssinian slave who was bought and freed by Abū Bakr

Bukhārī: A Sunnī scholar of ḥadīth and ´ilm al-rijāl and the author of a number of works, including Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, which is considered the best of the ṣiḥāḥ sittah

Burak ibn ´Abd Allāh: A Khārijīte who attempted to kill Mu´āwīyah

Buraydah al-Aslamī: A companion of the Prophet (ص)

Cain: Qābīl, the son of Adam (ع) who killed his brother

Dārquṭnī: A Sunnī scholar

David (ع): Dāvūd (ع), a prophet of Allāh

Dhahabī: A prominent Sunnī scholar

Dhū al-Khuwayṣirah: A person from the Banū Tamīm who insulted the Prophet (ص) and from whose progeny the Prophet (ص) predicted some of the Khārijītes would rise

Dhū al-Nūrayn: The possessor of two lights, a title the Sunnīs have bestowed on ´Uthmān as he purportedly married two of the Prophet's (ص) daughters, even though the Shī´ah believe they were the Prophet's (ص) adoptive not biological daughters

Faḍl ibn ´Abbās: A paternal cousin of the Prophet (ص) and ´Alī (ع)

Fāṭimah (ع): Daughter of the Prophet (ص) and wife of ´Alī (ع) and the chief of the women of paradise

Fāṭimah bint Asad: The mother of ´Alī (ع)

Fāṭimah bint Ḥasan: The daughter of Ḥasan ibn ´Alī (ع), wife of ´Alī ibn Ḥusayn Zayn al-´Ābidīn (ع), and the mother of Muḥammad al-Bāqir (ع), the fifth Shī´ah imām

Fiḍḍah: Servant of Fāṭimah and ´Alī (ع)

Fujā`ah al-Sulamī: An insurgent who was burned to death by Abū Bakr

Gabriel (ع): Jibrīl or Jibra`īl (ع), an archangel who brought revelation to the Prophet (ص)

Habbār ibn Aswad: A pagan who threatened Zaynab, the adoptive daughter of the Prophet (ص), during her emigration from Mecca to Madīnah, causing her to have a miscarriage; the Prophet (ص) declared his blood and the blood of his accomplice lawful

Ḥafṣah bint ʿUmar: A wife of the Prophet (ص) and daughter of ʿUmar

Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf: A military commander and governor of the Umayyad caliphs ʿAbd al-Malik and Walīd who defeated Ibn Zubayr, humiliated the companions of the Prophet (ص), and tortured and killed the Shīʿah of Iraq

Ḥakam ibn Abī al-ʿĀṣ: A member of the Banū Umayyah who was exiled by the Prophet (ص) to Ṭāʾif but who was later returned to Madīnah by ʿUthmān and rewarded generously

Ḥākim: Prominent Sunnī expert on prophetic traditions

Ḥalabī: A Sunnī historian

Hālah: The sister of Khadījah

Ḥamnah bint Jaḥsh: The wife of Ṭalḥah and the mother of Muḥammad ibn Ṭalḥah who was whipped eighty times for spreading slander against ʿĀʾishah

Ḥamzah ibn ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib: The uncle of the Prophet (ص) who was martyred at Uḥud

Ḥanbal: See Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal

Hāniʾ ibn ʿUrwah al-Murādī: A Kūfan who housed Muslin ibn ʿAqīl and who was killed as a result

Hārūn al-Rashīd: One of the ʿAbbāsīd caliphs

Ḥasakānī: Compiler of Shawāhid al-Tanzīl, a work devoted to Sunnī traditions regarding verses of the Qurʾān revealed about ʿAlī and the Ahl al-Bayt (ع)

Ḥasan (ع): Grandson of the Prophet (ص), son of ʿAlī and Fāṭimah (ع), the second Shīʿah imām and the chief of the young men of paradise

Ḥasan al-Baṣrī: A prominent member of the successors (tābiʿīn)

Hāshim: The great grandfather of the Prophet (ص) and ʿAlī (ع)

Ḥassān ibn Thābit: A companion of the Prophet (ص) and a prominent poet

Haykal: A Sunnī historian

Haythamī: A prominent Sunnī expert on ḥadīth

Hind bint ʿUtbah: The wife of Abū Sufyān and mother of Muʿāwīyah who chewed the liver of Ḥamzah ibn ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib after the Battle of Uḥud

Ḥubāb ibn Mundhir: A companion of the Prophet (ص) from among the Khazraj tribe of the Anṣār

Hūd (ع): The prophet to the ʿĀd people

Ḥudhayfah ibn Yamān: A companion of the Prophet (ص) who knew the identities of the hypocrites who tried to assassinate the Prophet (ص) on the mountain pass on his return from Tabūk

Ḥukaym ibn Jabalah: The leader of the Baṣrans who joined the insurrection against ʿUthmān; he was killed by the Companions of the Camel when they occupied Baṣrah

Hurmuzān: A Persian Muslim convert who was assassinated by ʿUbayd Allāh ibn ʿUmar

Ḥurr ibn Yazīd al-Tamīmī: An Umayyad military commander who abandoned his army and joined Ḥusayn (ع) at Karbalāʾ and was martyred there

Ḥusayn (ع): Grandson of the Prophet (ص), son of ʿAlī and Fāṭimah (ع), the third Shīʿah imām, and the chief of the young men of paradise

Iblīs: Satan

Ibn ʿAbbās: See ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās

Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih: A prominent Sunnī scholar

Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd: A Sunnī Muʿtazilī scholar who wrote a commentary on the Nahj al-Balāghah, which is a compilation of ʿAlī's (ع) sermons, letters, and other words

Ibn Abī Sarḥ: See ʿAbd Allāh ibn Saʿd ibn Abī Sarḥ

Ibn ´Asākir: A prominent Sunnī scholar

Ibn al-Ash´ath: ´Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad ibn Ash´ath ibn Qays, a Khārijīte leader

Ibn Athīr: A prominent Sunnī historian, biographer, and scholar

Ibn Ḥajar al-´Asqalānī: A prominent Sunnī scholar

Ibn al-Ḥanafīyyah: See Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafīyyah

Ibn Ḥanbal: See Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal

Ibn Ḥazm: A prominent Sunnī scholar

Ibn Hishām: A prominent Sunnī historian

Ibn Isḥāq: A prominent early Islāmic historian whose work on the Prophet's (ص) biography (sīrah) laid the foundation for subsequent historical works, most notably Ibn Hishām's

Ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī: A prominent Sunnī scholar, historian, and commentator on the Qur`ān

Ibn al-Jawzī: A prominent Sunnī scholar

Ibn Jurmūz: The killer of Zubayr

Ibn Kathīr: A prominent Sunnī historian and commentator on the Qur`ān:

Ibn Ma´īn: A prominent Sunnī scholar, mostly cited for his expertise in narrator authentication (´ilm al-rijāl)

Ibn Mājah: A prominent Sunnī scholar of ḥadīth and author of one of the ṣiḥāḥ sittah

Ibn Mas´ūd: See ´Abd Allāh ibn Mas´ūd

Ibn Muljam: The killer of ´Alī (ع)

Ibn al-Nābighah: A derogatory reference to ´Amr ibn ´Āṣ, as his mother was known as Nābighah

Ibn Qutaybah al-Dīnawarī: A prominent Sunnī scholar and historian

Ibn Saba`: A fictitious figure invented by Sayf to make palatable to the Sunnīs many of the events in early Islāmic history

Ibn Sa´d: A prominent Sunnī scholar

Ibn Salūl: See ´Abd Allāh ibn Ubayy ibn Salūl

Ibn Sīrīn: A prominent member of the tābi´īn (successors)

Ibn Sumayyah: ´Ammār ibn Yāsir, whose mother was Sumayyah; this reference to him was used either in endearing or insulting contexts

Ibn Taymīyyah: A fiercely anti-Shī´ah Sunnī scholar whose beliefs laid the foundation for later Salafī and Wahhābī thought

Ibn ´Umar: See ´Abd Allāh ibn ´Umar

Ibn Zīyād: See ´Ubayd Allāh ibn Zīyād

Ibn Zubayr: See ´Abd Allāh ibn Zubayr

Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad (ص): The son of the Prophet (ص) born to Mārīyah who died during his early childhood

´Ikrimah: Freedman of Ibn ´Abbās who appended many lies to him

´Imrān: The father of Moses and Aaron (ع)

Isaac (ع): Isḥāq (ع), the son of Abraham (ع) and a prophet of Allāh

Ishmael (ع): Ismā´īl (ع), the son of Abraham (ع) and a prophet of Allāh

Ismā´īl ibn Ja´far: The son of the sixth Shī´ah imām (ع) who died during his father's lifetime; the Ismā´īlīs believe that later imāms are all descended from him

Israfel (ع): Isrāfīl (ع), an archangel

Jābir ibn ´Abd Allāh al-Anṣārī: A prominent companion of the Prophet (ص) and Shī´ah of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع)

Jacob (ع): Ya´qūb (ع), a prophet of Allāh

Ja´dah bint Ash´ath ibn Qays: The wife of al-Ḥasan (ع) who poisoned him

Ja´far ibn Abī Ṭālib: : Brother of ´Alī (ع) who was martyred in the Battle of Mu`tah

Ja´far al-Ṣādiq (ع): The sixth Shī´ah imām

Jesus (ع): ´Īsā (ع), a prophet of Allāh
Jonah (ع): Yūnus (ع), a prophet of Allāh
Joseph (ع): Yūsuf (ع), a prophet of Allāh
Juwayrīyah: A wife of the Prophet (ص)
Ka´b al-Aḥbār: A rabbinical leader who became Muslim during the caliphate of ´Umar and who rose to prominence, adding many Jewish concepts to Islām, particularly through his protégé Abū Hurayrah
Khadījah bint Khuwaylid: First and favorite wife of the Prophet (ص) and the mother of Fāṭimah (ع) who is among the four best women of all time
Khaḍir (ع): A prophet of Allāh who has lived a lengthy time in occultation (ghaybah)
Khālid ibn Walīd: A companion of the Prophet (ص) and close ally of Abū Bakr who assassinated Sa´d ibn ´Ubādah and who plotted to assassinate ´Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib (ع)
Khuzaymah ibn Thābit: Leading companion of the Prophet (ص) whose testimony was considered equal to that of two people; he died during the Battle of Ṣiffīn fighting on the side of ´Alī (ع)
Kumayl ibn Zīyād: One of the devoted Shī´ah of ´Alī (ع)
Lot (ع): Lūṭ (ع), a prophet of Allāh
Mahdī (ع): The promised savior of the Muslim nation who will obliterate injustice and tyranny, establish a true Islāmic state, and rid Islām of every innovation, restoring it to its original form as revealed to the Prophet (ص)
Mahdī: One of the ´Abbāsīd caliphs
Majlisī: A Shī´ah scholar
Mālik ibn Anas: Founder of the Mālikī school of Sunnī jurisprudence and expert on Sunnī traditions
Mālik al-Ashtar: Leading military commander of ´Alī (ع) and a devoted Shī´ah of his
Mālik ibn Nuwayrah: A Muslim who was murdered by Khālid ibn Walīd during Abū Bakr's caliphate and with whose wife Khālid ibn Walīd committed adultery the night of his murder
Ma`mūn: One of the ´Abbāsīd caliphs
Manṣūr: One of the ´Abbāsīd caliphs
Marḥab: Military leader of the Jews of Khaybar who was killed on the battlefield by ´A (ع)
Mārīyah: A wife of the Prophet (ص)
Marwān ibn Ḥakam: ´Uthmān's Umayyad cousin and close confidant in running th Islāmic state, who subsequently served as governor of Madīnah under Mu´āwīyah, and eventually became an Umayyad caliph
Mary (ع): Maryam (ع), the mother of Jesus (ع) and one of the four best women of all time
Mas´ūdī: A prominent Islāmic historian and geographer
Māwardī: A prominent Sunnī scholar
Maymūnah: A wife of the Prophet (ص)
Michael (ع): Mīkā`īl (ع), an archangel
Miqdād ibn Aswad: Leading companion of the Prophet (ص) and Shī´ah of ´Alī (ع)
Moses (ع): Mūsā (ع), a prophet of Allāh
Mu´ādh ibn Jabal: A companion of the Prophet (ص) and close associate of the caliph ´Umar
Mu´āwīyah ibn Abī Sufyān: Governor of Syria under ´Umar and ´Uthmān who refused to relinquish his post upon ´Alī's (ع) ascension to the caliphate, choosing to fight ´Alī and Ḥasan (ع) in battle and finally consolidating power for himself, firmly establishing the Umayyad caliphate
Mu´āwīyah ibn Ḥudayj: A commander in the army of Mu´āwīyah who martyred Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr in Egypt

Mu´āwīyah ibn Yazīd: An Umayyad caliph who ruled briefly after the death of Yazīd ibn Mu´āwīyah

Mughīrah ibn Shu´bah: A companion of the Prophet (ص) and enemy of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) who was ´Umar's governor in Başrah and Kūfah and later Mu´āwīyah's governor in Kūfah; ´Umar intimidated the witnesses to acquit Mughīrah of his act of adultery that was witnessed by four men

Muḥammad ibn ´Abd Allāh (ص): The prophet of Islām and the last prophet of Allāh

Muḥammad ibn ´Abd al-Wahhāb: The founder of the Wahhābī sect of Sunnīsm

Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr: A son of Abū Bakr who was raised by ´Alī (ع), who led the Egyptians in revolt against ´Uthmān, and who remained one of ´Alī's (ع) loyal Shī´ah until he was martyred in Egypt

Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafīyyah: Son of ´Alī (ع) and the one Mukhtār claimed to be the rightful imām during his uprising and formation of the Kaysānīyyah sect

Mujāhid: A prominent member of the tābi´īn (successors), particularly in Qur`ānic commentary

Mukhtār ibn Abī ´Ubayd: A leader in Kūfah who led a revolt in the name of avenging the blood of Ḥusayn (ع), claiming Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafīyyah to be the rightful imām, and thereby forming the Kaysānīyyah sect; he was defeated and killed by Ibn Zubayr

Muṣ´ab ibn Zubayr: Brother of ´Abd Allāh ibn Zubayr who, as his governor in Baṣrah, attacked and defeated Mukhtār ibn Abī ´Ubayd but who was later defeated by the Umayyad caliph ´Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān

Musaylimah: A liar who claimed to be a prophet alongside Muḥammad (ص) whose followers were defeated in the Battle of Yamāmah

Muslim: Sunnī scholar of ḥadīth and author of Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, the second most prominent work in the ṣiḥāḥ sittah

Muslim ibn ´Aqīl ibn Abī Ṭālib: Imām Ḥusayn's (ع) cousin and emissary to Kūfah

Muslim ibn ´Awsajah: A Kūfan who housed Muslim ibn ´Aqīl

Muslim ibn ´Uqbah: Yazīd's military commander who led the Battle of Ḥarrah, pillaging and massacring the people of Madīnah; he died en route to attacking Mecca

Mu´taṣim: An ´Abbāsīd caliph

Nā`ilah bint Farāfiṣah: ´Uthmān's wife

Najāshī: Negus, king of Abyssinia

Nasā`ī: Sunnī scholar of ḥadīth and author of one of the ṣiḥāḥ sittah, among other works

Na´thal: A Jewish convert to Islām whose beard was similar to that of ´Uthmān; a disparaging reference for ´Uthmān used primarily by ´Ā`ishah

Naẓẓām: The leader of a Mu´tazilī sect

Nu´mān ibn Thābit: The name of Abū Ḥanīfah

Pharaoh: The king of Egypt who opposed and drove out Moses (ع)

Qārūn: A tribesman of Moses (ع) who rebelled against him

Qatādah ibn Di´āmah: A prominent member of the tābi´īn (successors)

Qatādah ibn Nu´mān: A companion of the Prophet (ص)

Qays ibn Sa´d ibn ´Ubādah: The son of Sa´d ibn ´Ubādah (the leader of the Khazraj) and loyal Shī´ah of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) who served as a military commander for ´Alī and Ḥasan (ع)

Qurṭubī: A prominent Sunnī commentator on the Qur`ān

Quṣayy: One of the Prophet's (ص) ancestors

Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī: A Sunnī scholar best known for his dictionary-like compilation of the meaning of Qur`ānic terms

Ramlah bint Abī Sufyān: A wife of the Prophet (ص)

Ruqayyah: The wife of ´Uthmān and adoptive daughter of the Prophet (ص)

Rāzī, Fakhr al-Dīn: A prominent Sunnī theologian and commentator on the Qur`ān

Sa´d ibn Abī Waqqāṣ: A companion of the Prophet (ص), member of the Shūrā, and one who refused to pledge allegiance to ´Alī (ع) upon his ascension to the caliphate

Sa´d ibn Mālik: See Sa´d ibn Abī Waqqāṣ

Sa´d ibn ´Ubādah: The leader of the Khazraj who tried to become caliph upon the Prophet's (ص) death and who subsequently refused to pledge allegiance to Abū Bakr; he was eventually assassinated by Khālid ibn Walīd in Syria

Saddī: A member of the tābi´īn (successors)

Ṣādiq (ع): Title of the sixth Shī´ah imām

Saffāḥ: The first ´Abbāsīd caliph

Ṣafīyyah: A wife of the Prophet (ص)

Sa´īd ibn ´Āṣ: ´Uthmān's governor in Kūfah after the removal of Walīd ibn ´Uqbah

Sa´īd ibn Musayyab: A prominent member of the tābi´īn (successors)

Sa´īd ibn Jubayr: A prominent member of the tābi´īn (successors)

Sa´īd ibn Zayd: A companion of the Prophet (ص) and the one who invented the tradition of the ten companions who were promised paradise

Ṣāliḥ (ع): The prophet to the Thamūd people

Sālim mawlā Abī Ḥudhayfah: A companion and leading enemy of the Ahl al-Bayt

Salmān al-Fārsī: A prominent companion of the Prophet (ص) and Shī´ah of ´Alī (ع) who was of Persian origin

Sāmirī: The one who misled the Children of Israel away from Aaron (ع), the designated successor of Moses (ع), and towards worship of the calf

Sawdah bint Zam´ah: A wife of the Prophet (ص)

Sayf ibn ´Umar: A known liar whose fictitious accounts of history were so appealing to some Sunnī scholars that much of their historical works became based on his fictitious accounts

Sha´bī: A prominent member of the tābi´īn (successors)

Shāfi´ī: Founder of the Shāfi´ī school of Sunnī jurisprudence

Shahrastānī: An expert on Islāmic sects

Shamir ibn Dhī al-Jawshan: A military commander in the Umayyad army in the Battle of Karbalā`

Shawkānī: A prominent Sunnī commentator on the Qur`ān

Solomon (ع): Sulaymān (ع), a prophet of Allāh

Sufyān al-Thawrī: A member of the tābi´īn (successors)

Suyūṭī: A prominent Sunnī scholar

Ṭabarānī: A prominent Sunnī scholar of ḥadīth

Ṭabarī, Ibn Jarīr: A prominent Sunnī scholar of history and Qur`ānic commentary

Ṭabarī, Muḥibb: A Sunnī scholar

Ṭalḥah ibn ´Ubayd Allāh: A companion of the Prophet (ص), the leader of the siege of ´Uthmān, and one of the leaders of the Battle of Jamal against ´Alī (ع) who was killed by Marwān ibn Ḥakam in the Battle of Jamal

Ṭālib: The eldest brother of ´Alī (ع)

Ṭālūt: One of the Israelite kings appointed by Allāh but rejected by the Israelites

Tamīm al-Dārī: A Christian monk who converted to Islām during the Prophet's (ص) lifetime and who was assigned by ´Umar to tell absurd stories in the Prophet's (ص) mosque

Tha´labī: A prominent Sunnī commentator on the Qur`ān

Thawrī: See Sufyān al-Thawrī

Tirmidhī: A Sunnī scholar of ḥadīth and author of one of the ṣiḥāḥ sittah

´Ubādah ibn Ṣāmit: A companion of the Prophet (ص)

´Ubayd Allāh ibn ´Abbās: Son of ´Abbās ibn ´Abd al-Muṭṭalib who was ´Alī's (ع) governor in Yemen and later a commander who abandoned the army of Ḥasan (ع) in return for money and a guarantee of safety from Mu´āwīyah

´Ubayd Allāh ibn ´Umar: Son of the second caliph ´Umar who went on a killing spree after his father's death but who was forgiven by ´Uthmān; he later fled ´Alī's (ع) justice and instead joined Mu´āwīyah and died fighting against ´Alī (ع) during the Battle of Ṣiffīn

´Ubayd Allāh ibn Zīyād: Yazīd's governor in Baṣrah and Kūfah who killed Muslim ibn ´Aqīl and who sent an army to massacre Ḥusayn (ع) and his men at Karbalā`

Ubayy ibn Ka´b: A companion of the Prophet (ص) with expertise on the Qur`ān

´Umar Ibn ´Abd al-´Azīz: An Umayyad ruler and grandson of Marwān ibn Ḥakam who returned Fadak to the Ahl al-Bayt (ع), ordered ´Alī (ع) to no longer be cursed, and ordered the Prophet's (ص) traditions to be recorded

´Umar ibn Abī Salamah: The son of Umm Salamah and one of ´Alī's (ع) devoted Shī´ah:

´Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb: The second Sunnī caliph

Umm Ayman: Milk-mother of the Prophet (ص)

Umm Ḥabībah: Ramlah bint Abī Sufyān, a wife of the Prophet (ص)

Umm Hāni`: ´Alī's (ع) sister

Umm Kulthūm: The wife of ´Uthmān and adoptive daughter of the Prophet (ص)

Umm Kulthūm bint ´Alī (ع): A daughter of ´Alī and Fāṭimah (ع)

Umm Salamah: A wife of the Prophet (ص) and one of ´Alī's (ع) devoted Shī´ah

Umayyah ibn ´Abd Shams: The forefather of the Umayyads

´Uqbah ibn Abī Mu´ayṭ: Father of Walīd ibn ´Uqbah and a prominent Meccan pagan

´Urwah ibn Zubayr: Son of Zubayr and Asmā` bint Abī Bakr who related many suspicious traditions from his aunt ´Ā`ishah

Usāmah ibn Zayd: The commander of the army dispatched by the Prophet (ص) to Palestine at the time of his death

´Uthmān ibn ´Affān: The third Sunnī caliph

´Uthmān ibn Ḥunayf: ´Alī's (ع) governor in Baṣrah who was attacked by ´Ā`ishah and her associates during the Battle of Jamal

Uways al-Qaranī: A pious believer who spend most of his life in seclusion but who joined ´Alī (ع) and was martyred in the Battle of Ṣiffīn

Waḥshī: The slave who killed Ḥamzah during the Battle of Uḥud

Walīd ibn ´Uqbah: The maternal half-brother of ´Uthmān and his Umayyad clansman who was made governor of Kūfah and who committed many atrocities there

Walīd ibn ´Utbah: A grandson of Abū Sufyān who was appointed as governor of Madīnah by Mu´āwīyah

Wāqidī: An early Islāmic historian

Wāṣil ibn ´Aṭā`: The founder of the Mu´tazilī school of Sunnī theology

Yaḥyā (ع): John (ع), a prophet of Allāh

Yaḥyā ibn Ma´īn: A prominent Sunnī scholar, mostly cited for his expertise in narrator authentication (´ilm al-rijāl)

Ya´qūb (ع): Jacob (ع), a prophet of Allāh

Ya´qūbī: A prominent Islāmic historian

Yazīd ibn Abī Sufyān: The son of Abū Sufyān and brother of Mu´āwīyah who was appointed by ´Umar as the governor of Syria

Yazīd ibn Mu´āwīyah: Son of the Umayyad caliph Mu´āwīyah who rose to power upon his father's death; he is famous for the massacre of the Ḥusayn ibn ´Alī (ع) at Karbalā` and the massacre of the people of Madīnah in the Battle of Ḥarrah

Zachariah (ع): Zakarīyyā (ع), a prophet of Allāh

Zahrā`: A title of Fāṭimah (ع)

Zamakhsharī: A prominent Sunnī commentator on the Qur`ān

Zayd ibn ´Alī ibn Ḥusayn (ع): A son of the fourth Shī´ah imām who rose up against the Umayyads and lost his life in the process. The Zaydīyyah believe in his imāmate.

Zayd ibn Arqam: A companion of the Prophet (ص)

Zayd ibn Ḥārithah: A freedman of the Prophet (ص) who was one of the first to accept Islam; he was a commander in the Battle of Mu`tah when he was martyred

Zayd ibn Thābit: A companion who had served as a scribe of revelation; the adoption of his recitation of the Qur`ān was mandated by ´Uthmān; he also served as ´Uthmān's treasurer

Zaynab bint ´Alī (ع): A daughter of ´Alī and Fāṭimah (ع)

Zaynab bint Jaḥsh: A wife of the Prophet (ص)

Zaynab bint Khuzaymah: A wife of the Prophet (ص)

Zaynab bint Muḥammad (ص): An adoptive daughter of the Prophet (ص) who had miscarriage during her emigration to Madīnah as a result of the assault of the pagans

Zīyād ibn Abī Sufyān: See Zīyād ibn ´Ubayd

Zīyād ibn Abīh: See Zīyād ibn ´Ubayd

Zīyād ibn Sumayyah: See Zīyād ibn ´Ubayd

Zīyād ibn ´Ubayd: ´Alī's (ع) governor in Fārs who later was claimed by Mu´āwīyah to be the son of Abū Sufyān and made the governor of Baṣrah and Kūfah where he strictly persecuted the Shī´ah

Zubayr ibn ´Awwām: A companion of the Prophet (ص) and one of the leaders of the Battle of Jamal against ´Alī (ع)

Zuhrī: A prominent member of the tābi´īn (successors) with close ties to the Umayyad caliphate

Appendix C
List of the Fourteen Infallible Members of the Ahl al-Bayt (ع)

1. Muḥammad ibn ´Abd Allāh (ص)
2. Fāṭimah bint Rasūl Allāh (ع)
3. ´Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib (ع), the first imām
4. Ḥasan ibn ´Alī (ع), the second imām
5. Ḥusayn ibn ´Alī (ع), the third imām
6. ´Alī ibn Ḥusayn Zayn al-´Ābidīn (ع), the fourth imām
7. Muḥammad ibn ´Alī al-Bāqir (ع), the fifth imām
8. Ja´far ibn Muḥammad al-Ṣādiq (ع), the sixth imām
9. Mūsā ibn Ja´far al-Kāẓim (ع), the seventh imām
10. ´Alī ibn Mūsā al-Riḍā (ع), the eighth imām
11. Muḥammad ibn ´Alī al-Jawād al-Taqī (ع), the ninth imām
12. ´Alī ibn Muḥammad al-Hādī al-Naqī (ع), the tenth imām
13. Ḥasan ibn ´Alī al-´Askarī (ع), the eleventh imām
14. Al-Ḥujjah ibn al-Ḥasan al-Qā`im al-Mahdī (ع) the twelfth imām

Appendix D
List of the Months of the Islāmic Calendar

1. Muḥarram
2. Ṣafar
3. Rabīʿ al-Awwal
4. Rabīʿ al-Thānī or Rabīʿ al-Ākhir
5. Jumādā al-Awwal
6. Jumādā al-Thānī or Jumādā al-Ākhir
7. Rajab
8. Shaʿbān
9. Ramaḍān
10. Shawwāl
11. Dhū al-Qiʿdah
12. Dhū al-Ḥijjah

Appendix E
Traditions Commonly Referred to in this Work by Their Titles

Tradition of the bird (ḥadīth al-ṭā`ir) (chapter 20)

> There was a bird with the Prophet (ص). He said, "O Allāh, grant me the most beloved of Your creation to You to eat this bird with me." ʻAlī then came and ate it.

Tradition of the cloak (chapter 14)

> Allāh's Apostle went out one morning wearing a striped cloak of black camel hair. There came Ḥasan ibn ʻAlī. He wrapped him under it, then came Ḥusayn and he wrapped him under it along with the other one (i.e. Ḥasan). Then came Fāṭimah and he took her under it, then came ʻAlī and he also took him under it, and he then said, "Allāh only desires to take away any uncleanliness from you, O people of the household (Ahl al-Bayt), and to purify you a thorough purifying."[6923]

Tradition of Ghadīr (chapter 34)

> Whosever mawlā I am, ʻAlī is his mawlā.

Tradition of kinsmen (ḥadīth al-ʻashīrah) (chapter 2)

> This (i.e. ʻAlī) is my brother, my agent (waṣī), and my successor (khalīfah) among you, so listen to him and obey him.

Tradition of manzilah (chapter 10)

> You (i.e. ʻAlī) are in the same position in relation to me as Aaron was in relation to Moses, except that there will be no prophet after me.

Tradition of thaqalayn (two weighty items) (chapter 15)

> I leave you two weighty items—the Book of Allāh and my Ahl al-Bayt. The two will not separate from each other until they come to me at the fount.

6923. Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim #31.5955.

Appendix F
Qur`ānic Verses Commonly Referred to in this Work by Their Titles

Verse of the cave (chapter 6)

> If you do not aid him, then Allāh did surely aid him when those who disbelieve drove him out, [and he] was the second of the two when they were in the cave when he was saying to his companion, "Do not worry (lā taḥzan), Allāh is with us"; Allāh sent His serenity upon him, and helped him with troops that cannot be seen, and lowered the word of those who disbelieve, as the Word of Allāh is exalted. Allāh is mighty, wise.[6924]

Verses of choice (chapters 14 and 27)

> O Prophet! Tell your wives, "If you seek the life of this world and its adornment, come! I will let you enjoy them and will divorce you in a generous fashion. But if you seek Allāh, His Messenger and the abode of the hereafter, then indeed Allāh has prepared for the virtuous among you a great reward!"

Verse of completion (ikmāl) (chapter 34)

> Today the disbelievers despair about your religion, so do not fear them, but [instead] fear Me. Today I perfected for you your religion, and completed My favor upon you, and accepted for you Islām as your religion.[6925]

Verses of fay` (property acquired through diplomacy, not war) (chapter 23)

> And any [property] of theirs that Allāh has assigned to His Messenger, since none of you spurred along any horses or riding camels to get it, Allāh gives His Messenger authority over whom He wishes, as Allāh has power over all things. Anything from the townsfolk that Allāh has assigned to His Messenger is for Allāh, and for the Messenger, and for the near relatives, and the orphans, and the needy, and the wayfarer, so that it will not be traded around merely among the rich men you have. Accept anything the Messenger gives you and keep away from anything he withholds from you. Fear Allāh, for Allāh is stern with punishment.[6926]

Verse of the foremost in authority (chapter 42)

[6924] Qur`ān 9:40.
[6925] Qur`ān 5:3.
[6926] Qur`ān 59:6-7.

> O you who believe, obey Allāh and obey the Messenger and the foremost in authority among you. If you quarrel over anything, refer it to Allāh and His Messenger if you believe in Allāh and the Last Day.[6927]

Verse of khums (one-fifth tax) (chapter 23)

> And know that of whatever you acquire, a fifth of it is for Allāh, and for the Messenger, and for the [Messenger's] near relatives, and the orphans, and the needy, and the wayfarer.[6928]

Verse of mubāhalah (mutual cursing) (chapter 29)

> So tell whoever argues with you in this matter (i.e. the trinity) after knowledge has come you, "Come, we will swear upon our children and your children, and our women and your women, and ourselves and yourselves. Then we will solemnly pray (nabtahil) and invoke the curse of Allāh upon the liars."[6929]

Verse of mut´ah (temporary marriage) (chapter 59)

> Lawful for you are those other than the ones [mentioned as unlawful], so that you may seek them with your property, desiring chastity not debauchery. So howevermuch you seek mut´ah from them, give them their obligatory rewards (ujūr). There is no blame on you in regards to what you agree upon after the obligation.[6930]

Verse of proclamation (balāgh) (chapter 34)

> O Messenger! Proclaim that which has been revealed to you from your Lord. If you do not, you would not have conveyed His message. Allāh will protect you from the people. Allāh does not guide the disbelievers.[6931]

Verse of purification (ṭaṭhīr) (chapter 14)

> Allāh intends to remove filth (rijs) only from you, Ahl al-Bayt, and to purify you a thorough purification.[6932]

Verses of renunciation (barā`ah) (chapter 32) refers to the first several verses of the ninth sūrah, starting with,

> A renunciation from Allāh and His Messenger towards those of the idolaters with whom you have made treaties...[6933]

Verses of taḥrīm (prohibition) (chapter 27)

[6927] Qur`ān 4:59.
[6928] Qur`ān 8:41.
[6929] Qur`ān 3:61.
[6930] Qur`ān 4:24.
[6931] Qur`ān 5:67.
[6932] Qur`ān 33:33.
[6933] Qur`ān sūrah 9:1.

> O Prophet! Why do you forbid that which Allāh has made lawful for you, seeking to please your wives? And Allāh is oft-forgiving, most merciful... When the Prophet confided a fact unto one of his wives and she then divulged it and Allāh informed him of that, he made known [to her] part thereof and passed over part. And when he told it to her, she said, "Who has told you this?" He said, "The knower, the aware has told me." If you two (i.e. ʿĀʾishah and Ḥafṣah) turn to Allāh in repentance [it would be appropriate], as your hearts desired this [ban]. But if you aid one another against him (i.e. the Prophet), then lo! Allāh is He who is his guardian, and Gabriel, and the righteous among the believers; and furthermore the angels will back him up. Perhaps if he divorces you, his Lord will give him instead of you wives better than you—[wives who are] Muslims (muslimāt), faithful (muʾmināt), devout (qānitāt), penitent (tāʾibāt), worshipful (ʿābidāt), [and] inclined to fasting (sāʾiḥāt), [from among] the previously married and virgins.[6934]

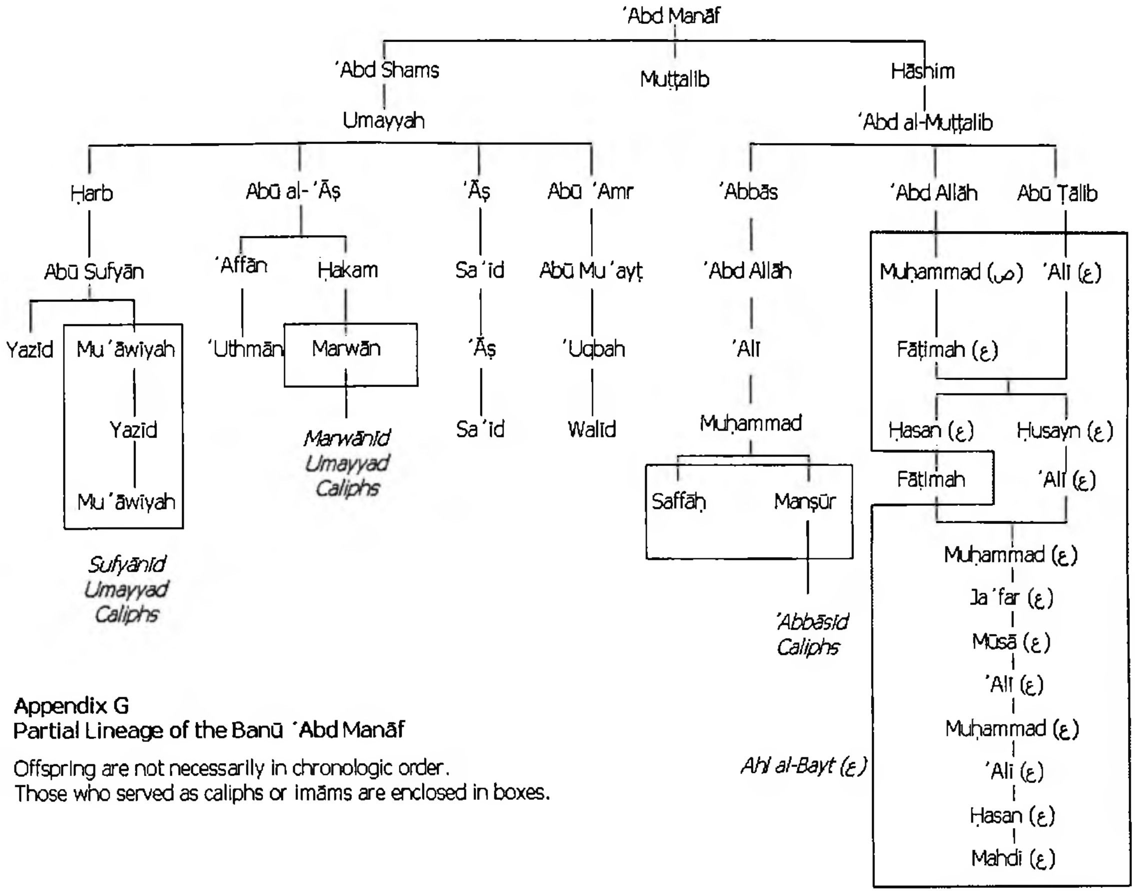
Verse of wilāyah (chapter 31)

> Your walī is only Allāh and His Messenger and those who believe—the believers who stand in prayer [and] pay zakāt (charity) while performing rukūʿ (bending in prayer).[6935]

Verse of wuḍūʾ (ablution) (chapter 85)

> O you who believe! When you rise to prayer, wash your faces and your hands to the elbows, and rub your heads and your feet to the ankles.[6936]

[6934] Qurʾān 66:1, 3-5.
[6935] Qurʾān 5:55.
[6936] Qurʾān 5:6.


'Abd Manāf
'Abd Shams
Muṭṭalib
Hāshim
Umayyah
'Abd al-Muṭṭalib
Ḥarb
Abū al-'Āṣ
'Āṣ
Abū 'Amr
'Abbās
'Abd Allāh
Abū Ṭālib
Abū Sufyān
'Affān
Ḥakam
Sa'īd
Abū Mu'ayṭ
'Abd Allāh
Muḥammad (ص)
'Alī (ع)
Yazīd
Mu'āwiyah
'Uthmān
Marwān
'Āṣ
'Uqbah
'Alī
Fāṭimah (ع)
Yazīd
Marwānīd Umayyad Caliphs
Sa'īd
Walīd
Muḥammad
Ḥasan (ع)
Ḥusayn (ع)
Mu'āwiyah
Saffāḥ
Manṣūr
Fāṭimah
'Alī (ع)
Sufyānīd Umayyad Caliphs
Muḥammad (ع)
Ja'far (ع)
'Abbāsid Caliphs
Mūsā (ع)
'Alī (ع)
Muḥammad (ع)
Ahl al-Bayt (ع)
'Alī (ع)
Ḥasan (ع)
Mahdī (ع)

Appendix G
Partial Lineage of the Banū 'Abd Manāf

Offspring are not necessarily in chronologic order.
Those who served as caliphs or imāms are enclosed in boxes.

Appendix H
Transliteration Guide

Arabic	English	Example
ء	`	Barā`ah
أ	Ā, ā	Allāh
ب	B	
ت	T	
ث	Th	Thamūd
ج	J	
ح	Ḥ, ḥ	Ḥanbal
خ	Kh	Khadījah
د	D	
ذ	Dh	Dhū al-Faqār
ر	R	
ز	Z	
س	S	
ش	Sh	
ص	Ṣ, ṣ	Ṣalāt
ض	Ḍ, ḍ	Riḍā
ط	Ṭ, ṭ	Ṭāghūt
ظ	Ẓ, ẓ	Ẓulm
ع	´	´Umar
غ	Gh	Ghadīr
ف	F	
ق	Q	Quraysh
ك	K	
ل	L	
م	M	
ن	N	
و	W	Walīd
وُ	Ū, ū	Maḥmūd
وَ	Aw	´Awf
ه	H	
ة	h	Ka´bah
ةا	T	Zakāt, Ṣalāt
ي	Y	Yāsīn
يِ	Ī, ī	Raḥīm
يَ	Ay	Ḥusayn
يّة	īyyah	Ḥanafīyyah
ـَ	A	
ـِ	I	
ـُ	U	
سْه	S·h	Mus·hir